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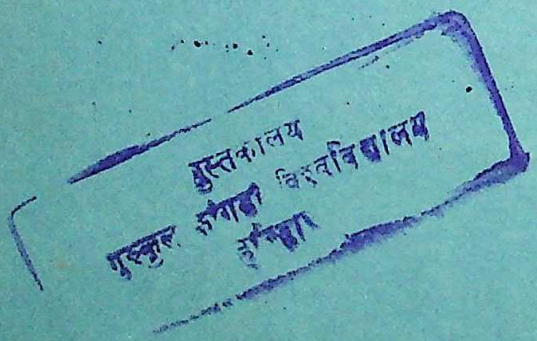

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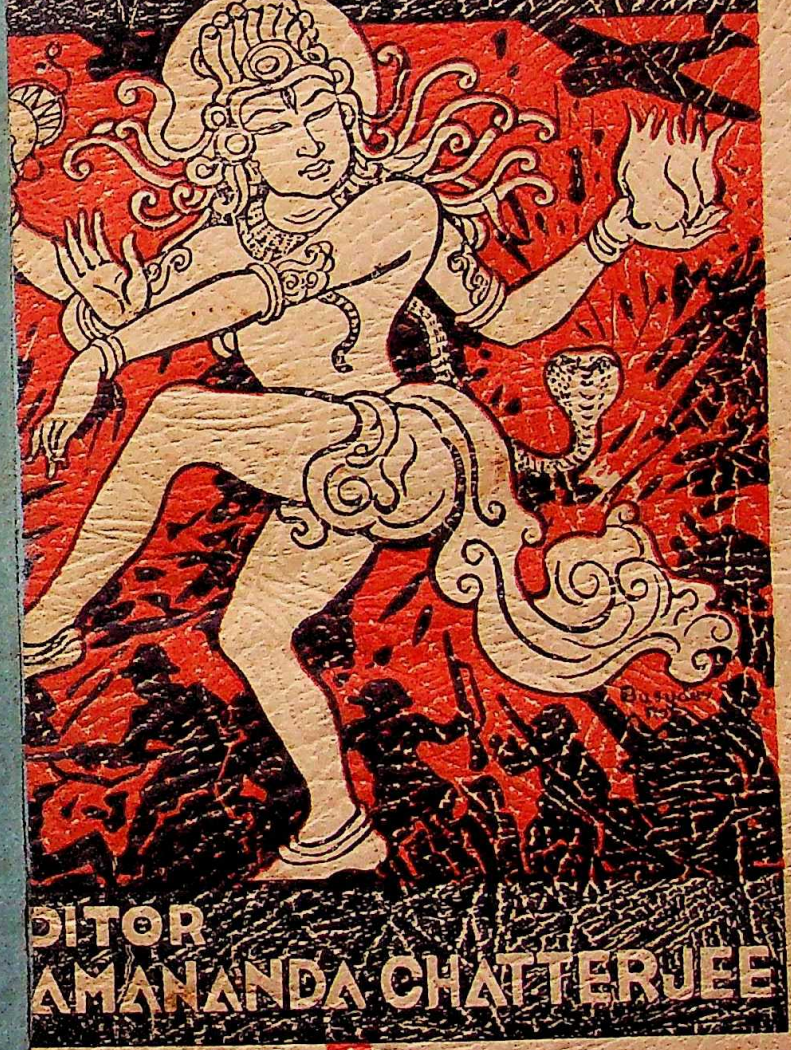

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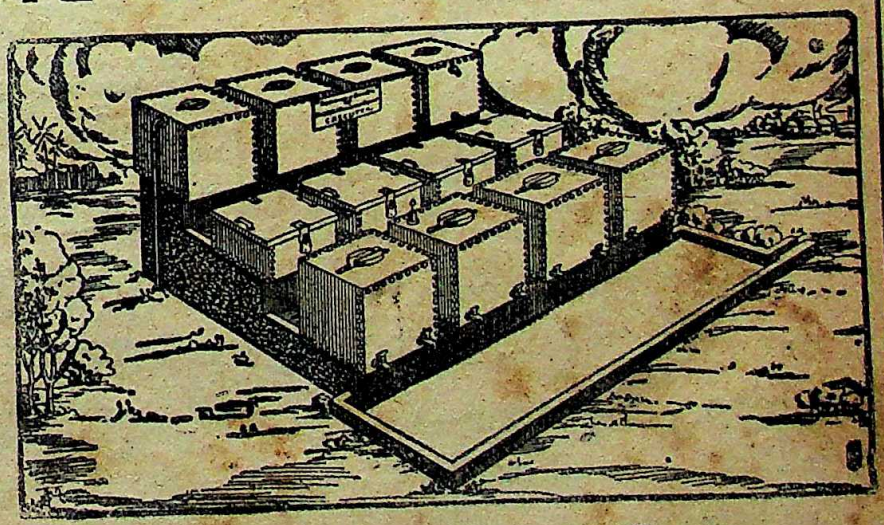

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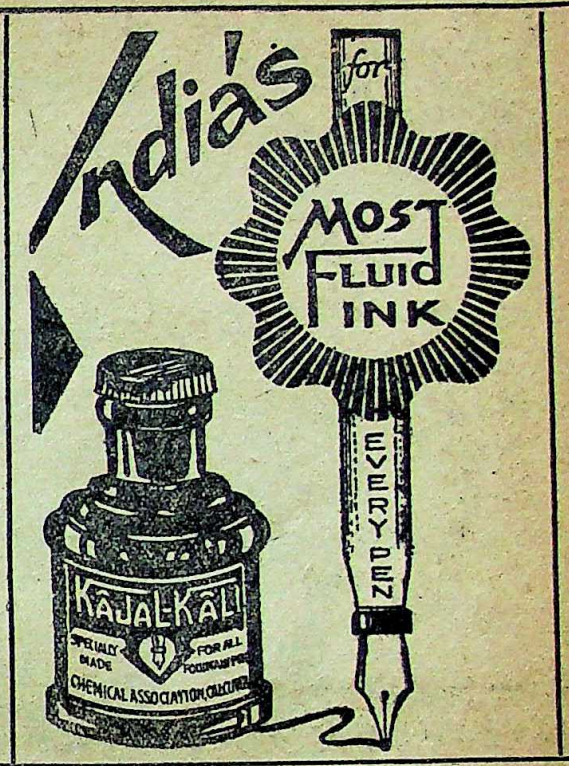

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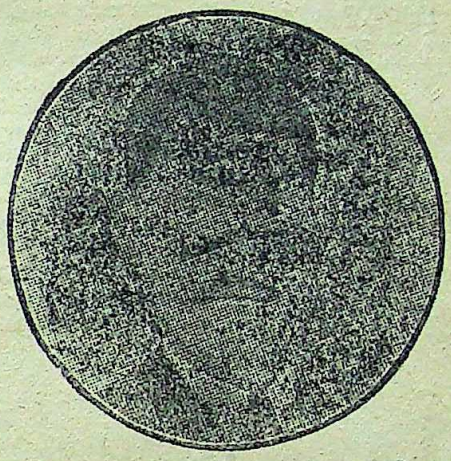

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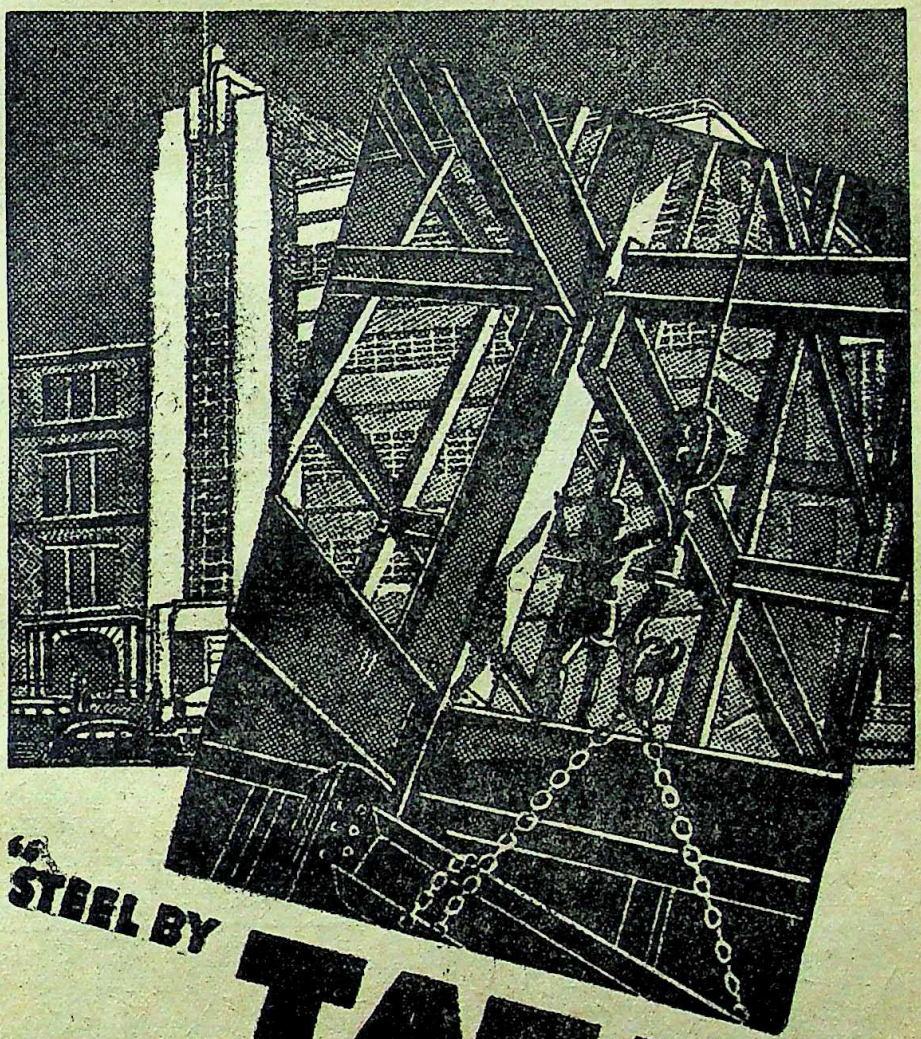

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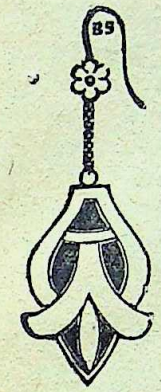

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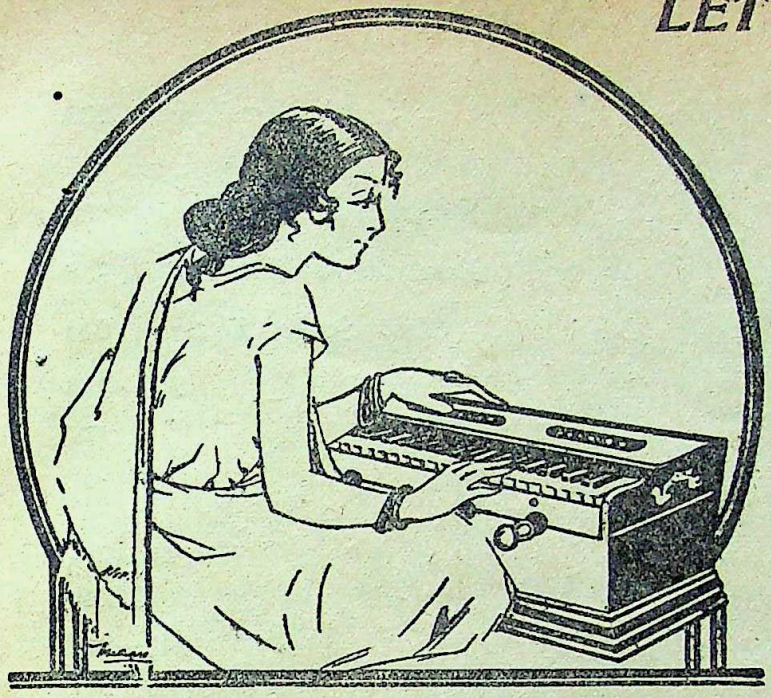

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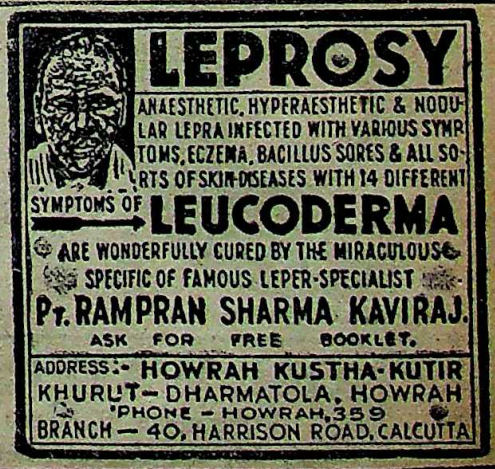

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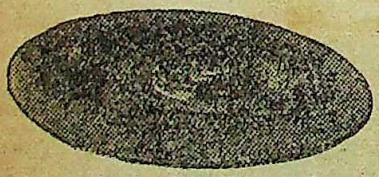

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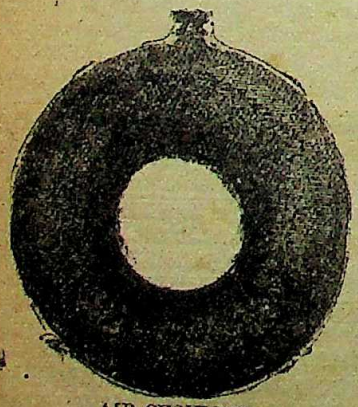

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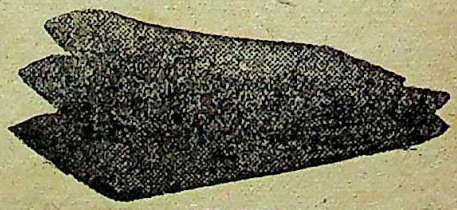

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WATERING THE TULSI PLANT
By Paritosh Sen

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY *1941*

VOL. LXIX, No. 2 WHOLE No. 410

NOTES

Mr. Amery Again

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, has once again repeated in somewhat new phraseology his views relating to the Indian situation and problem. As there is nothing substantially new in them, no detailed criticism of them is called for. He "still maintain(s) that the offer [of an enlarged Executive Council] is a generous and a far-reaching one," in spite of the fact that no Indian political party, not even the most moderate, has found it worthy of acceptance. Under the circumstances, what was the good in saying that the offer "still remains open, as the Viceroy has made plain in his recent statement to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce ?" And that "the approach can come at any time now from the Indian side" ? Surely no Indian side is dying to approach the autocrats at New Delhi and London in order to go into the imperialist parlour.

Mr. Amery has said :

"On the other hand it is a mistake to assert, as have some Indian critics and some British critics, that an enlarged Executive Council would not continue to have the same collective responsibility as the present Executive Council or that its members would not have important administrative duties. It is in any case obvious, apart from any question of constitutional theory, that in actual operation, such an executive would have carried great weight with His Majesty's Government and that an enlarged executive would have been a feature that once embarked upon would have been permanent."

One main point is, to whom is the proposed enlarged Executive Council to be responsible ? The British Government want that it should be responsible to His Majesty's Government, as the present Council is. But Indian political parties want that it should be responsible to the Indian Legislature. Mr. Amery thinks that that would have been "to change the whole basis of the Indian Government in the middle of a war." So the present basis must continue till the end of the war, after which a change is promised. What exactly that change will be and when exactly that change will take place have not been definitely said by any authority whose promise the British Parliament would be bound to carry out. It has been said both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords without a single dissentient voice being raised against the statement that Parliament cannot be bound even by the promise of the Sovereign himself against its judgment. As Parliament is the ultimate authority any dependable promise can be made only by it in the form of a short Act or something similar to it.

Another main point, to which neither the Secretary of State nor the Viceroy has referred is what powers the enlarged Executive Council is to have. An enlarged Executive Council without substantial powers, even if it became a permanent feature, would not be of any value except to job-hunters.

In Mr. Amery's opinion "the real problem today is one that only Indians can solve for themselves." Yes, after Britishers have done their best to complicate it and to keep it complicated, we must unravel the tangled skein to the satisfaction of those who continue to reserve

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to themselves full power to thwart and frustrate any **Indian** solution of the problem.

Mr. Amery speaks of the risks of disintegration and confusion, as if Indians are less interested than Britishers in preventing such risks. Obligations to the Indian States (is it really to the States or to their rulers ?) and to the present personnel of the services are also trotted out again. Do not the interests of the vast hungry, illiterate and disease-stricken millions count for more than those of the princes and the services ? And is there really any opposition between the true interests of the princes and services and those of the masses ?

Independence Day Pledge

This year's Independence Day pledge, issued by Mahatma Gandhi, runs as follows :—

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people as of any other people to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life so that they may have full opportunities of growth.

"We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular require the successful working of the constructive programme of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system, we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinction between caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished and Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faith may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India bound by common nationality and common political and economical interest.

"Charka and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme for the resuscitation of the 700,000 villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but Khadi and so far as possible products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise.

"We pledge ourselves to disciplined observance of the Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress whenever it may come for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India.

"In view of the fact that individual civil disobedience has already commenced and that a large number of Congressmen have already been imprisoned all over India, it becomes the special duty of every Indian to concentrate with redoubled zeal on the constructive programme, without the fulfilment of which no civil disobedience, mass or individual, can help us to win and retain Swaraj. Concretely expressed, constructive programme means universalization of handspinning and Khadi and popularization of village industries and village products. We recognize that the effective spread of non-violence must bring about communal harmony and complete eradication of untouchability in every shape and form."

This year's pledge is the same as last year's with the exception of the last paragraph, which is this year's addition.

Though we do not belong to the Congress and though we do not accept some of the opinions expressed in the "pledge" in their entirety, we have been for many decades and still are solemnly resolved to carry on the struggle for freedom and independence "till Purna Swaraj is attained."

Gandhiji's Instructions For Observance of Independence Day

Mahatma Gandhi issued the following instructions for the proper observance of Independence Day :

"I hope that every man and woman in India, whether Congressman or otherwise, will realise the gravity of the struggle and will resolve on the forthcoming Independence Day upon dedicating himself or herself to the service of the country in terms of the millions. Swaraj based on non-violence does not mean mere transfer of power. It should mean complete deliverance of the toiling yet starving millions from the dreadful evil of economic serfdom. This can only be attained by the propertied few indentifying themselves with the millions and by their readiness to sacrifice their all for the latter's sake.

"It must be a day of fraternisation, abolition of untouchability from our hearts, giving up of spirituous liquors, self-spinning and sale and spread of Khadi and village industries. There is to be no civil disobedience on that day. For we must not invite disturbance of our meetings and processions, and Prabhat Pheries on that day. The day may begin with Prabhat Pheries followed by flag hoisting and flag salutation. In the evening there may be processions terminating in public meetings where the pledge may be explained clause by clause and administered by the chairman and solemnly accepted by the audience. Where there are already restrictions they must be obeyed. From such voluntary obedience comes the strength for and the right of civil resistance."

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The Congress "Constructive Programme"

We consider the Congress "constructive programme" of khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability important. Without communal harmony and the removal of untouchability Swaraj cannot be attained non-violently. Even if we had swaraj, and if there was untouchability in our midst, we should have to remove it for the sake of securing to every one a fundamental human right in order that he or she might attain his or her full stature and develop personality to full capacity, for the sake of humanity, and for making swaraj genuine. Even if we had swaraj, communal harmony would be necessary for its preservation and for the maintenance of non-violence. The promotion of spinning is necessary for providing the mass of the people, mostly agriculturists, with a subsidiary source of income, particularly during the period when there are no agricultural operations and for inculcating habits of steady industry and eradicating indolence. As the devil finds some mischief for idle hands to do, spinning has also a bearing on the observance of non-violence. But we do not think that it is necessary for every one to spin in order to win Swaraj or to observe non-violence. It is imaginable that there are or may be numerous persons engaged regularly every day in some useful non-violent occupation other than spinning.

Congress' Reasons For Seeking Termination of British Rule

It is stated in the Independence Day pledge that as "The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually," therefore, "India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence."

As stated, these must undoubtedly be considered sufficient reasons.

America deprived the Filipinos of their freedom only temporarily but not for long, and America did not ruin the Philippine Islands economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. Yet the Filipinos have longed for independence and may obtain full freedom ere long.

So the question may be asked: Supposing the British Government in India had deprived the Indian people of their freedom only for a brief period, and supposing it had not based itself on the exploitation of the masses and had not ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, would it not have been necessary and desirable for India to be fully free and completely independent even in that case? We think, and we believe Congressmen also think, it would have been.

For Indians are men, not cattle. Cattle are taken care of by others. Human beings, if they want to deserve the name of man, must take care of themselves, must manage their own affairs, and must continually grow to self-ruling capacity—by learning through mistakes, if necessary. Or, in other words, the ideal of life for human beings is not merely to be well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed and properly looked after, but also to be masters of themselves and their affairs and possessed of the capacity for and the power of self-direction in the onward march of progress. No doubt it is easier to rouse people to make strenuous efforts to regain independence by telling them how they have been oppressed and deprived of their rights and how their country has been ruined economically, politically, culturally and spiritually, than by simply calling their attention to the ideal of human life and appealing to them to realize that ideal. Nevertheless, in order that the people may carry on the struggle for freedom with correct understanding of its character and with full vigour, keeping before them the true and perfect ideal of life, they should be roused to action by both the methods mentioned above, with due regard to historical truth.

Has The British Government Ruined India Economically?

We shall now consider whether the British Government has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. This can be done here only very briefly. If such ruin has taken place in any direction during British rule, it need not be considered whether it has been brought about deliberately or is an indirect result of British rule and the British connection and contact with India.

That the *indigenous* industries and trade of India have been practically ruined during British rule admits of no doubt. How this has come to pass is narrated in Major B. D. Basu's book on the *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*. That endeavours have been going on for some time past for the resuscitation of the dying and dead indigenous industries of India and for the starting and carrying on of large-scale industries with the help of power-driven machinery, does not disprove the fact of the ruin. It is no doubt a fact that at present India probably produces

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more goods than in the pre-British period of her history. But most of the large-scale industries are owned and carried on by foreigners and most of the profits go to them. Hence, though the quantity of goods at present produced in India probably exceeds what was produced in the pre-British period, the volume of production does not go to ameliorate the condition of the masses of the people. The masses of the people of India are at present far poorer than the mass of the people in free and independent countries in our day. Similarly, the volume of the inland and overseas trade of India may be at present greater than before. But formerly all the trade was practically in the hands of the people of the country. But now most of the trade is in foreign hands. The transport of goods within the country, the coastal traffic and the carrying of goods and passengers across the seas have almost entirely gone out of the hands of the people of the country. The destruction of India's mercantile marine was effected during the rule of the East India Company. The State railways in India are only nominally the property of the Indian nation. They can be really so only when the country becomes politically and economically independent.

Has The British Government Ruined India Politically ?

The very fact that India is a subject country proves the truth of the statement that India has been ruined politically. The Indian States are only nominally self-ruling. Even the rulers of the biggest States are no more independent, no more masters of themselves, than the humblest man in British India. The final political power does not rest with any Indian or any body of Indians in India but with foreigners outside India living far from the country.

Any comparison of the kind of administration prevailing at present with what was prevalent at the time of the gradual occupation of the country by the British is beside the point. Like the majority of monarchs of those days in countries outside India, the Indian monarchs were autocrats. But whether Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim or Sikh, they were Indian, and the final power was in their hands. There is now some local self-government. But the local self-governing bodies do not possess more power than what the village communities existing at the time of the British occupation exercised. There has been a brief spell of so-called provincial autonomy. But the constitution, which has pleased no community, class or section of the people, was British-made and is unalterable by Indians.

There is at present undoubtedly a greater political awakening through the length and breadth of India than during the period immediately preceding the British occupation. Our political consciousness is of the modern type. There is a feeling of national oneness which did not exist at the time of the British occupation. But it cannot be said that the British Government has deliberately and knowingly brought this political consciousness into being. It is the work of the Time-spirit, whatever that expression may mean. For, we find a similar awakening and a more fruitful one in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, China and Japan—countries which were never subject to British rule. But, though political awakening and sense of national unity are not peculiar products of British rule alone and were not produced of set purpose by the British Government, we need not quarrel with anybody who may say that the British rulers of India builded better than they knew or wanted to.

Has The British Government Ruined India Culturally ?

We have not been able to understand exactly what the Congress leaders mean by saying that the British Government has ruined India culturally. The culture of a country includes its arts and crafts, its educational endeavours, its religion, its literature in the broadest sense, its musical and other entertainments and its science. Some of our indigenous crafts are no longer in existence and some are in a moribund condition. The purely Indian styles of architecture are no longer followed by our builders, but somewhat new styles of a mixed character have come into existence under British influence. An attempt is being made to revive a purely Indian style in a somewhat modified form. Perhaps no purely Indian style of sculpture is any longer followed, but successful efforts are being made to evolve an Indian style of sculpture.

In painting, Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples and followers have been successful in producing works which are the fruits of their genius. Other Indian painters, who though not his disciples or the disciples of his disciples, have been indirectly inspired and stimulated by their examples.

Seeing that Rabindranath Tagore alone has composed far more songs (and set them to music) than any master musician of the East or the West, living or dead, it cannot be said that the British Government has ruined India cul-

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turally in the sphere of music, though it has done little to encourage music. Musical conferences promoted by Indians are the order of the day.

We have no definite information as to the extent to which music was cultivated and the art of dancing was practised in the pre-British period;—perhaps professional musicians and danceuses enjoyed greater patronage than at present. Nor have we any precise idea of the indigenous theatricals of those days :—most probably they had at that time greater vogue than now. Dancing had long ceased to be looked upon as respectable in many parts of the country. But at present many girls and young women of respectable families dance in public, and new dance forms have been evolved—particularly at Santiniketan. As in music, so in dancing and the histrionic arts, Tagore's achievement has been very remarkable. The modern Indian stage owes a great deal to Western influence. But the British Government cannot claim any credit for all these developments. The cinema is an entirely non-Indian form of entertainment introduced into India. But there does not seem to be any fine type of culture in it. Nor is its introduction into the country due to State initiative or State encouragement.

In Science in its modern sense India has not produced as many masters as even some small countries of the West. But it must be said that it has produced during the British period some master minds in science, state encouragement to science of a very meagre description notwithstanding. Such scientists did not exist in India in the pre-British medieval India.

As regards literature, we can speak only of Bengal's achievement from personal knowledge. During the British period Bengali literature has made remarkable progress both in prose and poetry, so that Bengal now possesses a literature which surpasses any which she possessed before, both in quality and volume. This may be true of other provinces also. Both Bankim Chandra Chtterjee and Rabindranath Tagore—acknowledged masters in the republic of Bengali letters, have ascribed the flowering of Bengali literary genius, partly to Bengal's contact with English literature in particular and Western learning in general. We do not know whether this is true of the modern literatures of other provinces.

Of course, the progress of Bengali literature has not been due to State help. On the contrary, for some years past the idiosyncrasies and rules of the Bengal Government's text-book committees have resulted in debasing school literature.

As regards education, there was more literacy in Bengal (and probably in some other provinces, too) in the immediately pre-British period than now. And there were more primary schools per mille of population and more Sanskrit seminaries than now. But in the acquisition of knowledge in the modern sense and in higher learning in the modern sense, the country has made greater progress than before—though this progress is not worth speaking of in comparison with that of the civilized countries of the world outside India. The London County Council spends more money on elementary education alone than the British Government in India does on all sorts of education combined in the whole of British India !

Though the number of Sanskrit seminaries is smaller than before, modern scholars possess a wider knowledge of the treasures of Sanskrit and Pali literatures than in the age just preceding British rule, and Indian archaeology has made some progress. The State in India can claim a little credit for the small and very inadequate amount of money which it has spent for the conservation of ancient literatures and monuments and for researches connected therewith.

Religion forms part of culture. Whether there was more of true religion in India just before the rise of the British power in India than there is in modern times will be briefly indicated in the next note.

While considering whether the British Government has ruined India culturally or not, we were reminded of a passage in a Bulletin, dated November 7th, 1938, received from the China Information Committee. It occurs therein in an article entitled "The Cultural Problem of China" and runs thus :

> "When two entirely different cultures meet and clash, two things may happen to the one which emerges second best from the contest. First, it may cease to grow and perhaps even go out of existence, or it may re-orientate itself and carry on to a greater future. The latter process requires a great deal of cultural vitality and an abundance of willingness to unlearn and learn."

Indian culture, it seems to us, possesses this vitality and some Indians at any rate possess sufficient willingness to unlearn and learn. Hence our culture has not received its death-blow at the hands of any adversary and may reorientate itself and carry on to a greater future.

Macaulay and some other Anglicists wanted to produce in India an educated class European in their ways of thinking and likes and dislikes but brown in complexion. For a time their

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desire found some fruition. But revulsion and reaction followed.

On the whole our opinion is that the British Government has not ruined our culture in India. Neither has it given it any encouragement worth speaking of.

No doubt, our culture has been influenced and modified by foreign cultures. But is there any other civilized country of which this is not true?

Has The British Government Ruined India Spiritually ?

Whether the Government of the East India Company or that of the British Crown ever intended or tried to destroy India's spirituality need not be considered, though Western Christian missionaries with direct and indirect State aid and encouragement have tried to replace indegenous spirituality by Western Christianity. Only the present degree and extent of India's spirituality need be compared with what existed before the rise of the British power in India. Such comparison is not easy, for two reasons: it is not easy to give an exact definition of Indian spirituality, and we do not possess any adequate knowledge of the spiritual condition of India just before British rule. Nevertheless, let us place some considerations before the reader.

At present the places of pilgrimage of Hindus, Muslims and others are visited by more pilgrims than before. This may or may not be due wholly or mainly to the facilities for travel given by railways, steamers, etc. This fact may or may not be a test of spirituality. Indians at present spend more money on the establishment and maintenance of orphanages, asylums for widows, hospitals and other charitable institutions, and for the relief of sufferers from famine, flood, earthquakes and storms than before. This may be an indication of greater spirituality. At present, there are every year more Saraswati Pujas and some other Pujas by Hindus and more ceremonial cow sacrifices by Muslims than before. What is their 'spiritual' significance ?

Some philanthropic activities of the Brāhmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj have been undertaken and Ramakrishna Sevashrams (Homes of Service for Suffering Humanity) have come into existence during British rule. They did not exist before. They are the results of spirituality.

Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Hindu Mahasabha, Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha, Bharat Sevashram Sangha, Hindu Mission and other Hindu organizations may give some indications of the growth or decline of Hindu spirituality if their non-political objects and activities be considered. These arose during British rule.

Similarly among Muslims the Ahmadiya movement, the Wahabi movement, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, etc., arose during British rule and may be considered in order to decide whether Muslims are now more spiritually-minded than before.

As regards Buddhism, the Mahabodhi Society comes to mind. It belongs to modern times.

All the other Indian religious communities cannot be mentioned here exhaustively.

Thugs had a 'religion' of their own. Thuggee was suppressed during British rule. The cremation of living widows with their dead husbands, the throwing of babies sacrificially into the sea at Ganga Sagar, female infanticide among Rajputs, self-torture during the Chadak festival, and other similar practices were put a stop to during British rule. This fact may be taken into account for determining whether our spirituality has increased or decreased.

As Mahatma Gandhi was born and is living during British rule and as the truth, non-violence, soul-force and purity which he teaches by precept and example are spiritual qualities, it may be held that the British Government has not ruined Indian spirituality so far as these are concerned.

We have not yet mentioned any religious and social reform movements. Some will consider them as marks of the decline or death of spirituality, others as those of its opposite. But it may be permissible to mention them.

The Brāhmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Theosophical Society, the Radhasoami Sect, Sri Aurobindo's movement, the Ahmadiya sect, many Christian Ashramas, and the like did not exist before the rise of the British power in India; they exist now. So far as we are aware, reforming bodies and movements similar to these did not exist in India at the time immediately preceding the establishment of British rule in India.

The British period of Indian history can claim as its own, Rammohun Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Keshub Chunder Sen, Sivanath Sastri, Veereshalingam Pantulu, Sadhu Hiranand, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Shraddhananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo and others. Do their lives indicate the utter ruin of India's spirituality ?

On the whole, we are of the opinion that

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the British Government has not succeeded in ruining Indian spirituality, if it ever tried to do so, which we doubt.

Of course, India's spirituality has been influenced and modified by contact with foreign spirituality. But so has the spirituality of every other country which has intercourse with other countries.

A New Enemy of Spirituality in India

If the British Government ever intended to destroy spirituality or religiosity in India, it seems to have given up that intention. It favours what is called religious education in educational institutions and wants, in the pursuit of its imperial policy, that Hindus, Muslims and other religious communities should be very orthodox, at least in the observance of the externals of their religions. In Bengal it allows the ministry to promote Muhammadan obscurantism as also to foster Muslim religiosity in schools and colleges unmindful of the inconvenience it may thereby cause to non-Muslims.

The enemy of spirituality which India has now to meet is not the British Government. A new enemy has to be met. And that is Marxism, Leninism, or communism—whichever name may be preferred. We recognize the good that there is in communism. We gladly recognize that it elevates the economic condition of the masses and endeavours to spread education among them;—we refer of course to what communists have done outside India. But as it does not attach any importance to spirituality, we have called it an enemy of spirituality. If all those who believe or profess to believe in spirituality do not make far greater efforts to raise the economic and intellectual condition of the masses than they now do, the masses everywhere will be captured by the communists.

"He Who Wrestles With Us Strengthens Us"

In considering the results of the contact and conflict of different cultures and religions one is naturally reminded of Emerson's saying, 'He who wrestles with us strengthens us.' Provided the combat does not lead to the utter collapse of either party, it cannot but strengthen both. This is as true of man's spirit as of his body.

Culture Contacts and Conflicts in Medieval India

During the centuries in the middle ages which saw in India the contact and conflict of Hindu culture and that of Arabia and Persia, the indigenous culture of India, including its spirituality, was not ruined or destroyed. The appearance of the great saints, reformers and poets of those times, Rāmānanda, Ravidas, Kabir, Dadu, Ramdas, Eknath, Tulasidas, Nanak, Chaitanya, Surdas, Tukaram, and others (we do not name them in chronological or any other order), rather betokens a great cultural and spiritual upheaval than the cultural and spiritual ruin of medieval India.

It seems that when any exotic culture comes from abroad, it acts as a sort of challenge to the indigenous culture. The protagonists of the latter feel called upon to put into circulation the ancient cultural and spiritual hoards of the country, adding to their fresh coins minted from ore extracted from the inexhaustible indigenous mines of the spirit.

What happens when a stranger comes to our homes? If he does not come with any hostile intent, we make as brave a show as we can of our apparel, furniture, viands and plates. If he comes with hostile intent, we put on our most invulnerable armour and use our best weapons.

Something similar may happen when exotic and indigenous cultures are juxtaposed. Both may be energized.

Proselytizing missions and 'parliaments of religion' both bring out the best features of all living religious denominations.

When some variety of garden flower or fruit which was once fine deteriorates in quality, it may regain its lost excellence and vitality by being grafted on some wild stock of inferior fineness but greater vitality.

In ancient times in India it happened more than once that non-Indian invaders became Hinduized and the culture of the country flourished under them more vigorously than ever.

Examples of Cultural and Spiritual Conflict Leading to Renascence

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there was undoubtedly a cultural and spiritual conflict in our country. The renowned Christian missionaries of those days stigmatized Hinduism as mere idolatrous polytheism. Rammohun Roy took up the gauntlet and using the Vedānta and the Upanishads proved that Hinduism in its pristine purity was not at all idolatrous and polytheistic. He did not rest content with merely defending Hinduism. He turned the tables upon the trinitarian Christian missionaries. Nor did he rely upon the ancient spiritual weapon alone. The sword of his own rationalism was also brought into requisition.

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In all the great movements which made for a renovated Indian nation Rammohun Roy took a leading part, having in fact set on foot all the most potent of them.

The cultural and spiritual movement set on foot by Rammohun Roy has been continued and strengthened by Devendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, Sivanath Sastri and others, fighting, when the occasion demanded it, with the sword of the spirit. Vivekananda, though not in the direct line of 'apostolic succession,' has himself said that he took up the task, as he understood it, mapped out by Rammohun Roy.

The role of Rabindranath has had a distinction all its own. Though deft in the use of the sword of the intellect and of the spirit, which he plies effectively when needed, the citadels of many an orthodox, many a doubting, many a scoffing and many a hostile heart have capitulated to the strains of his Vinā, the captives remaining unconscious all the while that they have been captured. His devotional, patriotic and other songs are in universal use wherever the Bengali language is spoken and understood.

The Panjab having been for centuries the gateway through which successive hordes of Muslim invaders entered India and being also in the immediate vicinity of Muslim countries had been all but de-Indianized and Arabo-Persianized when Swami Dayananda Saraswati rose and chanted his Vedic spell. It was stupor, not death, which had overtaken the Land of the Five Rivers. So there was an immediate response, and Indian culture has been flourishing there again. In the initial stages Dayananda received help and co-operation from some of those leaders of the Brāhmo Samaj with whom he had spiritual affinity.

Scientists on India's Economic Plight Under British Rule

Dr. M. N. Saha, who has had much to do with the initiation of the National Planning movement and also some other distinguished scientists have been publishing the monthly *Science and Culture* for some years past. In its issue for March, 1940, it had a telling and documented article on the economic condition of India under British rule, which concluded thus :

"Without committing ourselves in any way with the full implications of the Congress resolution, the opinion may be expressed that the wording relating to 'economic ruin' understates the situation as it focusses attention only on drainage of wealth and exploitation. The economic backwardness is 90 per cent. due to the absence of a planned policy of development of the country's natural resources. The following clause may, therefore, be added :

"The British Government has shown the greatest reluctance in adopting a policy for the fullest development of the natural resources in power, minerals, chemicals, forest and agricultural products in which India abounds, according to the latest methods of science and technology, and in taking up a scheme of industrial expansion, and has therefore failed to work for a better and modern standard of life for the Indian masses."

We Fully Support Independence Resolve

We are very glad that Independence Day has been observed with enthusiasm and solemnity all over the country. We unreservedly support the determination to be independent and free.

Sir P. C. Ray 80th Birthday Celebration

We are glad that a movement has been set on foot by Sir N. N. Sircar and other prominent citizens of Calcutta to celebrate and commemorate in a fitting manner the occasion of the completion of the eightieth year of Sir P. C. Ray's life in August, 1941. It is proposed to raise a fund for carrying on scientific and industrial research and associate it with his name. The project has our hearty and full support.

Ulema Support Satyagraha

NEW DELHI, Jan. 6.

The executive committee of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind met here on Monday under the presidentship of Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani and discussed the political situation in the country for over twelve hours. Ten members attended the meeting.

The committee passed resolutions supporting the Congress attitude in regard to the war and criticised the policy of the Government in this respect. The committee also supported Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent satyagraha movement.

Another resolution stressed the need of discipline among members of the organisation and of imbibing living faith in non-violence.—*A. P.*

Arhars of the Panjab have also gone in for Satyagraha.

Rabindranath Tagore's Message to Conductors of "Forward"

Some Bengal state-prisoners took charge of the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das's newspaper *Forward* after their release in 1938. On the occasion of the second anniversary of this event Rabindranath Tagore sent them the following message :

"UTTARAYAN,"
"SANTINIKETAN, BENGAL.
"January 21, 1941.

"I have great faith in humanity. Like the sun it can be clouded, but never extinguished. I admit that at this time when guns are thundering all the world over, the baser elements appear predominant. The powerful are exulting at the number of their victims. They take the name of science to cultivate the school-

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boy superstition that they have certain physical signs indicating their eternal right to rule, as the explosive force of the earthquake once might have claimed, with enough of evidence, its never-ending sway over the destiny of this earth. But they in their turn will be disappointed.

"Theirs is the cry of a past that is already exhausted, a past that has thrived upon the exclusive spirit of national individualism, which will no longer be able to keep the balance in its perpetual disharmony with its surroundings. Only those races will prosper who, for the sake of their own perfection and permanent safety, are ready to cultivate the spiritual magnanimity of mind that enables the soul of man to be realised in the heart of all races.

"For men to come near to one another, and yet to continue to ignore the claims of humanity, is a sure process of suicide. We are waiting for the time when the spirit of the age will be incarnated in a complete human truth and the meeting of men will be translated into the Unity of Man."

Mr. G. L. Mehta on A Nation's Shipping

"The sea issue is the supreme issue in the present war. Not only the economic strength but the very existence of the British Isles and their relations with the Commonwealth are based on sea communications and consequently on the possession of shipping."

Thus observed Mr. G. L. Mehta speaking on "Indian shipping—its problems and prospects" at the Dufferin Old Cadets Association at 4A Allenby Road.

Mr. Mehta stressed the importance of an adequate and efficient national merchant marine as an integral part of India's national economy for defensive as well as commercial purposes.

Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao on India's Freedom

In the course of his able and patriotic presidential address at the last All-India Conference of Indian Christians Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao, M.A., M.D., said on the subject of India's freedom :

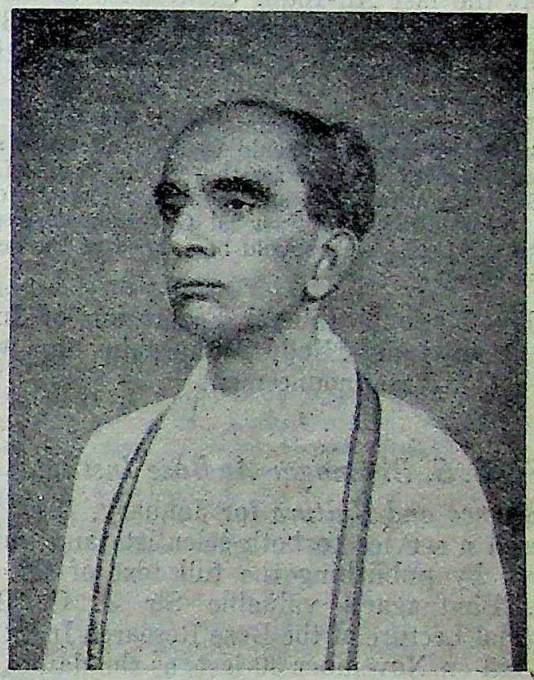
So far as I know the Christian Indians lag not behind others in the desire that their country should be free. There may be differences of opinion with regard to the method of its achievement, of points of contact with other powers, and the sharing of power and authority with others; they are matters of detail and can await settlement. But they are alive to the call of national freedom. They, too, feel the chains of slavery and realise the humiliation of being a subject nation, and the abject helplessness of looking to others for guidance and inspiration, and the galling sense of inferiority complex. They long to be a great and united nation quite fit to face the world with becoming self-respect and carve out its own destiny. They see that India can never become great and good without becoming free. Subjection has degraded her and caused her moral bankruptcy, economic helplessness and intellectual torpidity. India's manhood and womanhood could only blossom to fruition in the glow of unhampered freedom.

The late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's plaintive cry "Swaraj is my birthright" finds a sympathetic chord in their heart. So they can be counted upon to join those groups in the country that strive honestly, sincerely, and selflessly to usher in the day of the freedom of the motherland !

Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao on "Pakistan"

In the course of the same presidential address Dr. Rao has made the following pronouncement on the Pakistan proposal :

While efforts are being made to unite and make India one Mr. Jinnah comes out with the astounding suggestion that our country should be divided into two major divisions to humour men of his way of thinking.



Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao

While professing to be advocating the interests of the minorities he does not say a word as to what apportionments are to be made to the Christians, the Parsees, the Jains or the Sikhs. It is entirely a selfish agitation intended to feather the nest of the Muslims of India at the risk of the well-being of the country. Fancy the Christians all over the country to be packed off to a remote village in the extreme south of India just to satisfy the whims of a group of Muslims with defeatist mentality.

Pakistan is a wild theory, wide off the mark in any coherent scheme of things. It serves as a war cry to rally round the leader's banner in a losing battle. It may serve to spite the Hindu or drive him to a corner. But I doubt if its protagonists really understand the full significance of their venture. Instead of a vague talk, have they any definite plan or scheme of achieving their object ? The idea may satisfy vested interests, but many poor Muslims stand to lose by the wholesale transfer of the means of their livelihood and property. I am sure that the Muslim masses would rebel against it when they come to realise the full implications of that preposterous scheme.

Mr. Jinnah has recently declared that there are many Muslims of his way of thinking who will not only

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work for Pakistan, but also die for it. I don't think that that threat frightens anybody in modern India. I am sure there are millions of national-minded Christians, Muslims, Parsees, Jains and Sikhs who will work and readily die to prevent the motherland being divided and sub-divided to humour a group of people who want everything their own way. I trust and pray that wiser counsels will prevail in the Muslim League Camp !

Indian Christian Conference Want Announcement of Definite Date of Full Self-Government

At the last All-India Conference of Indian Christians, held at Lucknow on December 30 & 31, 1940, the following was one of the resolutions passed :

This Conference considers that it is essential that the British Government should fix a definite date after the conclusion of the war for the establishment of full Self-Government in India, and should announce it forthwith. As a first step a National Government, responsible to the Legislature, should be formed at the centre without delay.

The National Liberal Federation of India and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha also want such a definite announcement.

Dr. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar At Bose Institute

Science and Culture for January, 1941, has rendered a service to both scientists and industrialists by publishing the full text of Dr. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar's valuable Sir J. C. Bose Memorial Lecture at the Bose Research Institute, delivered on November 30 last, as the dailies did not publish the full text, so far as we are aware.

Dr. Bhatnagar is a very distinguished scientist and is now Director of Scientific and Industrial Research under the Government of India. How "the foundation of my (his) career as a student of science" was laid, is worth telling in his own words. He said at the Bose Institute :

"I value this opportunity all the more as it presents to me a befitting occasion for recalling my associations with the great Indian scientist. I first met him in the year 1912 when he was invited by the Panjab University to deliver a course of lectures on his researches. I was then a student of the Dyal Singh College, Lahore. Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni was the Secretary of the College and on that occasion the host of the late Sir J. C. Bose. As Professor Sahni has been interested in me from my very infancy owing to his great friendship with my father, he suggested that I and a few others should help Sir J. C. Bose in his demonstrations at the University Hall where the University had arranged these lectures. Sir J. C. Bose was a born artist and very punctilious and critical in his selection. He examined and tested all of us who were sent by Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni to help him in the demonstration work and finally selected me as the only one he might need. Unconsciously or may be consciously, for he was a great seer, he laid the foundation of my career as a student of science, for I valued the trust he reposed in me and my young heart beat with joy at this recognition from the then greatest hero of science in our land. After Sir J. C. Bose's Lahore visit I lost touch with him. I was a struggling young student, while the fame of Sir J. C. Bose had reached the zenith of its glory during the years 1912-1918 and I dreaded coming too close to him almost like the Hindu devotee who would adore but not pollute by touch his beloved deity.

Sir Santi Swarup then proceeded to relate how chance threw Sir J. C. Bose and himself together again and how he might have been a close associate of the great scientist :

"While I missed an excellent opportunity of working direct under him, I confess that his wonderful technique of experimental manipulation, his masterly exposition of ideas, his catching enthusiasm and his belief that it is through science only that India will rise industrially made an indelible impression on my mind. It is, therefore, a matter of sincere joy and pride to me that you have deemed fit to honour me by inviting me to this historical lecture theatre where that philosopher scientist, that inspirer of the young and intellectual India, stood and lectured himself."

The more technical portions of Dr. Bhatnagar's address will prove both interesting and instructive to scientific researchers and industrialists. "If we had an industrially developed India," some of the scientific discoveries made by Indian scientists might have led to further industrial development of the country. Dr. Bhatnagar observed :

Workers in our own country have done research work which has found wide applications in industry. The name of Sir J. C. Bose himself stands high in that category. His ingenious experiments on the detection of electrical waves, which excited the attention and admiration of no less a scientist than Lord Kelvin, were pioneering experiments and led to the development of the "coherer" and other devices which have made wireless telegraphy a commercial possibility, and although Sir J. C. Bose's name does not figure in the technical instruments employed in large-scale practice, there is no doubt that he contributed much to the idea which culminated in the successful development of this marvel of our age. If we had an industrially developed India, the researches of Sir J. C. Bose on the properties of electrical waves should have been commercialised immediately and he should have been more widely known as the Marconi of India and the founder of one of the biggest industries in the world. Fortunately, there are some who still consider him as one of the most important contributors to wireless research.

If Indian researches have not been employed on a large scale, it is not because they are of no importance. This neglect is largely due to the lukewarm interest of our Government in the past in these activities, an utter lack of appreciation on the part of our industrial magnates as to the possibilities of scientific research in relation to industry and the sophisticated and too philosophical a view which the scientists themselves have taken of their discoveries. Even in these difficult condi-

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tions, there are signs of the potent powers which lie hidden in our land.

He exemplified this remark by referring to what has been done in the industrial field by Sir P. C. Ray and some others. His concluding observations deserve to be borne in mind :

Let us not forget that scientific and industrial research in this country has its handicaps. We are overburdened with all sorts of other duties. Our trade and our laws are occasionally not quite helpful, nor can it be said that political considerations do not come in the way of some of the investigators.

We must however have the patience, faith and courage of the noble founder of this Institute. I have every reason to hope that with the goodwill of the universities and the trade we shall be able to do our duty to our country. The Sir J. C. Bose Institute will no doubt play its part in the programme. The Institute is fortunate in having as its director one who is a well-known figure in international science and whose solicitude for the industrial prosperity of our land is as great as that of Sir J. C. Bose himself.

Indian Science Congress

This year's session of the Indian Science Congress was held at the Benares University. So many useful papers were read at the various sectional gatherings and the valuable addresses of the sectional presidents also were so many that it is not possible to give any summaries of them here. And a mere enumeration of them would not be of any interest.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, of the firm of Messers Tata and Sons, Ltd., was elected General President. As he himself said, this was a departure from the usual practice of having as a president one who is above all a scientist :

"I feel that the authorities of the Indian Science Congress Association have made a very bold departure in electing a layman to the honour of the presidentship for the year and, deeply conscious as I am of the honour, I confess to a feeling of diffidence in occupying a post which has been adorned by so many distinguished scientists before me. If my address falls short of the standard set by my predecessors, the responsibility of it should in part be borne by those who have elected me. The only reason for their choice, as far as I can see, lies in the fact that I may lay some claim to be an industrialist."

Sir Ardeshir's valuable address has justified his election. The principal topics he has dealt with in it are—Value of research in industry, Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Steel industry in India, Iron ore, Coal, Fuel Research Board, progress of the last decade, coke ovens, blast furnaces, fuel economy, steel-making practice, a new steel-making process, rails, plates, sheets, low-alloy steels, special steels, and a nucleus for a national metallurgical laboratory.

In his opinion,

"There has been a tendency in the past in India for scientific and research work to be monopolized by Government Departments and although valuable results have been obtained, *e.g.*, by the Survey of India, the Geological Survey, the Botanical Survey and in the investigation of tropical diseases, it is very necessary that organized industrial research should as far as possible be left to scientists and industrialists although of course Government has to see that the grants it makes are properly utilized."

With reference to the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research he correctly observes :

"No institution, however well conceived and designed, can flourish except in suitable political atmosphere and conditions. It was the unfortunate experience of the last war that industries created under the stress of the war languished and died in the post-war period for want of encouragement and protection from Government. The activities of the Board will not lead to the creation of new industries unless industrialists are assured of reasonable protection from Government in the post-war period, when foreign competition will be keen."

What he has said further on this topic is very important and due attention should be paid to it.

I have already quoted the words of Lord Rutherford as a warning against excessive Government control. The progress hitherto made by the Board is not as rapid as we would have wished in war time. This is partly due to the constitution of the Board under which executive authority is concentrated in a central department of Government and partly to the inadequate staff provided for the very urgent and important work that has to be done. There is one other aspect on which I desire to touch and that is the financial. Even for a beginning, a grant of Rupees five lakhs is inadequate and shows to my mind an inadequate conception of the magnitude of the tasks involved. Associated with the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in Great Britain are the great National Physical Laboratory at Teddington and important Boards, such as the Fuel Research Board, the Food Investigation Board, the Forest Products and Building Research Institutes and a number of similar bodies as well as Research Associations. While we must necessarily make a very modest beginning, the development of the Alipore Test House into a National Physical and Chemical Laboratory seems to be obviously and urgently required. In a subsequent part of this address I shall dwell upon the necessities of a Fuel Research Board to investigate the very pressing problems of fuel and power, upon which the whole industrial structure of the country has to be based. All this work will require large funds but I have not the slightest doubt that the money so spent will be repaid manifold. It has been estimated that the annual expenditure on research in Great Britain in normal times before the war was roughly six million pounds, of which one-half was spent on research directed to industrial needs, including the money spent by Government, University departments and private firms. The figure for the U. S. A. is estimated to be 300 million dollars, while the corresponding figure of the U. S. S. R. is reported to be of the nature of 120 billion roubles. With the exception of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., there is no country in the world with natural resources so vast and varied as India. With the expenditure of even a fraction of the amount spent by the countries just mentioned on industrial research, these resources

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can be investigated and developed so as to place India in the front rank of the industrial countries of the world.

Calcutta University Condemns Secondary Education Bill

A committee was appointed by the Calcutta University to consider and report on the Secondary Education Bill. That Committee's report was adverse and unanimous. The Syndicate of the University adopted this report *nem. con.* It then came up for consideration before the Senate. That body has accepted the report by 36 votes to 21. Its unanimous acceptance by the Senate could not be expected, as the Ministry with their henchman Dr. Jenkins made frantic efforts for its rejection.

We have already criticized the Bill pointing out its sinister features. No sane body of educationalists and persons interested in education can support a Bill which is not the outcome of any movement started by the educated public, which does not provide for an autonomous Board constituted on academic lines, which does not provide for friendly co-operation between the Board and the University but on the contrary deliberately seeks to reduce the University to impotence, which does not make any adequate provision for sufficient financial assistance to the secondary schools, which places the Board entirely at the mercy of the Government, which seeks merely to control and regulate secondary education but not to improve and extend it, and which has so many other sinister and harmful features.

The Bill cannot be mended without changing it lock, stock and barrel, that is, beyond recognition. So the only proper way to deal with it is to drop it, to end it.

Raja Narendranath on the Plight of Hindus in Hindu Minority Provinces

Raja Narendranath, President of the Panjab Hindu Mahasabha, has issued the following statement to the press :

"In view of the fact that the Hindu Mahasabha has given ultimatum to the Government calling upon the Viceroy to reject the Pakistan scheme and to announce that Dominion Status would be given to India soon after the war and that in case of the request of the Mahasabha not being conceded, the Hindus who do not belong to the Congress, should resort to direct action, it has become necessary for the Hindus of the minority provinces to meet very soon. The points to be considered are : The term minority has been vaguely applied and consequently there is some confusion in the meaning to be assigned to the word. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy seem to consider Muslims to be the only important minority. It is apparently not realised that there are provincial minorities and Federal minorities and that in four provinces in which the Muslims form a majority, Hindus are in a minority. The number of Hindus in minority provinces slightly exceeds three crores whilst the number of Muslims in the provinces which they are in a minority is only about two crores. So the minority question, so far as the provinces are concerned, affects the Hindus more than it does the Muslims. It should, therefore, be brought home to the British Government that provincial minorities need protection and safeguards as much as the Federal minorities.

"The Hindus of minority provinces have many grievances. When Mr. Jinnah was asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the grievances of the provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority, Sir G. C. Narang, one of the prominent Hindu leaders of the Punjab issued a statement that such a commission should enquire into the grievances of the Hindus of the Punjab and also of other provinces under similar conditions."

Though what the Raja Saheb says is quite obvious, neither the Government nor the Congress has paid any attention to the matter. Therefore, the Hindus must go on demanding effective recognition of the fact that provincial minorities need protection and safeguards as much as the federal minorities, as also inquiry into and redress of the grievances of the Hindus in Hindu minority provinces.

Continuing, Raja Narendranath said :

"The Mahasabha has all along asked for political rights being based on nationalistic lines and the equalitarian principle being strictly followed. When, therefore, the Mahasabha demands Dominion Status, does it insist upon the declaration being made unqualified by the principles which it has always been advocating? This should be cleared up. Is or is not the obliteration of communalism to be made *sine qua non* of further political advancement ? Would such a constitution be worth the paper on which it is written ?"—*U. P.*

These are very important and relevant questions and should be satisfactorily disposed of.

Raja Narendranath on "Pakistan Already In Operation"

Raja Narendranath's statement contains also the following passage, which is a correct interpretation of what the Pakistan proposal involves :

There are two parts of the Pakistan scheme—the Federal and the Provincial. The Federal part is, evidently, impracticable in many ways and we gain little by Government rejecting it. It is bound to be rejected. As to the Provincial part, the Pakistan scheme is already in operation in the provinces in which the Hindus are in a minority, the essential feature of it being reservation and privileges in respect of the acquisition of civic rights by the majority community. In the Punjab we have the extremely complex socio-economic problem created by the Land Alienation Act and the executive orders following it—a problem which few persons outside of the Punjab understand.

And perhaps also few persons outside Bengal know and understand or care to know and

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understand how Pakistan has been in operation in Bengal for years and how the economic, cultural, moral and spiritual interests of Hindus and other non-Muslims are threatened with ruin.

Adult Education in Bengal In and Outside Jails

Recently an official press note gave some information relating to what was being done in some Bengal jails to make illiterate prisoners literate. The illiterate prisoners in those jails must be very lucky fellows indeed. Illiterates in Bengal who are not in jail ought to commit some offence or other in order that they may be entitled to go to jail for the liquidation of their illiteracy! For the Bengal Ministry has done precious little for the education of these luckless persons who had not the wit to do something to be imprisoned.

Dr. S. P. Mukherjee's Advice to Student Workers For Adult Education

Advice to the students for devoting their vacations and leisure hours to the work of the adult education campaign was given by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee while congratulating a batch of volunteers on their good work in this connection at a meeting which was held at the University Institute Hall on the 24th January last.

These volunteers went to Howrah during the last X'mas holidays for work in connection with adult education campaign. They visited 12 villages and returned after doing good work.

Addressing the meeting Dr. Mookerjee said that some time back, they might recall, they opened a training class under the auspices of the Institute. Their object was to give training to their students who would continue their studies in educational institutions and utilise their spare time and particularly long vacations and periods of leisure following the University Examinations in helping to drive out illiteracy from this part of the country. Their endeavour was a great success in the sense that they attracted several hundreds of students to their classes. Of course, it was one thing to rouse enthusiasm among certain sections of students and impress upon them the necessity for training them for this national work, and it was another thing to give them necessary facilities to carry on their work in actual practical field. This was a task, said Dr. Mookerjee, which the Institute could not possibly do unaided and for that purpose they asked for the co-operation of the Government and other local bodies. *Unfortunately, their request for co-operation had not met with sufficient amount of response.* But he did not feel dejected on the ground. He had noticed considerable enthusiasm among many students who would devote themselves to this national work and they proposed to open a further training class during the next few months. So he was issuing this appeal to the students of the colleges and particularly who were appearing at their University Examinations which would be over by the end of March to attend these classes and take necessary training. It would be their endeavour to send out another batch of students for the purpose of establishing schools in local centres, so that the work of driving out illiteracy might be carried on systematically.—*A. B. P.*

The complaint which we have italicized above is not quite correct. Co-operation *has* commenced with convicts!

38,000 Italian Prisoners for India

It is said 38,000 Italian prisoners are to be quartered in India. Their allowances range from £58 per mensem for an army commander to £11 a month for a second lieutenant, other ranks receiving free messing, clothing, quarters, furniture, fuel, light and medical treatment. They have to do their own washing and are not paid for doing any work about their camps, but for skilled work done outside they receive from five to ten annas per day of eight working hours.

If the illiterate millions of India came to know these facts, they would regret not having been born in Italy and being made prisoners of war.

Many thousands of Italian soldiers in addition to these 38,000 have been taken prisoner. The fact of the ease with which such large numbers are captured is perhaps due to dissatisfaction and disloyalty to Mussolini in the Italian armies.

Rajputana Anti-Purdah Conference

A vehement denunciation of the purdah was made by Mrs. Satyavati presiding over the anti-purdah conference of Rajaputana held in Inderharh, on 29th December. Characterising the purdah as a pernicious custom subtly invented by the wiliest faculty of man to keep woman under perpetual domestic slavery and drudgery, Mrs. Satyavati said that women of Padmini's land were resolved not to labour any longer under such an intolerable yoke. To show that example was better than precept she said, she would give a lead to others by unveiling herself for the first time in her life, and this the President did amidst vociferous cheers of the women delegates. She added that a society which framed a double standard of morality, one for the men and another for women, stood self-condemned.

Resolutions supporting a countrywide campaign for the removal of purdah and other social disabilities and favouring compulsory education for girls were adopted. The moral fervour of the speeches evidently made a dramatic appeal to the women delegates numbering about 5000, who returned from the conference pandal discarding their veils following the example of the President.

Scientific Terminology in Modern Indian Languages

We have been writing on this subject from our last September number. In the course of the first of the three notes which we wrote on it in

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our last issue we said that "scientific glossaries have been compiled in Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, and, perhaps, some other modern Indian languages." Since then we have received a letter from Sri E. M. Subramania Pillai, Tinnevelly, secretary to the Madras Presidency Tamil Sangam, in which he writes :

"I have great pleasure to go through your valuable notes on 'Uniform Scientific Terminology.' We belong to your views on this matter. Our Sangam has produced *Scientific Terms in Tamil*, which has been approved by the Madras Government, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. Now, the Madras Government have appointed a Committee for this purpose. I am enclosing a copy of our memorial to the Governor, which will clearly show the history of our scientific terms, etc. The terms were published with the financial help rendered by the Madras University and the Travancore University."

A copy of *Kalai Chorkal* (Glossary of Tamil Scientific Terms) was supplied to all secondary schools in Tamil Districts at Government cost.

The memorial to the Governor referred to above is too long to reproduce here. We hope a copy of it has been sent to the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India at New Delhi. It is very informative and well-argued. In the latter half of the memorial, the Sangam requests the Government that the recommendations of the Committee appointed by it be set aside. The reasons for this request have been set out in the memorial in detail. Briefly, they are that the "Committee of Experts" appointed by the Madras Government is "quite unrepresentative" and "quite incompetent," that the terms of reference to the committee are "narrow", "ambiguous" and "faulty," and the recommendations of the committee are "inexact," "arbitrary," "inconsistent," "unscientific," "unsuitable," "short-sighted," "impractical" and "unnecessary." A very severe indictment indeed.

The Sangam, therefore, requests the Governor to be pleased

(1) To set aside all the recommendations of the new Committee, (2) to leave the responsibility of framing scientific terms to Sangams like ours and help them in all possible ways in their important honorary work, (3) if this is not possible, for Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada, to appoint fresh Committees of unbiased specialists conversant with the true spirit and genius of these languages, and (4) in so far as Tamil is concerned, to standardize the terms contained in our "Kalai-Chorkal," and render all aid for our Sangam in its work for the furtherance and improvement of the terms in other subjects for all the Government and University courses, which the Sangam has already undertaken.

From what we have read about the preliminary arrangements and endeavours made for the preparation of the Tamil glossary of scientific terms it appears to be an authoritative work. It contains 115 pages of the size of *The Modern Review*, printed mostly in double column. There are nearly 10,000 terms in it classified under nine heads, namely, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Physiology and Hygiene, Geography, History, etc., and Agriculture.

Besides the Tamil Sangam in Madras Presidency, the attention of the Prabāsi Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan, whose headquarters is now located in Allahabad (U. P.), has paid attention to what the Government of India's Education Department has been doing in the matter. At its 18th annual session held at Jamshedpur on the 28th and 29th December last, it passed the following resolution :

"This Conference is of the opinion that, in the Committees and Boards appointed by the Education Department of the Government of India for the purpose of preparing the scientific terminology of modern Indian languages, the Indian Universities and other principal literary and scientific institutions, such as the Calcutta University, the Benares Hindu University, the Allahabad University, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, which have done and are doing considerable work in the field, should be adequately represented."

In distant Burma, too, our notes on the subject have attracted attention. The All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference which held its fourth annual session at Rangoon during last Christmas week under the presidentship of Professor Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., P.R.S., of the Calcutta University, "protested against the non-inclusion of any Bengali in the committee appointed by the Central Education Advisory Board for collecting the scientific terminologies for Indian languages and urged the Government of India to include a competent Bengali in the committee."

All-India Bengali Cultural Reunion at Jamshedpur

Prabāsi Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan is the name of an All-India Bengali Cultural Reunion, with its headquarters located at present in Allahabad, which held its 18th annual session at Jamshedpur during last Christmas week. It met in a spacious and artistically decorated *mandapa* or pavilion specially raised for the purpose. According to Dr. Surendranath Sen of Cawnpore, the Nestor of the movement, it was the finest pavilion of all raised hitherto anywhere for the annual sessions of the Reunion. The arrangements for the reception, residence

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and meals of the delegates were excellent. *Pucca* quarters were made available for them through the kind consideration of Mr. J. J. Ghandy, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Works Ltd. Sj. Nagendranath Rakshit was the chairman of the reception committee, composed of the leading Bengali residents of the town. So many of them worked hard for the success of the conference—we regret we could not visit them all individually and cultivate their acquaintance, that it would not be easy to name only a few. Nevertheless some prominent names have been mentioned, besides that of Sjt. Rakshit. The special correspondent of the *Behar Herald* mentions Sj. Satyesh Chandra Gupta, Sj. Susthir Kumar Basu, and Sj. Sudhir Kumar Basu. In addition to them, in the Bengali monthly *Mātribhumi* Sj. Amarendranath Datta mentions in his article on the reunion the names of Sj. Jnanendranath Chattopādhyāya, the story-writer Sj. Hirendranath Datta and the conductors of the local periodical *Atmadipā*. Srimati Sobhanā Chattopādhyāya was in charge of the exhibition of Bengali books and periodicals published during the year 1940, a new feature of the reunion.

Sj. Guru Saday Dutt, I.C.S. (retired), was the general president of the conference. *Rājaratna* Satya Vrata Mukherjee was the president-elect. But he was prevented by illness from leaving Baroda, of which he is Revenue Commissioner. Sj. Annada Shankar Ray, I.C.S., was the president of the Literature section; Dr. B. C. Guha (of the Calcutta University Science College), of the Science section; Dr. Kalidas Nag (of the Calcutta University), of the Greater Bengali Section; and Srimati Kumudini Basu (General Secretary of the Women's Protection League), of the women's branch of the conference. The general president and the sectional presidents are all known for their literary or scientific achievements, and public spirit. Sj. Guru Saday Dutt evinced his readiness to do a public duty by accepting the presidentship at 24 hours' notice.

The addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the General President, the Sectional Presidents, some of the papers read and some of the other speeches made were interesting and instructive. The discussions were maintained at a high level.

The president of the Literature section made a new departure in that his address was cast in the form of a story and elicited much praise. This was not unexpected, as he is a reputed novelist of the younger generation. In the Literature Section the subject of discussion was the standardization of the Bengali language and mainly centred round the question of bridging the gulf between Bengali as it is spoken and Bengali as it is generally written in books.

Altogether 17 resolutions were passed at the general meeting of this 18th annual session of the Prabāsi Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan. Most of them related either to the internal affairs of the Sammelan or are of interest mainly to Bengalis. Sir Lal Gopal Mukherjee, retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, continues to be the chairman of its Executive Council. One of the resolutions, that relating to the scientific terminology of modern Indian languages, has been already reproduced. Two others, one relating to the coming census and the other to radio broadcasting, are transcribed below:

"This 18th Annual Conference of the Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan requests the authorities of the 1941 census that, in view of the inaccuracies in the previous census in the matter of recording of mother-tongues, proper steps should be taken for the correct enumeration of Bengalis and Bengali-speaking population scattered all over India, as also of other cultural minorities (similarly scattered all over India).

"In view of the established reputation of Bengali literature and culture not only in India but also abroad and in view of the considerable percentage of Bengali license-holders outside Bengal, this Conference as their representative, hereby, records its opinion that all important radio stations of India outside Bengal should arrange for a suitable length of time every week the inclusion of Bengali items in their programme, in the same way as Calcutta and Dacca transmit non-Bengali programmes.

"Resolved, therefore, that the Controller of Broadcasting be requested to be so good as to devise ways and means to meet this legitimate claim of millions of Bengalis living outside Bengal.

"Resolved further that a copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the Controller of Broadcasting and to the press. The Controller's reply, when received, should be prominently displayed in the Bulletin of the Sammelan for further action, if necessary."

This request of the Prabāsi Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan is quite reasonable. The Calcutta and Dacca stations do their broadcasting mainly for the population of Bengal, of which only a small proportion is non-Bengali-speaking. The New Delhi station caters to the whole of India, of which the Bengali residents outside Bengal are far more numerous than the non-Bengali residents of Bengal. Moreover, Bengalis outside Bengal contain a larger proportion of educated men and women interested in radio broadcasts than the non-Bengali population of Bengal.

Mr. J. J. Ghandy at All-India Bengali Reunion

The last session of the All-India Bengali Reunion at Jamshedpur was opened by Mr. J. J.

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Ghandy, General Manager of the Tata Works there. In introducing him to the audience before asking him to open the Conference Sj. N. N. Rakshit referred to him as a *priya-darshan yubāpurush* (a young gentleman of engaging presence), who is the general manager of a concern whose receipts are not perhaps exceeded by the revenues of any province in British India. No wonder, a stranger like the special correspondent of the *Behar Herald* who had not seen him before had expected to find the holder of such an important office a shrivelled old man. Writes the correspondent :

"We had visualised Mr. Ghandy as a lean old man with sharp eyes befitting his responsible post; so we had indeed a pleasant surprise when contrary to our anticipation we found that he was a handsome young man."

Mr. Ghandy's speech was in English. He prefaced it with a few words in Bengali welcoming the delegates. Said he :

समागत सुधी महोदयगण, भारतेर अति आधुनिक शिल्पनगरीर पुरवासीगणेर पक्षे आपनादिगके सादर अभिनन्दन जानाइतेछि। स्वागतम्, सुधीवृन्द, स्वागतम्! एइ अवसरे आमार कथा आपनादेर भाषाय बलिते पारिले सुखी हइताम। किन्तु आमि बंगाला जानिना बलिया इंगराजीतेइ ताहा बलिब, आपनारा दोष लइवेन ना।

He began his speech by saying :

It gives me great pleasure to welcome to the town of Jamshedpur, the Bengali intellectuals from different parts of India. When Mr. Rakshit and his colleagues of the Reception Committee requested me to open this Conference, I readily accepted the invitation, for great is our debt of gratitude to Bengal. As you know, the very location of the steel industry at Jamshedpur is due to a great extent to the discovery made by an eminent Bengali Geologist, the late Mr. P. N. Bose, of the existence of rich iron deposits in the Mayurbhanj Territory.

He paid a handsome tribute to the achievements of Bengal in the fields of literature, science, history and religion, but regretted its backwardness in commerce and industry. He referred to the causes of this backwardness and hoped that these causes would be got rid of and the Bengali will develop "a realistic sense which will enable him to achieve as much success in the field of trade and commerce as he has done in the realms of art and literature." "At the time the East India Company settled in Bengal Bengalis played their due part in the development of commerce and industry in that province."

Mr. Ghandy dealt with other topics also. His speech was what one would expect from a man of broad culture and extensive information.

All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference

The 4th session of the All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference was held at Rangoon during last Christmas week. There was a large gathering of Bengali ladies and gentlemen some of whom came from such distant parts of Burma as Mandalay and Bassein.

The Conference was formally opened by the Hon'ble Education Minister, U Ba Yin, B.A., M.H.R., who referred to his association with the Bengalis during his residence in Calcutta as a student when he learned to love and revere the poems of Tagore, the beauty of which he could only appreciate, though imperfectly through translation. He advised the Bengalis to adopt Burma as their home land and try to learn Burmese to appreciate its beauty and its grandeur. To know a nation you must learn its language was one of the few remarks he made in course of his short speech.

In our last number we have given the gist of the opening address of Professor Priya Ranjan Sen, the president of the conference.

In his concluding speech he suggested ways and means for bringing about a closer contact between Bengali and other literatures of India and also of Burma. He advised the Bengalis to have a thorough grasp of the Burmese literature and to carry on researches in the history, antiquities and traditional literature which lay hidden in numerous manuscripts in Burmese homes and monasteries.

There were 4 sections : Literature, History and Economics, Philosophy, and Science. The addresses and papers read at these sections were interesting and instructive. The success of the conference was due in a very large measure to the capacity, care and devotion of the energetic secretary, Dr. Binaysharan Kahali, M.B.

Mahatma Gandhi on Students and Politics

Mahatma Gandhi observes in the course of a letter to Mr. M. L. Shah, General Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation, in reply to the latter's communication to Gandhiji about the Nagpur split in the Federation :

"I am fighting the country's cause. The country includes students as much as the other parts of the body politic. I have, however, a special claim upon the students and they upon me for I regard myself still as a student and also because from the very commencement of my return to India I have been in close touch with them and many of them have served the cause of Satyagraha. Therefore even if the whole of the student world were to repudiate me for causes which, in their very nature must be temporary, I am not going to be deterred from tendering my service for fear of rejection. Students cannot afford to have party politics. They may hear all parties, as they read all sorts of books, but their business is to assimilate the truth of all and reject the balance. That is the only worthy attitude that they can take. Power politics should be unknown to the student world. Immediately they dabble in that class

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of work, they cease to be students and will therefore fail to serve the country in its crisis."

Regarding communists Gandhiji writes :

"All communists are not bad as all Congressmen are not angels. I have therefore no prejudice against communists, as such. Their philosophy, as they have declared it to me, I cannot subscribe to. But let the students remember that at the present moment I am fighting the country's cause. I am not an inexperienced general but a seasoned soldier of 50 years' standing. Let them therefore think 50 times before rejecting my advice, which is that they must not dabble in strikes without reference to me. I have never said or suggested that they may never resort to strikes. They should not forget my recent advice to the Christ Church College Students. I do not repent of that advice. Let them take full benefit of it."

Germany and Italy

Whether Germany has been marching troops into Italy for helping her or for occupying the country may not be definitely known. But whatever may be the intention of Germany, Italy has been reduced to such a condition by the defeats inflicted upon her by Greece and Britain that she is now not in a position to resist any power whose troops may be in her territory. The least gesture of assertion of her own will in any matter in which Hitler is interested and holds a different opinion may lead the latter to give Mussolini an ultimatum and declare Italy practically a dependency. That Hitler did not come to the rescue of Italy immediately after the first defeats inflicted on her by Greece was not accidental. It may be asserted without unfairness to him that he waited, of set purpose, till Italy had became thoroughly hors de combat. There may be honour among thieves, but the existence of honour among international robbers cannot be assumed without proof.

What Britain Will Do After Victory

The unrest and outbreaks in Italy were not unexpected.

Not having any prophetic powers and without claiming to have any, one may still venture an opinion as to the course of the war. Our guess is that Britain will come out victorious. We would welcome her victory even though without any resulting advantage to India. What peace terms she will offer to Germany, we cannot forecast. We do not mention Italy, as she will be a mere appendage of Germany, if not a dependency.

Though we cannot say that we are not interested in what may be Britain's attitude in Europe after victory, we are more interested in what her attitude may be towards India after the conclusion of the war.

Some political parties in India have 'demanded'—that is the word they fancy—a promise from Britain that within one year or two years after victory India is to be given Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety. Our guess is that Britain will not make any such *effective* promise unless *effective* pressure be brought to bear upon her. An effective promise is one which the British Parliament will be willing or bound to honour, and such a promise can be made only by an Act of Parliament or something equivalent to it, if any. By using the words *effective* pressure we do not suggest any kind of violence. Effective violence on India's part is out of the question. But effective non-violent pressure is neither unthinkable nor unimaginable, nor impracticable.

Our reasons for anticipating that Britain will not agree to allow India to have a political status like that enjoyed by Canada or Australia may be easily guessed.

Men who have long enjoyed power and its fruits do not willingly or easily give it up. It is not human nature. But it is not merely owing to that general reason that Britain will not part with power. There is a special reason.

Britain has been spending billions for defending herself and inflicting a crushing defeat on her enemy or enemies. If these huge amounts had come wholly from her public treasury, even then it would not have been unnatural for her to seek to reimburse herself after the conclusion of the war. But they come partly from public debt. The sums lent by the British people to their Government must be paid back with interest. Even if these were treated as donations given by the lenders to the Government, the lenders would feel impoverished and would want to get rich again. And the huge loans taken from the United States of America must be repaid and the vast quantities of munitions and other war materials, including aeroplanes, ships, etc., purchased on credit from the U.S.A., must be paid for.

So, for some reason or other, after the war the state of Great Britain and Britishers in general would require to have unusually large incomes. Great Britain itself is a comparatively small country and its natural resources, never very abundant, have been already greatly developed and exploited. Therefore the Government and people of Great Britain must derive wealth from the British Empire. That part which is spoken of as the British Commonwealth of Nations, cannot be exploited, because the Domi-

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nions are autonomous and can successfully resist any attempt at exploitation. India is peopled by hundreds of millions of sober and hard-working needy men and women whose labour can be exploited in exchange for small wages. They are intelligent, too, and can easily learn new scientific and mechanical processes. In addition to such excellent exploitable human material, India contains vast mineral, forest and animal wealth yet untapped and sources of power also which stand in need of development.

Our forecast, therefore, is that after the war there will be an extensive and intensive campaign of exploitation of India carried on by British imperialistic capitalists and industrialists and, in order that such exploitation may be carried on unhampered Indians will be kept as powerless as today to prevent it. That is to say, there will not be any real transfer of power to Indians. Of course, just as in the name of Reform and Provincial Autonomy the Government of India Act of 1935 has further weakened Indians by promoting provincialism and communalism and, by means of the provisions of the chapter on Discriminations in the Act, has facilitated British exploitation of India, so some fresh 'Reforms' may be granted after the war, having a specious appearance but really debilitating the nation. After the war there may also be such fresh legislation as would make it harder to carry on the struggle for freedom than it is now.

So in our opinion Indians should make haste to occupy as great a part of the industrial field as they can while there is yet time, and also diligently make as much use of the present opportunities for non-violent struggle for freedom as possible.

Muhammadanizing Bengal Educational Institutions

The Bengali text-books written by Muslim authors for the *maktabs* and *mādrāsās* of Bengal in a jargon containing many Arabic and Persian words not in use even among Bengali Mussalmans, are not much known to the public. Nor is it sufficiently known that even Hindu pupils are obliged to read these books in parts of East and North Bengal.

The financial resources and power of the State have begun to be used for Muslim propaganda in another way. It has been recently ordered that in all Government and aided colleges in Bengal all lecturing or other teaching work must be suspended for half an hour every working day early in the afternoon to enable Muslim students to offer their prayers of that period of the day. If such an arrangement were made in Islamic institutions maintained by the Muslim community that would be different from the compulsory arrangement recently made in obedience to the above-mentioned order. It is unjust that non-Muslim professors and students should have to remain idle for the convenience of Muslim students of these institutions and for enabling them to be more religious than they have been at any time during the half or three quarters of a century that these institutions have been in existence. That is not all. Owing to this compulsory recess, it would not be practicable to properly finish the courses in different subjects prescribed by the University. That may not much matter so far as Muslim students are concerned. For they get jobs not so much by virtue of their merit as because of their religion and according to a fixed percentage, though those of them who really care for education cannot but be sufferers. The Hindu and other non-Muslim students, who form the majority, if they care for education, must suffer in two ways: (1) they will not have the benefit of the lectures and guidance of their professors as much as they are entitled to, and (2) as they depend on their merit as shown in examinations for getting jobs, they will not be able to show as good results in examinations as otherwise they could have done.

Mr. Justice Edgley of the Calcutta High Court recently observed in the course of his judgment in the case of Noor Jehan Begum *vs.* Eugen Tiscenko :

> *"It is not the policy of the State in the twentieth century* to act as a proselytising agency or *to promote the interests of one form of religion to the detriment of another."*

The educational order under discussion does promote the interest of one form of religion to the inconvenience of other forms.

By far the greater portion of the revenues of Bengal come from Hindus, and as the majority of the students of Government and aided colleges are Hindus, the free income of these colleges also comes for the most part from Hindus. Yet the Government of Bengal considers the religious interests of Mussalmans alone.

We do not suggest that students belonging to other faiths also should perform their *pujā*, *ahnik*, *sandhyā*, etc., in these colleges. That would convert them into a sort of 'parliament of religions' or rather sectarian battlegrounds.

Such a suggestion, in fact, would not find favour with the Bengal Government or ministry.

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For, inconsistently enough, while Muslims are to be enabled to perform their worship *every working* day by suspending work for half an hour *daily*, Hindu students have been forbidden to perform their Saraswati pujā in Government college hostels on the *holiday* granted to them only *once a year !*

Muslims claim that any building where *namaz* or Islamic prayers are offered regularly becomes virtually a mosque. Are the Government and aided college buildings to be considered as mosques and as the Shahidganj and Manzilgah of the future ?

So far as we are aware no instructions have been issued as to what the non-Muslim students are to do during the daily half an hour's recess for Muslim prayers. If they took to singing, it would be a case of "Music before mosques." If they played football or cricket, that would be disturbing Muslims while at prayer.

It is not in some colleges alone that Muslim students have become the special objects of the religious care of a Christian Government. In the Government school at Ballygunge, Calcutta, classes are held in the morning on Fridays in order to enable the Muslim boys to spend the rest of the day in devotions. But while this is done to make the Muslim boys very devout, what are the non-Muslim boys left to do ?

Conversion to Islam Does Not Lead Automatically To Dissolution of Marriage

A judgment of considerable importance and stated to be the first of its kind was delivered by Mr. Justice Edgley in the Calcutta High Court on the 3rd January last in connexion with the suit brought by Noor Jehan Begum asking inter alia for a declaration that her marriage with the defendant Eugen Tiscenko, a Russian subject, at present residing at Edinburgh in Great Britain, stood dissolved.

The plaintiff Noor Jehan Begum stated that she was of Russian parentage and was married to the defendant at Berlin on May 20, 1931 according to civil rites. She came to Calcutta in September, 1938 and became a convert to Islam in June, 1940. She then called upon her husband in England by means of a cable to embrace her faith which he refused. Now she prayed for the declaration and other reliefs in accordance with the provisions of the Mahomedan law.

In dismissing her suit his lordship considered whether it was the law of India that a convert to Islam could obtain dissolution of the marriage in accordance with the provisions of the Mahomedan law and observed :

"The two main treatises, the Hedaya and the Fatawa Alamgiri, with which we were concerned in this case were compiled for use in Muslim states in which Islam was the State Religion. If the provisions of the two authorities were examined, it appered that it was the policy of the State in Islamic countries to encourage conversions to Islam and to treat apostacy with a degree of severity unknown elsewhere since medieval times. It is not the policy of the state in the twentieth century to act as a proselytising agency or to promote the interests of one form of religion to the detriment of another. On this ground therefore I am of opinion that the rule upon which the plaintiff relies must be regarded as obsolete and opposed to public policy."

His lordship held that there was no equity in the rule which the plaintiff sought to apply. It conflicted with the most fundamental principles of English law which were followed in India in matrimonial cases. It was unsupported by the provision of any statute and did not form part of the common law. On the facts of the present case his lordship held that the plaintiff, if she was entitled at all to a dissolution of her marriage, could only obtain it according to the lex fori of her husband's domicile (*i.e.*, in Russia). The rule of Mahomedan law on which she relied must be regarded as obsolete and contrary to public policy.

Local Government and Central and Provincial Government

As we had to finish our Notes for the last number on the 27th December last, we could not refer to the proceedings of several important December conferences which took place on or after that date. One such was the All-India Local Self-government conference which held its third session at Patna and was presided over by Sj. Nilini Ranjan Sarker. In his comprehensive presidential address Sj. Sarker thus referred to the role of local government in the modern State :

What is the part that Local Government fulfils in the general scheme of our lives ? What is the place of Local Government in the modern state ? These are general but fundamental questions on which it is necessary to be clear in order to appreciate properly the *raison d'etre* of Local Institutions and Local Government, particularly in relation to Central or Provincial Government. The modern State, with its manifold activities and a pervasive concern in each particular branch specially threatens us with the danger of centralized Government. In emphasising Order, it naturally emphasises uniformity—the imposition of uniform commands or orders over the largest possible area. While Order and uniformity are important, nay, essential, there is present in human beings at all times the urge for a "free creativeness" which resents rules or orders, and which, in any case, demands that if rules must be there, they shall be amenable to local differences, they shall be adaptable to the angularities and even idiosyncrasies peculiar to people in different areas. It is from this inherent urge for "free creativeness," the urge to be left alone to manage our own affairs in our immediate surroundings in the manner we think best, that the *raison d'etre* of Local Government springs.

Secondly, it is, in fact, impossible to govern a whole country exclusively from a single centre. Nowhere, even in small States, is it attempted. To do so would mean "apoplexy at the centre and paralysis at the

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extremities." Both for the convenience of the Central Government in carrying out its functions and for the satisfaction of purely local needs which can best be determined by the elected representatives of the locality, it has everywhere been found necessary to divide and sub-divide the State into local units. These local units serve, among other things, as a safeguard against the impersonal and bureaucratic attitude of a Central Government. The same idea was voiced long ago by John Stuart Mill.

Krishna Kant Malaviya and "Gliding As Foundation For Chinese Air Force"

When reading the following paragraphs on "Gliding as foundation for Chinese Air Force" in a News Release sent by the China Information Committee we could not but remember the earnest endeavours of the late lamented Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya to make the youth of India air-minded and to improve their general physical condition by teaching them gliding :

CHENGTU.—"The National Aeronautical Affairs Commission hopes that popular gliding will serve as a foundation for building up a greater Chinese Air Force. We shall supply instructors and machines essential to the promotion of this sport. And we hope that the nation will give us support in this movement which prepares our future pilots and improves the general physical condition of our youth," declared Air Major-General Chow Chi-jou at the opening of the first Gliders' Training Class here.

The Director of the Commission pointed out that in view of the present state of the aviation industry in China, it was impossible to train air force reserves with planes. Gliding, however, helps to spread air-mindedness and discover and develop flying talent.

Gliding, according to Gunson Hoh, the ministry of education's physical education expert, has been listed as part of the six essential items in the national athletic program mapped out by the ministry. The primary riding class teaches cycling, the second class elementary gliding, and the third class secondary and advanced gliding. He told the students of the class that they are the nucleus of the gliding movement of the future.

For the objects in view gliding is particularly suited to a country like India where the mass of the people are poor.

Nazi Atrocities In Poland

EXPULSION OF POLES

LONDON, Jan. 20.

Expulsion of Poles from all parts of Poland incorporated in the German Reich is attaining vast proportions, according to Polish circles in London.

In the first twelve months of Nazi rule, a million and a half people are stated to have been expelled from their homes. This has been done under a system of general expropriation. All Poles were deprived of property rights by Marshal Goering's decree on February, 1940. Nothing but a fragment of the former Polish Republic has been left as "living space" to them and contemptuously dubbed "restgebeit" (area left over).

Meanwhile, anti-German feeling and sabotage are stated to be rapidly increasing in Poland. There are reports of executions for offences such as possession of firearms, hand grenades, incendiarism and assaults on individual Germans. Coulon, the Nazi leader in Pozan has issued an order forbidding Germans to mix with Poles.—*Reuter.*

WHITE SLAVERY IN GERMANY
FORCIBLE TRANSPORTATION OF POLISH GIRLS
WHAT HAPPENS TO THEM AFTERWARDS

LONDON (*by Cable*).

In an article entitled *White Slaves,* the bulletin of the International Transport Workers' Federation of December 14, writes :

Tens of thousands of Polish girls and young women are carried off for compulsory labour in Germany. Many work on the land in estates in East Germany, many in the households of Nazi dignitaries and many have disappeared. "What happens to our girls here is a crime," Polish forced labourers write home. "Many have been assigned to military barracks."

From time to time women are sent back to Poland, ill and often pregnant. Relatives of girls and women transferred to compulsory employment in Germany live in constant fear as to what becomes of them. In Poland, too, women disappear. Polish newspapers almost daily contain anxious inquiries about girls who vanish under suspicious circumstances.

Many German domestic servants have entered war industries where much better wages are paid than in domestic service. But the wives of Nazi dignitaries have no liking for house work and, therefore, Polish girls are being engaged in growing numbers.

In East Germany, these girls, mostly Catholics, are as a rule treated badly, as is desired by the Nazis but in German towns west of the Elbe, especially where the population is Catholic, they are still regarded as human beings. This does not suit the Nazis. In Munich, the centre of Nazi chiefdom, housewives are reminded in the press that the Polish woman "is a child of a people which is destined to serve". Polish girls are to be treated like Polish workers who, "so to speak, always work and live behind barbed wire". Polish girls are not to "eat at the same table and share the joys and sorrows of the family". Even children must be taught by their parents to see in Polish servants "something alien, something different."

The bulletin adds that the Warsaw trade unionist who supplied the above information read many letters from Polish workers and their relatives. The warning to Munich housewives appeared among other papers in the *Muenchner Neueste Nachrichten* of Nov. 8.—*Reuter.*

FORCED LABOUR AND EXPLOITATION
END OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL LIFE

LONDON (*by Cable*).

The *Daily Telegraph's* Lisbon correspondent cables :

Poles are now slaves and outcasts in their own country. Tragic stories were told to me by a party of Polish-American refugees who have arrived here from Posen. Germans are continually making round-ups of villages, usually by night. All the inhabitants are mustered. Sometimes the purpose is to enable the Nazis to select a party of young people to send to labour camps or German munition factories. On other occa-

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sions the leader of a raiding party announces that he has come to collect a "voluntary contribution to the cause."

Since the Poles are already utterly impoverished, this means taking rings off women's fingers and any other personal valuables that can be found. Girls as well as men are sent to work in Germany. Sometimes the victims are picked out in the streets and taken away without a chance of communicating with relatives. As the Poles are transported, Germans are coming in.

One Polish-American, once a wealthy landowner, told me his estate was confiscated and divided among a number of Germans.

These commandeered his house, leaving two rooms for himself, his wife and five children, until they found a means of getting away to America.

The cultural, religious and social life of the Poles is practically stamped out. Since the outbreak of war Polish children in Posen have had only three weeks' schooling, all schools being reserved for Germans. Churches are allowed to open for Mass only on Sunday morning for one hour. Several priests have been arrested at the altar for defying this edict.

Though theoretically the Poles are allotted a food ration sufficient for a bare existence, in practice they frequently do not get even this, because they are not allowed to shop until the afternoon when the Germans have already cleared most of the goods.

Fuel shortage is adding to their sufferings this winter. Many people are obliged to burn furniture to heat their homes.

Hindu Mahasabha's Direct Action Resolution

At the Madura session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha the principal resolution demanded a declaration from the Government that within one year after the conclusion of the war India would be given Dominion Status of the Westminster Status variety as well as a declaration rejecting the Pakistan proposal in unequivocal language. The resolution added that, if these two declarations were not made within the 31st March, 1941, the Mahasabha would go in for direct action. What form that direct action would take was not laid down in the resolution but was left to be stated when and if the occasion arose for it.

Hindu Mahasabha's Immediate Programme

At the Madura session of the Hindu Mahasabha its immediate programme was laid down in a resolution moved from the chair.

The programme as stated in the resolution is to secure entry to as many Hindus as possible into the army, navy and air force, to utilise all facilities to get the Hindus trained as military mechanics and in the manufacture of up-to-date war materials, to try to make military training compulsory in schools, to intensify the organization of Ram Sena, to join the civic guard movement and air raid precaution schemes with a view to be able to defend the people against foreign invasion or internal anarchy, provided always that civic guards are not used against any patriotic political movements in India, or activities detrimental to the legitimate interests of the Hindus, to boycott foreign goods and start new industries, to capture markets and to secure correct registration in the coming census of popular strength of Hindus, including tribal Hindus. The resolution adds that these items on the programme are illustrative of the lines on which Sanghatanists would concentrate attention in the near future.

Session of the National Liberal Federation

The National Liberal Federation of India held its last annual session in Calcutta on the 28th, 29th and 30th December last. The presidential address of Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar contained a masterly exposition of the principles of the Indian Liberal party. The session of the Federation concluded after adopting a number of important resolutions, of which a few are mentioned below.

The resolution dealing with the question of the future constitution of India urged upon the British Government to announce immediately that India would be accorded the status of a dominion within the Statute of Westminster within a period not exceeding two years after the conclusion of the war.

Speaking on the resolution the Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru said: "What we are offered is controlled Self-Government within the imperialistic structure. What we want is the reality of power; full control over our own destiny; the control which the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and South Africa have. Nothing else is worth looking at."

The resolution dealing with the question of the defence of India urged, among other things, that the defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian member who commands the confidence of the people and the distinction between martial and non-martial races should be done away with.

Another resolution deplored the resort to civil disobedience by the Congress, as it will still further complicate the difficult situation in the country.—*The Leader.*

Whether recourse to civil disobedience is justifiable and permissible under any circumstance was not stated.

Aligarh Students Condemn Mr. Jinnah

Last month Aligarh Muslim University students held a meeting to protest against the arrest of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, president of the Indian National Congress. More than 500 students were present at the meeting. Some students of the Delhi University were also present. One of the resolutions adopted at the meeting ran as follows:

"This meeting condemns the action of the British Government in arresting Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the

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President of the Indian National Congress, at a time when Britain is fighting in Europe for liberty, freedom and democracy and denying the same rights to the Indians. This meeting assures Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that the Aligarh students are wholly behind him and will not hesitate for a moment when they are asked and called upon to join the present movement. It also appeals to the Muslim community of India in general, irrespective of their petty political groups, to join the present fight launched by the Congress and thus remove the stigma against Islam so far created and engineered by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jannah."—*The Searchlight.*

All-Bengal Azad Day

In response to an appeal issued by the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation students of some non-official schools and colleges of Calcutta observed "All Bengal Azad Day" in connection with the arrest of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress on Tuesday.

Earlier the students of Scottish Church, Ripon, Bangabasi City and Vidyasagar College came out of their classes and joined in a procession. The processionists paraded through the main streets of Calcutta and held a meeting at College Square in the afternoon. The meeting passed a resolution on the arrest of Maulana Azad.

Maulana Azad On Non-Violence

LAHORE, Dec. 30.

"If India is invaded tomorrow and there is no other alternative to defend my country I will not hesitate to take up arms and fight." This declaration was made by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in the course of a press interview prior to his departure to Delhi tonight.

Maulana Saheb said that on the question of non-violence he could not go with Mahatma Gandhi to the extent to which Mahatma had gone.—*A. P. I.*

It will be remembered that the Congress, as represented by some of its most prominent members, was prepared to help the Government in its war efforts, provided it formed a National Government in the way suggested by the Congress. The authorities did not accept the proposal of forming that kind of government. The Congress had to make a great sacrifice in order to be able to formulate such a proposal—it had to part company with Mahatma Gandhi. But the British Government wanted to have co-operation only on its own terms, which means that in its dictionary co-operation on the part of Indians means subordination.

Maulana Azad's declaration, printed above, shows that it was still possible for the Government to open negotiations with the Congress through him to secure the co-operation of the Congress in its war efforts. But the bureaucratic meaning of co-operation in India being what it is and the Congress meaning of the word being different, the statesmanlike British authorities had no other use for the Maulana than to send him to jail, not for satyāgraha, but for a speech which he had delivered.

Our opinion has long been that after being allowed to take the Independence Pledge in its entirety no one need make any seditious speeches—the repitition of that pledge being sufficient, and that after allowing that pledge to be taken at thousands of meetings and its being printed in English and in Indian languages in hundreds of newspapers, there is no sense in prosecuting people for other seditious utterances.

Nehru Looking After Flower-bed Prepared By Himself

DEHRA DUN, Dec. 30.

Being himself a strict disciplinarian, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, it appears, believes in accommodating himself to the requirements of jail life as far as it could be honourably practicable. Sentenced to rigorous imprisonment by the Gorakhpur magistrate, who, by the way knew little of the man, loved and adored by millions, Mr. Nehru has of his own accord undertaken the rigours of the sentence upon himself literally and seriously and cheerfully, which should arouse the nation's consciousness as to the earnestness and grim determination of the man who had been brought up amidst the princely comforts of Anand Bhavan.

In front of his cell Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, it is understood, has prepared a flower-bed after strenuous hard labour. He first dug the earth about five feet deep of the whole bed and improved the soil with the help of a sieve. This involved considerable amount of very hard labour even for the stoutest man.

New Order "In Europe" After War

For some time past British statesmen and other publicists have been giving out their ideas of the "New Order" after the conclusion of the war. The following is a specimen :

LONDON, Jan. 28.

A pattern of the new world after the war was given by Mr. Harold Nicholson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information, speaking in London today (Tuesday) "during the lull before the great battle."

The new order will be based on the liberation and not enslavement of Europe, he said, and must have the will to defend its own community and the unselfishness to combine with similarly-minded countries to make its defence effective.

There will be no slave States but a community of free peoples each working out its problems in accordance with its temperament and traditions. It will be a union of peoples each ready to sacrifice something of its political and economic independence.—*Reuter.*

As Britain does not own any human-cattle farm in Europe, she can quite safely and generously reserve her liberation ideas, no-slave-State ideas, etc., for Europe. These must not travel east of Suez.

The "new order" "will be a union of peoples each ready to sacrifice something of its political and economic independence". As

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India has been already obliged to sacrifice *all* its political and economic independence, it has no part of that independence left which it can now sacrifice. Hence it has to be left out of the union.

Swami Pranabananda

The death of Swami Pranabananda at the early age of 45 is a great loss to the country in general and to the Hindu community in particular. He was the founder of the Bharat Sevashram Sangha. That from a comparatively insignificant institution it has grown to its present influential position was due mainly to his personality and his powers of leadership and organization.

Inquiry Into Conditions of Indians In Natal

CAPETOWN, Jan. 25.

An inquiry into the social and economic conditions of Indians in Natal will shortly be started by a commission set up by the South African Institute of Race Relations in collaboration with the Natal University College. This will be the first full inquiry made among Indians. The object is to provide facts on which policy can be based by assessing the effects of the new social, economic and cultural forces upon them, evaluating the contribution which the Indian people make to the well-being of the country and considering what place they are to have in the political, economic and other spheres of the state.—*Reuter.*

All-India Bratachari Movement

CALCUTTA, Jan. 23.

The All-India Bratachari Training Camp which is now in progress in Behala, South Suburb of Calcutta, was visited by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, yesterday evening. About 60 candidates who have joined the camp from all over India gave a demonstration of Bratachari national drill, war dances and village reconstruction work with spades.

The object of the Movement is to build up the youth of the country on thoroughly sound and healthy lines with a minimum of expenditure and in harmony with Indian traditions.—*A. P.*

Thailand-Indo-China Armistice

BERLIN, Jan. 27.

The armistice between Thailand and French Indo-China is to take effect from 10 a.m. tomorrow (Tuesday), according to a Vichy message to the official German News Agency.

This follows the acceptance by both parties of Japanese mediation. A commission is to meet at Saigon on Wednesday to settle the details.—*Reuter.*

If peace be re-established between the two countries on equitable terms, it will be a triumph for Asia.

Or is it a move for establishing Japanese suzerainty over these countries ?

Emperor Haile Selassie Enters Abyssinia

LONDON, Jan. 24.

Emperor Haile Selassie has re-entered Abyssinia.

A message from Khartoum says he crossed the Sudan Frontier into his own country on January 15.

He flew in an R. A. F. bomber escorted by fighter aircraft.

When he set foot on his own soil, he was met by his two sons and representatives of the General Officer Commanding of the British Forces in Sudan. Messages of welcome were extended to the Emperor by Abyssinian patriots and he was blessed by priests. The Ethiopian Ensign was then hoisted by the Emperor.

After the ceremony, he continued his journey into the interior of Abyssinia.—*Reuter.*

It is welcome news indeed that the Abyssinian patriots have got back their own emperor in their midst on their native soil.

America's Consular Relations With Afghanistan

PESHWAR, Dec. 24.

It is understood that the United States of America has authorised its Consul-General in India to act in addition to his duties as Consul-General for Afghanistan. This is the first time that the U. S. A. has established consular relations with Afghanistan.—*A. P.*

The Monthly "Indian Messenger"

The Indian Messenger has hitherto been published for more than half a century as a weekly. We are very glad to note that from January this year it has begun to appear both as a weekly and a monthly. There are to be twelve monthly issues and forty weekly issues. The first monthly issue contains many thought-provoking articles and translations of famous solemn songs and utterances. It contains 93 pages of the size of *The Modern Review*. The price is only four annas. Its office is situated at 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Apart from our interest in it as an organ presenting to the public high ideals and thoughts on serious subjects, there are personal ties which bind us to it. It was as an honorary assistant to its editors that in the last century we served our apprenticeship in journalism. We wish it all success.

The Disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose

The disappearance from home of Subhas Chandra Bose without the knowledge of his nearest relatives and his closest friends has caused great anxiety. It has given rise to much speculation as to why he left home and whither he has gone. Even on an occasion of such grave anxiety there are people to make frivolous and

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absurd suggestions as to the cause and object of his secret departure from home. We are content to believe that he has disappeared in quest of something high according to his lights.

Indian Appeals to Privy Council or to Federal Court ?

War conditions have brought to the fore the question whether appeals from Indian High Courts should continue to be heard by the Privy Council in London or by the Indian Federal Court in New Delhi in future. It will not be possible to discuss the question in all its bearings in this issue. But it may be stated that our conclusion is that, as in other affairs of the State, so in judicial matters, India should be self-contained and should have her final and highest authority here, and, therefore, appeals from our High Courts should be heard by the Federal Court.

Satyagraha

Satyagraha is going on in all provinces under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance. He has no intention to extend it and turn it into mass civil disobedience.

A Woman Congress M. L. A. on Crimes Against Women in Bengal

Members of the Congress in Bengal do not generally open their lips or use their pens against crimes against women, perhaps thinking that that would be communalism. The only notable exception that we can bring to mind now was Subhas Chandra Bose's denunciation of such crimes in an Albert Hall meeting held under the auspices of the Women's Protection League. Another exception can be now mentioned. Sriyuktā Hemaprabhā Majumdar, M.L.A., who sits in the Bengal Assembly as a Congress member, devotes the following paragraph to crimes against women in her letter to the Bengal Premier, pressing on his attention ten items of reform for immediate adoption :

> There is one other problem which has assumed a serious aspect during the last few years, to which I cannot help referring here. I am referring to the increase of crimes against women and the utterly brutal character of many of these crimes. This problem is not a communal one and does not concern the Hindus alone. It concerns, or at least, should concern, all chivalrous men and all lovers of humanity, no matter what their religious faith may be. Those who are familiar with the work of the Women's Protection League and of similar institutions will bear me out, when I say that a large number of these crimes are directed against Muslim women. Your Government has done nothing to stamp out this curse which is a slur on the fair name of Bengal.

Legislation About Widow's Homes Etc.

There is undoubtedly need for watchfulness to see that traffic in women and children is not carried on under the cloak of philanthropically conducting widows' homes, homes for destitute women, women's boarding houses, and orphanages. At the same time there ought not to be any legislation which would make it practically impossible for genuine philanthropic bodies and institutions like the Women's Protection League, the Nāri-kalyān Ashram, the Calcutta orphanage, etc., to carry on their good work. A time there was when abducted Hindu girls and women who were not taken back into their homes by their relatives for fear of social ostracism, had either to lead a life of shame as prostitutes or had to live with their abductors. Institutions like the Nāri-kalyān Ashram provide a home for such girls and women, where they can lead pure lives and receive general and vocational education for becoming self-supporting as respectable members of society. Hence the details of any legislation relating to widows' homes, etc., should be very closely and carefully scrutinized in the interests of such bonafide institutions.

America's Support To Fighters For Freedom

President Roosevelt's famous Congress speech on the 6th January last contains the following words :

> "Freedom means supremacy of man's rights. Everywhere our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them."

Britishers are struggling to *keep* those rights. So America undoubtedly deserves praise for helping Britain. India is struggling to *gain* those rights. How is America helping India ? *As a State* America has never even raised her voice in the cause of India's freedom. Why ?

" Government of India Act is Absolutely Rubbish "

So says Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, in the course of his letter to Mr. M. A. Jinnah dated the 14th December last !

> The present Government of India Act is absolutely rubbish. It gives us responsibility but no power; it gives all the power to the Governor and the Governor-General in Council but all the responsibilities to the Ministers. You can, therefore, easily understand how much we feel our position under the present Constitution and how much we are longing for a better state of things. I feel that the only obstacle in the way is the present *impasse*.

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AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

Like any other industry, agriculture requires constant improvement in order to adjust itself to the increasingly divergent needs of the people and to the constant development in science and technology and business principles so that it may become a permanent source of wealth and income to the agricultural population as well as to the nation as a whole.

Development of the Policy

Agricultural improvement requires a definite policy, which is of very recent origin in India. Sporadic efforts made from time to time to improve certain crops or operations, such as the employment by the East India Company, in 1939, of 12 American cotton planters to improve cotton and the importation by the Madras Government, in 1864, of a steam plough to show how to cultivate the soil, did not leave any permanent results behind. The Famine Commission of 1880 first realised the importance of improving agriculture on scientific lines as a means of mitigating the effects of famine. In 1839, Dr. Voelker was invited from England to study agricultural conditions and as a result of his recommendations, a Technical Deputy Director of Agriculture was appointed by the Government of Bombay and an agricultural chemist by the Government of India in 1902.[1] The outbreak of sugar-cane diseases led the Government of Madras to appoint, in 1898, a sugar expert, who rendered valuable service by selecting, and producing, disease-restisting varieties of sugar-cane and by showing the importance of plant breeding in the development of Indian agriculture.

The Famine Commission of 1901 also realised that real progress in agriculture could be made only on scientific lines. On its recommendation, the Indian Agricultural Service was reorganised as follows :—(1) Departments of Agriculture in the Provinces took steps for the application of scientific methods to production of crops and breeding of animals; (2) Agricultural colleges were established at important centres; and (3) a Central Research Station was inaugurated at Pusa; other institutions were also established at different places for the purpose of providing correct information on soils, crops and animals, on the basis of which the Agricultural Departments might find the solution of the problems confronting them. The transference of Agricultural Department to the Provincial Government by the Government of India Act of 1919 placed the responsibility of agricultural development directly on the Provincial Government, but the right was also reserved to the Central Government to promote research by means of central instituitons and agencies, and to deal with plant and animal diseases. In 1923, an Indian Central Cotton Committee was also established to carry out research work in cotton for all India.

The most important step undertaken by the Government of India in the development of agricultural policy was, however, the appointment, in 1926, of a Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, which made, after two years' elaborate and exhaustive enquiries, far-reaching recommendations in 1928. The Commission recognised the close relationship between Indian agriculture and village life, which should be studied together and improved as a whole, and recommended the application of scientific methods to the improvement of both. On the basis of these recommendations the Government of India established in 1930 the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research with an advisory board of technical experts in order to co-ordinate and promote agricultural research in India, and also to carry on research in crops other than cotton, and in livestock. The funds of the Council consist of a lump sum of 26 lakhs of rupees and a recurring sum of 7½ lakhs of rupees, of which 5 lakhs are reserved for research work.

In 1936-37, two British experts,[2] one in crop production and the other in dairy industry, made a study, at the invitation of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, of the existing conditions of research and experiment in India, and made important recommendations for the reorganisation of both of these industries.

The most important recommendations for the reorganisation of crop production are as follows :—(1) research work in cash crop in

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. III, p. 9.

2. These experts were Sir John Russell, Director of Rothamstead Experiment Station, England, and Dr. N. C. Wright, Director of the Hanna Dairy Institute, Scotland. Their reports have already been referred to.

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association with the expert buyers or users of these crops; (2) research work on crops mainly retained for food in the country in association with nutrition experts; (3) the setting up of a soil conservation committee to collect the results of manurial trials, to watch regions liable to erosion and to work out schemes in connection with them and for various other purposes; (4) the establishment of a crop protection committee to deal with the consideration of cropping schemes much on the lines adopted by the Crop Planning Conference; (5) grants to the universities for the purpose of fostering research in subjects allied or basic to agricultural science and practice; (6) the organisation of the machinery at the disposal of the Council for carrying out its work to be consisted of (*a*) the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, (*b*) a marketing branch, (*c*) a cadre of approved investigators, and (*d*) a staff of temporary investigators.

The principal recommendations for the reorganisation of the dairy industry are as follows:—(1) the transfer of the existing Imperial Dairy Institute to a more suitable central site in an agricultural district and its reconstitution into an Imperial Dairy Research Institute with four sections, each to deal with a subject such as dairy bacteriology, dairy chemistry, dairy technology and dairy husbandry; (2) training for the Indian Dairy Diploma in Provincial colleges, but conserving uniformity in the courses of training under a special Committee to be set up by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research; (3) research work with special reference to the problems of stock improvement and veterinary work under the single department of animal husbandry; and (4) the maintenance of close co-operation between all departments concerned with rural improvement under a Board of Rural Development to be constituted in each Province under the chairmanship of a technical officer of the rank of Commissioner and including directors of agriculture, veterinary service, forestry and public health and representatives of irrigation, revenue and co-operative departments. This board should act as co-ordinating and advisory body to the Minister responsible for the development of agriculture in the province.

Agricultural Administration

The development of an agricultural policy has been followed by the organisation of agricultural administration. It was in 1871 that a separate Department of Land Revenue and Agriculture was created. This Department was abolished in 1879 for financial reasons, but reconstituted in 1881, though only for the purpose of improving land records which were subsequently completed in 1889. Except for the appointment of an agricultural chemist, the agricultural department did very little work for the development of agriculture proper. After the report of the Famine Commision of 1901, the agricultural department was reorganised and the scope of its work extended.

In 1901 the supervision of agricultural interest was entrusted to an Inspector General of Agriculture acting as technical adviser to both the Central and Provincial Governments and the chief agricultural experts of the country were constituted into a Board of Agriculture to be convened at suitable intervals to discuss the outstanding questions *and to submit recommendations* to the Government.[3] The Agricultural Service was created in 1906 as an All-India Service, but after the transference of the Agricultural Service to the Pronvincial Governments by the Government of India Act of 1919 there was no need of the All-India Agricultural Service and overseas recruitment ceased in 1924.

The work of co-ordinating research and experiment on an All-India basis and of dealing with plant and animal diseases is now undertaken by the Government of India through what is called the Imperial Service or the Imperial Department of Agriculture with its headquarter at Delhi, to which has been transferred, after the Bihar earthquake of 1934, the Imperial Research Institute at Pusa. The Imperial Department of Agriculture consists of the following chief institutions: (1) Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi; (2) Agricultural Sub-Station and Cattle Breeding Farm at Karnal; (3) Sugar Cane Breeding Station at Coimbatore; and (4) Imperial Dairy Institute at Bangalore. Besides, there are also the following experimental stations which are financed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, *viz*:—(1) Botanical Sub-Station at Pusa, (2) Tobacco Sub-Station at Guntur, (3) Potato Breeding Sub-Station at Simla, and (4) Sugar Cane Sub-Station at Karnal.

As indicated above, since 1919 agriculture has become a provincial subject and come under a minister responsible to the local legislature. Prior to 1920, Bombay and the Central Provinces each had a regular provincial service and other major provinces had only a number of special posts, but since 1920, provincial services have been created in other major Provinces. The usual functions of the provincial service are research and education, agricultural extension,

3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. III, p. 95.

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propaganda, livestock breeding, agricultural engineering, horticulture and marketing. All this work is carried on by a staff of experts consisting of an agricultural chemist, a botanist, an entomologist and a mycologist, who are engaged in agricultural education, and also by other agricultural experts engaged in field experiments and propaganda in the districts, thus linking up research with the village.

The personnel of the provincial agricultural service consist of the following[4]: (1) A Director with assistant Directors in large provinces, who is responsible for the administration and carrying out of the Government's policy. (2) Class I gazetted staff consisting generally of an agricultural chemist, two or more economic botanists, a plant pathologist, an entomologist and an agricultural expert. (3) Deputy Directors, varying in number in each province and each having under his control a circle of two or three divisions. Each division is under the charge of Class II officers called assistant deputy directors, or divisional superintendents. These officers are responsible for examination of the results of research work in the field, the testing of agricultural implements at their experimental farms, the multiplication and distribution of seeds and for the administration and extension of work in general. (4) The upper subordinate staff of graduates who hold posts either in the research laboratory or in the college, or are in charge of farm or district activities. (5) The lower subordinate staff of non-graduates who are chiefly employed in extension and propaganda work in rural areas.

Some of the provinces have also another class of officers in the agricultural service :—(1) Deputy Director in charge of cattle breeding farm and livestock improvement; (2) an Agricultural Engineer, sometimes helped by assistant engineers, whose functions are the improvement of underground water supplies, the introduction and charge of tractors and other agricultural implements and machinery; (3) a horticulturalist and his staff engaged in the improvement of fruit; and (4) a marketing officer.[5]

Research and Experiment

From above it is evident that the Central Government has undertaken, through the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the Imperial Department of Agriculture, a large scale research and experimental work in agricultural development on all-India basis, and also exclusively deals with animal and plant diseases. Moreover, the Central Government makes special grants to Provinces from Rural Development Fund created in 1935, when approximately Rs. 2·8 crores were set aside for the purpose. With the aid of these grants demonstration and development work have been initiated for the improvement of crop production and animal husbandry all over the country.[6]

An important all-India organisation, which supplements the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, is the Indian Central Cotton Committee constituted in 1921 and established by the Indian Cotton Cess Act of 1923. The Committee consists of representatives of provincial Governments and of cotton merchants, ginners, spinners and growers. Its income consists of the proceeds of a cess of two annas per bale levied on all baled cottons whether used in India or exported, and has an annual income of about Rs. 8 1/2 lakhs. It maintains a technological laboratory in Bombay, partly bears the expenses of an institute of plant industry at Indore, and finances by means of grants, the researches undertaken by different provinces. The Committee has achieved remarkable success in producing better types of cotton for an area of about 5 million acres.[7]

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has undertaken various research and experimental work through the institutions under its control. This research work consists principally of the following subjects, namely :—(1) soil survey; (2) crop production (consisting of plant breeding, plant physiology, plant disease and insect pests); (3) animal breeding (including cattle improvement); (4) health and nutrition of animals and dairy research; and (5) improvement of fodder crops and grazing, and fruit development.[8]

The soil survey began originally by Pusa Institute about a generation ago, and transferred recently to the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi, has for its object the actual examination in the laboratory and the collation of the results with provincial data in regard to the physico-chemical reactions in the formation of soils and the genetic relationship existing in the profiles. Special attention is being

4. *Social Service in India*. H. M. Stationary Office, 1938, p. 140.

5. In 1936-37, the Imperial Department of Agriculture had 9 and the Provincial Agricultural Departments had 341 agricultural stations in British India.—*Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India*, 1936-37, Appendices.

6. *Ibid*, p. 12.

7. *Social Service in India*, London. 1938, p. 144.

8. *Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India*, 1936-37, Chapters iv-vi and ix-xi.

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paid to the influence of temperature, precipitation and evaporation on soil formation and profile characteristics. The research also consists of soil surveys from irrigation and fertility points of view, investigations on soil-moisture and its conservation, and studies on the physical, chemical and biological properties of soils and on the effect of manures and fertilisers on soils and crops.

The most important research work of the Council is that of crop production. Improved strains of crops have been replacing the older varieties of rice, wheat, cotton, jute, sugar-cane groundnut, gram, potatoes and other crops. This improvement has been brought about both by selection and hybridisation. The results of these experiments are shown by earlier maturity, higher yield, better quality and greater power of resistance to diseases in some of the crops. Outstanding results have, for instance, been achieved in several varieties of wheat called Pusa-wheats, now grown in the Gangetic basin and the Punjab, in the Coimbatore sugar-canes of the present day covering over 75 per cent of the total area sown, and in a new variety of gram with practical immunity from blight. The total area, over which all these improved varieties of different crops were sown, was 23.9 million acres of land in 1936-37.[9]

The first concern in improving domestic animals is breeding. Attempts have been made to improve Indian cattle by importation of foreign cattle and by crossing them with the Indian cattle. But the results have not been satisfactory and the present policy is to improve the cattle by selection from the indigenous stock. This policy has been made the basic principle of breeding cattle all over the country. Systematic attempts are being made for the improvement of dairy cattle (1) by increasing the number of approved bulls, and (2) by the elimination of undesirable males by castration. Regarding the improvement of other livestock, mention must be made of the following :—(1) a goat breeding farm at Etah, where 85 goats completed their lactation period in 1936-37; (2) the improvement of the famous Bikanir breed and other indigenous breeds of sheep in the Punjab and other provinces; (3) breeding of horses, mules and donkeys in the Punjab; (4) breeding of *desi* (indigenous) poultry for improving egg-laying strains, the results having been achieved in an increase of both weight and egg production; and (5) encouragement to apiculture in several provinces.

9. *Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India*, 1936-37, p. 24.

Research into animal husbandry consists of veterinary education, animal health, animal industry, animal nutrition and dairying. The combating of such diseases as rinderpest, black-quarter and anthrax have engaged the special attention and decisive steps are being taken regarding vaccination, inoculation, control of diseases among sheep and goats, quarantine at ports, cattle dips, registration of animals and improvement of the dairy industry. Regarding the treatment of non-contagious diseases, there is an increase in the number of hospitals and dispensaries and in the activities of the veterinary staff in regard to local diseases and public health.

The Animal Nutrition Section was organised at Izatnagar in 1936, with a view to studying animal nutrition in relation to the maintenance of healthy growth and productive capacity of animals in India. Its main items of work have been defined as follows :—(1) analysis of important feeding stuffs and pasturage of different grazing areas; (2) diet in relation to growth, work, milk production, wool production and production of hides and skins; and (3) the co-ordination of the nutrition work done at the Central Institute and at the provincial centres.

Regarding fodder crops and grazing, steps are being taken to develop a definite policy with the object of (1) examining the existing methods of management of forest grazing areas for suggesting measures to provide the best type of grazing for the preservation and improvement of the best type of cattle; and (2) exploring the possibilities of utilisation and development of ravine and derelict lands outside Government forests for grazing so as to increase fodder resources. The questions which have come under the consideration of the Government may be enumerated as follows :—(1) provision of better grazing areas easily accessible to the village breeder; (2) proper management of what is commonly known as cultivable waste; (3) undertaking of comprehensive research work to improve the condition of grasslands; (4) reservation of more areas for grazing wherever unremunerative crops were grown extensively; (5) legislation for restricting the number of animals admitted to grazing areas; and (6) admission to the forest grazing areas only of the animals which have been certified to be free from rinderpest.

Experiments are being made in fruit development for which an important step is the supply of fruit plants of reliable parentage, already undertaken by the Department of Agriculture in Kashmir. Research work has been

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undertaken in propagation and root stock; breeding, selection and pollination; pruning and thinning and hastening of the ripening periods; harvesting, storage and marketing; and fruit preservation and fruit by-products.

Agricultural Education

An integral part of research and experiment is agricultural education,[10] through which their results, as well as those of science and technology in general, are brought within the reach of the agricultural masses for application. Agricultural education consists of instruction and training in post-graduate, graduate and school standards at different institutes, colleges and schools, as well as popular education through demonstrations, exhibitions and radios. Moreover, the multiplication and distribution of seeds and the introduction of improved implements and fertilisers, though on a commercial basis, must also be regarded among the methods of popularisation of knowledge.

The post-graduate courses offered at the Imperial Agricultural Institute at Delhi consist of (1) two years' study, either in agriculture or in kindred subjects, for all students who have received the degree of M.Sc. in an Indian University, or received a First-Class diploma in an agricultural college; and (2) one year post-graduate course in farm management. Post-graduate courses are also offered at the Imperial Dairy Institute at Bangalore, consisting of a fifteen-month course and a two-year dairy diploma course. Moreover, annual post-graduate refresher courses are offered at the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute. A proposal is also under consideration by the Government of India for the establishment of a central veterinary college in which the courses of instruction would be equivalent to that laid down for the diploma of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in England.

The graduate courses are offered at the agricultural colleges of Poona[11] (Bombay), Coimbatore (Madras), Lyallpur (Punjab), Nagpur (the Central Provinces) and Cawnpore (the United Provinces). These colleges were formely controlled by the Department of Agriculture, but have now been affiliated to the local universities and are under their control in respect of studies and examinations. The courses last from 3 to 4 years, depending upon the qualification of the students at the time of their entry, and lead to the degree equivalent to the B.A. or B.Sc. To these agricultural colleges must also be added the veterinary colleges of the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, and Burma. The Bombay Veterinary College has completed its fiftieth year of existence, and Madras Veterinary College is recognised as a constituent college of the University of Madras for imparting instruction for the Degree of Bachelor of Veterinary Science.

School education in agriculture is also given in several provinces. This education consists of vocational training in agriculture and allied subjects from one to two years at special schools under the control of the Department of Agriculture. These schools supply education equivalent to the ordinary high school course, mostly to the children of the landlords or farmers, who want to take up agriculture as a vocation, or manage their own property. There are at present two schools in Bombay and two in the United Provinces.

There is still another system of agricultural education by what are called rural 'bias' schools, in which agriculture is taught in the Middle or Anglo-vernacular courses. These schools are under the control of the Department of Education, and are very popular in Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and the United Provinces. Sufficient hours are allotted in the time-table of rural middle school for a theoretical and practical training in nature study and agriculture. This school is provided with either a small farm or a garden plot and a qualified teacher. In the irrigated tract the school farm is about six acres in area, which is sufficient to permit the maintenance of a pair of bullocks.

Finally, short courses in special subjects, mostly of a practical character, are conducted at Government farms or in other agricultural institutions under the control of the Department of Agriculture. The training consists of such subjects as the use of oil engine, tractor, dairy work, fruit canning and blotting, and poultry farming. These courses may last from a few days to a few months.

This general education is supplemented by demonstration and other popular methods of disseminating knowledge of agriculture and rural life. The ocular demonstration of agriculture on the cultivator's own lands under village conditions is the most efficient and reliable form of propaganda. Such work is carried on by the district staff of agricultural departments in co-operation with keen and progressive cultivators and is supplemented by the activities of co-operative organisations and other local bodies.

10. *Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India*, 1936-37, Chapter xii-xiii.

11. The Poona Agricultural College was founded in 1909 and has become one of the most important institutions in India, both as a teaching and as a research centre.

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The extent of demonstration work is indicated by the fact that the Presidency of Madras alone had 7,554 demonstration plots in 1936-37.

Among other popular forms of education must be mentioned the rural uplift movements of both the Central and Provincial Governments. The Government of India, for instance, contributed to the Provincial Governments Rs. 92·5 lakhs in 1935-36 and Rs. 103 lakhs in 1936-37 for the purpose. Of the uplift works, the most important are the following :—(1) newer forms of propaganda, such as the cinema, gramophone and specially radio, which are being utilised with a considerable degree of success from a number of central radio stations established at such cities as Lahore, Lucknow and Peshawar; (2) a concentrated drive with the help of the grant for Rural Uplift by the Government of India for agricultural improvement, rural sanitation and hygiene, improvement of communication, eradication of pests, co-operative distribution of water, and opening of educational classes; (3) agricultural shows and exhibitions of varying size and scope held in all Provinces; (4) the arrangements for the production and multiplication of seed for improved crops in several Provinces; (5) different types of non-official associations which play an increasingly important part in the agricultural extension work of the Provinces; and (6) steady progress in the sale and distribution of improved implements and fertilisers.

THE CLAIM MADE ON BEHALF OF THE NIZAM FOR THE RETROCESSION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS

By Diwan Bahadur T. BHUJANGA RAO

The speeches of Nawab Yar Jung, a jagirdar of the Nizam's Dominions, during his recent visit to the Madras Presidency, have raised the question whether the Northern Circars are not held by the British Government under a grant essentially in the nature of a lease made by the Nizam and whether in any case the Nizam has no moral claim to recover the Northern Circars. It would be of interest therefore to state the facts relating to the acquisition of the Northern Circars by the British Government.

In the year 1751 Salabat Jang (the third son of Asaf Jab, the founder of the present ruling dynasty at Hyderabad) became the Subadar of the Deccan with the help of the French troops. Out of gratitude he gave an Inam of the Kondavid (Guntur or Moortizanagar) Circar to the French in 1752. The next year he assigned the remaining four Northern Circars to the French, *viz.*, Moostafanagar (Kondapalli), Ellore, Rajahmundry, and Chicacole.

In the year 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out between England and France. Ananda Gajapati Raz of Vizianagar, who was the renter-in-chief under the French but was dissatisfied with their administration, applied to Clive in Bengal for help. He was emboldened to do this, because the French General Bussy had left Hyderabad, having been summoned by Lally, the new Governor of Pondicherry, to help him with his troops in the siege of Madras. Clive was only too glad to accept the invitation of Ananda Gazapati Raz and deputed Colonel Forde to evict the French from the Circars. After brilliant successes Colonel Forde marched on Masulipatam, then the chief town of the Circars, and took it. The French were completely evicted. Salabat Jang, however, advanced to oppose the British but found it prudent to enter into a treaty with them in 1759. By this treaty the British got, "*as an enam or free gift*" the country round Masulipatam and Nizampatam. The rest of the Circars reverted to the Subadar, *i.e.*, the Nizam.

In the year 1761, Salabat Jang was deposed by his younger brother Nizam Ali. Nizam Ali gave the Kondavid or Guntur Circar to his brother Basalat Jang as a jagir for life. For the remaining area in his possession, Nizam Ali appointed one Hussain Ali Khan as the renter. Nizam Ali, though a usurper, managed to get his title confirmed by the Delhi Emperor.

In the year 1765 an important event occurred. Following the way pointed out by Nizam Ali, Lord Clive obtained a *Firmana* or *Sanad* direct from the Moghul Emperor for the whole of the Northern Circars. This Sanad is printed at pages 278 and 279, of Vol. VIII of Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*. After referring to the unauthorised grant of the Northern Circars by the Subadar to the French, to its not having been confirmed at Delhi, to the British

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being the firm allies of the Moghul, and to their having expelled the French from the Northern Circars, the Sanad proceeds thus :

"We, therefore, in consideration of the fidelity and good wishes of the English Company have from our throne, the basis of the world, given them the aforesaid Circars *by way of enam or free gift* (*without the least participation of any person whatever in the same.*)" (Italics mine)

The Madras Government was at first unwilling to publish the above Sanad lest it should make Nizam Ali an enemy. But in 1766 the Madras Government mustered courage to publish it. The result was that Nizam Ali invaded the Carnatic where the British had obtained a large jagir from the Nawab of the Carnatic. But Nizam Ali was driven back. The Madras Government, however, was in pecuniary difficulties and did not wish to exasperate the Nizam. So, it entered into a treaty with the Nizam in which no reference was made by either party to the Sanad of the Moghul Emperor. In this treaty of 1766 Nizam Ali granted the East India Company the five Northern Circars "*as a free gift for ever and ever,*" the grant being accompanied by a Sanad (published at page 283 of Vol. VIII of Aitchison). The treaty was published as a separate document (page 280 of Vol. VIII of Aitchison). By the terms of this treaty the British agreed to pay to the Nizam annually some sums thus :—5 lakhs for the Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore, and Moostafanagar (Kondapalli); 2 lakhs for the Circar of Chicacole; and 2 lakhs for the Circar of Moortizanagar (Guntur) when the Company took possession of it (*i.e.*, after the termination of Basalat Jang's life jagir). But these sums were not payable in the years in which the Nizam might ask for the assistance of British troops. The Nizam also was to assist the British with his troops when necessary.

Had matters stood thus, the British Government would be now holding the Northern Circars as a kind of jagir under the Nizam. But this was not to be. In 1767 the Nizam joined with the English and the Mahrattas for an attack against Haidar Ali of Mysore. Haidar Ali first bought off the Mahrattas and then seduced Nizam Ali to desert the British and to invade the Carnatic. When the Nizam thus proved faithless, the British rose equal to the occasion and advanced against Hyderabad. This brought Nizam Ali to his senses and he found it prudent to enter into a tripartite alliance with the British and the Nawab of the Carnatic. It is by virtue of the terms of this treaty of 1768 that the British Government are now holding the Northern Circars. (The treaty is to be found at page 285 of Vol. VIII of Aitchison's *Treaties*).

The terms of this treaty of 1768 which was entered into by the Nizam when he feared an attack on his capital, are naturally different from the terms of the treaty of 1766. Briefly, they show that the Nizam recognised the grant of the Northern Circars by the Moghul; that, however, for the sake of peace the British agreed to pay an annual subsidy to the Nizam (the subsidy being paid as by one co-equal government to another); and that the British also agreed, subject to some conditions, to supply troops (2 battalions of sepoys with guns) on the Nizam's requisition, the Nizam defraying the cost of the force.

The treaty of 1768 was thus in the nature of a compromise, by which though the British held the Northern Circars under the Moghul Emperor, they agreed to pay an annual subsidy. This is rendered clear by the difference in language between the terms of the treaty of 1766 and the treaty of 1768. In the treaty of 1766, there was no mention of the Sanad of the Moghul Emperor; but in the treaty of 1768 there is a reference thus :

"The exalted and illustrious Emperor of Hindustan, Shah Alum Padtcha, having out of his gracious favour and in consideration of the attachment and services of the English East India Company, given and granted to them for ever by way of enam or free gift, the five Circars—by his royal Firmaun, dated the 12th August 1765."

Nizam Ali in the treaty of 1768 described himself as "Soubah (provincial governor) of the Deccan." There was thus an acknowledgement of the royal grant.

Again, in the treaty of 1766, there was a grant of the Circars by the Nizam "as free gift", *i.e.*, as an *enam*. But in the present treaty the language used is as follows :

"It is now acknowledged and agreed by the said Ausuph Jah Nizam-ool-Mulk, Soubah of the Deccan, that the said Company shall enjoy and hold for ever, *as their right and property*, the said five Circars, on the terms hereafter mentioned." (Italics mine).

There is no reference to the Circars being held as an "enam or free gift" under the Nizam.

Further, in the treaty of 1766, the British agreed to pay certain sums annually "as a consideration for the free gift of the above mentioned five Circars." In the treaty of 1768, there are no such words. It is true that there is a reference to the annual payments. But the treaty of 1768 says that they will be paid "as a further proof of the company's sincere desire to preserve a friendship with the Soubah of the Deccan."

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Then again, under the treaty of 1766, the British agreed to pay annually 5 lakhs for the Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Moostafanagar (Kondapalli) and 2 lakhs for the Circar of Chicacole. In the treaty of 1768, for all the above four Circars, the annual subsidy was fixed at only 5 lakhs and not seven lakhs. (As for the Circar of Guntur, the British in both the treaties agreed to pay 2 lakhs annually after the life estate of Basalat Jang came to an end. Basalat Jung died in 1782; and after some hindrances caused by the Nizam, the British got possession of the Guntur Circar in 1789; and from that time the total subsidy payable to the Nizam rose to 7 lakhs.)

The matter is perhaps clinched by one of the clauses in the treaty of 1768 under which the Nizam agreed to acquaint all the Zamindars concerned that

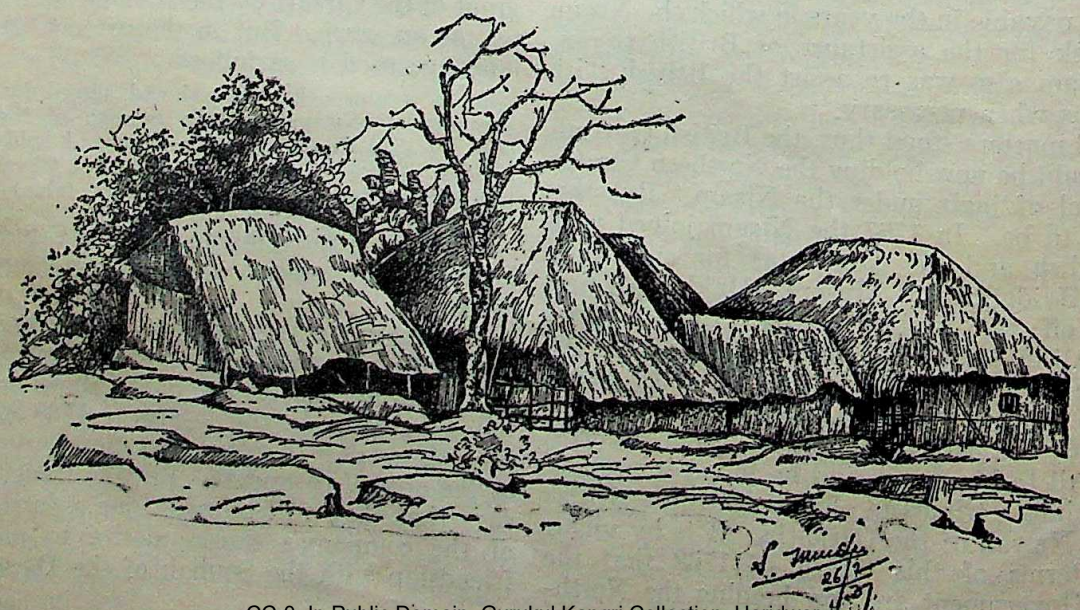
> "They are in future to regard the English Company *as their sovereign*." (Italics mine)

There can thus be little doubt that under the treaty of 1768 the British were recognised as sovereigns of the Northern Circars subject to two main obligations, viz., (1) the payment of the annual subsidy and (2) the despatch of troops when required by the Nizam. As for the annual subsidy, in the year 1823, Nizam Ali's son and successor Sikandar Jah extricated himself from his financial difficulties by getting the annual subsidy capitalized and taking a lump sum of one crore and 66 and odd lakhs of rupees (Rs. 1,66,66,666) (*See* Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. VIII, page 269). As for the despatch of troops, it was in the treaty of 1768 subject to the qualification that the British were to send the force "when the situation of their affairs (i.e. of the British) will allow of such a body of troops to march into the Deccan." When in 1800 the Nizam entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British and agreed to have a permanent force of 8 battalions of sepoys and two regiments of cavalry (the Secunderabad Contingent), the clause in the treaty of 1768 about the despatch of troops by the British when they found it convenient, became superfluous for all practical purposes.

In the above circumstances he would be a bold man indeed who could say, the British are now holding the Northern Circars under a direct grant from the Nizam that was essentially in the nature of a lease.

As for the alleged moral claim of the Nizam to recover the Circars, apart from the fact that the retrocession would be against the wishes of the bulk of the residents of the Circars, one may take into consideration the condition of the people when they were under the Nizam. Prior to the treaties of 1766 and 1768, a large area was under the direct administration of the Nizam who, as already stated, appointed one Hussain Ali Khan as a renter or lessee. Being unable to restore order, this lessee had to request the Madras Government for help. The then state of things is thus referred to by Mr. Grant (who wrote in 1785) in his *Political Survey of the Northern Circars* :

> "The completest anarchy recorded in the history of Hindustan prevailed over all the Northern Circars. The forms, nay, even the remembrance, of civil government seemed to be wholly lost."



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PEACEFUL WARFARE AND ITS METHODS

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,

Fellow, Calcutta University; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal; Organising Secretary, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

While every one will readily admit that improved means of communication, spread of literacy and, indirectly, starvation, nakedness, oppression of the landlord and of the money-lender have all contributed in varying degrees to the awakening of the masses, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi have been the most immediate and probably the most potent factor in rousing them from the lethargy of ages. These struggles have been carried on for redressing wrongs and the value of the unique technique Gandhiji has developed and which is his very own lies in the fact that this fight is conducted without arms and without bloodshed.

Peaceful Warfare Natural to Man

Mahatma Gandhi realised that while the carnivorous lion and the tiger are born with teeth and claws and even the herbivorous buffalo and the rhinoceros with horns, man is not provided by Nature with any such weapon of offence or defence. He had also found that the protection afforded by such extraneous things as weapons and arms may be regarded as adequate only so long as one's opponent is not better equipped. Man, however, is endowed with a soul and Mahatma Gandhi asked himself why he should not employ it for the protection of his legitimate rights.

Gandhiji recognised the fact that there are only two ways to right wrongs the more popular one being hitherto the defeat or destruction of the enemy—in other words the way of violence. But Gandhiji had already found that death and destruction are the portion of those who rely on arms for their safety. "They that take sword shall perish with the sword." The first stage in the higher approach to the solution of this problem is to hate the wrong but not the doer of the wrong. It is therefore that Gandhiji has said,

"Man and his deed are two distinct things. Whereas a good deed should call forth approbation and a wicked deed disapprobation, the doer of the deed, whether good or wicked always deserves respect or pity as the case may be. Hate the sin and not the sinner is a precept which, though easy enough to understand, is rarely practised, and that is why the poison of hatred spreads over the world."

This love for the sinner quite naturally leads to an attempt to convert him, first because he is loved and second because his conversion means the permanent end of the wrong.

The attempt to convert the opponent, however, implies the patient suffering of oppression submitted to in the spirit of the well-known words of the Master,

"Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" and "Love your enemies; pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven."

In order that the effort to get rid of wrong or oppression may be crowned with success, it is necessary that all acts of tyranny should be borne with a courageous spirit. The method is not one which can have any appeal for cowards. This was emphasised when Gandhiji said,

"Wherein is courage required—in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and to be blown to pieces? Who is the true warrior—he who keeps death always as a bosom-friend or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.

"Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts, and cannot be stolen."

Gandhiji draws a very clear line of distinction between reliance on violence and reliance on soul force in his *Hind Swaraj* in the following terms and shows wherein lies the superiority of the latter.

"Kings will always use their kingly weapons. To use force is bred in them. They want to command. But those who have to obey commands do not want guns; and these are in a majority throughout the world. They have to learn either body-force or a soul-force. Where they learn the former, both the rulers and the ruled become like so many mad men. But where they learn soul-force, the commands of the rulers do not go beyond the point of their swords; for true men disregard unjust commands. Peasants have never been subdued by the sword, and never will be. They do not know the use of the sword, and they are not frightened by the use of it by others. That nation is great which rests its head upon death as its pillow. Those who defy

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death are free from all fear. For those who are labouring under the delusive charms of brute force, this picture is not overdrawn."

Peaceful Warfare in the Public Life of India

Public life today in this country means either low intrigues or what we may characterise as a deliberate avoidance of the real issues. Absolute straightforwardness and the refusal to justify the use of questionable means for the attainment of ends which are regarded as worthy are conspicuous by their absence in the day-to-day policy of the powerful and, the so-called progressive nations whether in the west or in the east. By the adoption of this new technique, Mahatma Gandhi has lifted politics to a high ethical plane placing Satya (Truth) on a pedestal of glory even in the region of politics.

Mahatma Gandhi's love of Satya (Truth) has manifested itself in ways to which the modern world is a total stranger. He has never hesitated to expose and attack publicly the weak and ugly spots in the Indian character or in the All-India organisation to which he has brought a life and a vigour which were absent from it before he turned it into an agency through which to regenerate India. He believed rightly that concealment of our weaknesses from our opponents is no source of strength. We have to recognise and, after that, to combat them. Such an attitude confounded both friends and enemies. Time, however, has proved that our great national leader was right in insisting on the importance of this unswerving adherence to principles. He also holds that though temporary advantages may be secured by either ignoring Ahimsa (Non-Violence) or by watering it down, in the long run it is wiser to adhere to it honestly and strictly. The moral and spiritual fervour with which he preached it made such a powerful appeal to India that rich and poor, educated and uneducated, adopted Satya (Truth) and Ahimsa (Non-violence) as the watchword in their struggle against oppression of all types.

Starting from struggles to right local wrongs in which the number of those taking part was small, little by little the objects for which these struggles were conducted tended to assume an All-India character till in 1920 and again in 1930 we had *Satyagraha* on a nation-wide scale. Gandhiji thus unified Indians till they ceased to think provincially. He proved that united action carried on according to the method recommended by him was strong enough to wring many concessions from a hitherto unsympathetic foreign bureaucracy. He drove it home into the heart and the mind of India that we can get rid of social, economic and political injustice if only we are able to rouse the spirit within us, that no power on earth can keep either an individual, a social or a religious group or a nation under any kind of subjection once it has acquired self-confidence and self-reliance and is prepared to wage an unrelenting war against the wrongs it resents in strict accordance with the principles laid down by him and without relying on the use of any kind of weapon.

National India holds that India is slowly but surely acquiring the very important virtues of self-confidence and self-reliance and that to that extent she is not only growing stronger but also irresistable. We hope and pray that the great Indian nation which is still in the process of formation will never allow itself to be led away from the strait and the narrow path of Satya (Truth) and of Ahimsa (Non-violence) which she has chosen to follow under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Religious Element in Peaceful Warfare

Rev. J. J. Doke, a Baptist minister, who was a friend and admirer of Mahatma Gandhi has written a little known but very valuable account of his carrer in South Africa. In it we are told that Gandhiji had been greatly influenced by a Guzrati poem learned by him at school, the substance of which is as follows:

> "If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing.
> "Real beauty consists in doing good against evil."

Gandhiji has also said "It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance." In this connection he has referred to certain well-known verses bearing on this matter which occur in the Sermon on the Mount. It has also been stated that his study of Bhagvad-Gita "deepened the impression and Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* gave it a permanent form." Elsewhere he has declared,

> "If blood be shed, let it be our blood. Cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing."

And again,

> "Love does not burn others, it burns itself, suffering joyfully even unto death. It will do no intentional injury, in thought, word, or deed, to the person of a single Englishman."

With these sayings and the example set by Mahatma Gandhi and those thousands of his followers who have loyally carried out his precepts, we may regard *Satyagraha* as a definitely religious method of fighting wrongs and of composing differences. He insists that there is a way of resisting evil and righting wrongs

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other than by force and the use of the destructive weapons of modern warfare, and those who have any love for humanity are in duty bound to follow it.

The idea underlying the technique is not difficult to understand. Gandhiji has explained it clearly and succinctly in the following sentence :

"In *Satyagraha*, we expect to win over our opponent by self-suffering, that is by love."

This statement makes it absolutely clear that the method does not contemplate the passive acceptance of suffering through cowardice for he has also said:

"The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God."

It is something more. It makes no attempt to injure or destroy the opponent but on the other hand seeks to bring about a change of heart in him by patiently suffering the worst oppression he can inflict. This cheerful welcome given to suffering by the true follower of *Satyagraha* is due to the love he feels for the oppressor. Lastly, this change of heart which Gandhiji contends must invariably follow genuine *Satyagraha* makes a new man out of the oppressor leaving him much better spiritually than he ever was before. Light is thrown on the effects of *Satyagraha* by what Gandhiji said in *Young India* of October 8, 1925. His words are :

"I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition, which recognition would not humiliate, but would uplift him. It may be urged that this is an ideal state. And so it is."

The spirit in which a *Satyagraha* campaign should be waged was explained in the speech delivered by Mahatmaji on the sands of Sabarmati immediately before the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930. Here is a short extract from it which gives in a nutshell the views of Gandhiji.

"I have faith in the righteousness of our cause and the purity of our weapons. And where the means are clean, there God is undoubtedly present with His blessings. And where these three combine, there defeat is an impossibility. A *Satyagrahi*, whether free or incarcerated, is ever victorious. He is vanquished only when he forsakes truth and non-violence and turns a deaf ear to the Inner Voice. If therefore, there is such a thing as defeat for even a *Satyagrahi*, he alone is the cause of it."

Here the question may be asked what exactly is Mahatma's grievance against Britain ? The answer is that the main objection is not so much that the Government is British or that it is alien as that it has neglected its opportunities to benefit the poor. This is proved by the eight charges categorically brought forward against the British Empire by Gandhiji in his letter "To Every Englishman" published in 1920. In trumpet tones he exhorted his countrymen to no longer bear passively the moral evils consequent on foreign domination and taught them how to overcome their "slave mentality." Without any hatred for the foreigner but on the other hand with love and good will for him, Gandhiji has gradually become the most formidable enemy of what leftists call "Imperialism." This is proved by such statements as the following :

"India must conquer her so-called conquerors by love."

Immediately before the mass Civil Disobediance Movement of 1930 he wrote to the Viceroy,

"My ambition is no less than to convert the British people through non-violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done to India.

"I do not seek," he continued, "to harm your people. I want to serve my own. . . . If I have equal love for your people with mine it will not long remain hidden. . . . If the people join me, as I expect they will, the sufferings they will undergo, unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts."

It follows therefore that Mahatma Gandhi showed India a way to freedom which would enable her to defy wrong and at the same time to do so without hate for the wrong-doer. In the political sphere this method implied a sustained and obstinate fight against foreign domination in no sense less intense than a war of violence and it demanded that all those who participated in it should possess self-discipline, self-suffering and love in the highest measure. Here is an extract from the prayer offered by the veteran Mussalman leader, Abbas Tyabji, before he broke the Salt laws in the 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement.

"In thy name, O God, we launch forth today. Give us strength to go on, to endure all sufferings with a smiling countenance and a heart singing forth Thy praise. Illumine us with Thy wisdom, and purge our heart of all ill will and hatred. Let not a single unworthy act stain our record. Guide our opponents also into the right path and bless them. Bless also our undertaking, for it is Thy promise that the cause of rightousness and truth always triumphs."

This extract short as it is shows that the struggle was proposed to be carried on in the fullest possible accordance with the teachings of religion, that hatred against the opponent

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which almost invariably characterises the traditional forms of warfare would find no place in the campaign and lastly, that providential aid was sought in order to induce a change of heart in those against whom the struggle was to be conducted.

Some Examples of Peaceful Warfare

The spirit in which *Satyagraha* ought to be carried on in order to produce the desired effects are so well illustrated in the following incidents that I cannot refrain from referring to them. Be it remembered that all the three incidents were reported by eye-witnesses and that these eye-witnesses were Englishmen who are indeed the salt of the race to which they belong. Two of them are concerned with the doings of Indian women and these have been included in order that we might appreciate the very important fact that Indian women are at last taking their legitimate part in this struggle—a fact which has a significance all its own in every part of the world and specially here in India. The last account tells us how the young are facing the situation. I could reproduce similar well-authenticated accounts given by foreign correspondents to show that there have been occasions in the past when men and women, old and young, belonging to all castes and sects and professing different religious faiths have suffered together for the attainment of common ends and have thus come to realise their unity as a single Indian nation. I maintain that when the issues are sufficiently important and the call to united action goes out, the people of India will again come together and undergo sufferings in common.

Here is the first account of the courage, Gujrati women showed at Borsad early in 1930.

"A huge procession of 1,500 women walked quietly through the streets of Borsad to receive without fear of retaliation an assault of beating and abuse from the police. Their leader, covered with her blood-stained garments, walked bravely on, repeating the Holy Name of God, to receive still further blows."

Let us hear what happened to women in the salt raids.

"One of the women volunteers of Gujarat was beaten and insulted by the police. But all she could say was 'for a while I was even angry a little at the Sub-Inspector, but a little later I realised my mistake, as he was after all a brother to me.'"

Let me conclude by giving an account of the brutality shown towards the young by the police. One might well enquire whether treatment of this kind is not bound to leave behind it at least a trace of bitterness which cannot easily be forgotten by the ordinary non-Satyagrahi.

"I remember talking to a boy—he was not more than 19—in the Congress Hospital in Bombay. He had gone to Sholapur simply to offer National Flag Satyagraha, by hoisting the flag and taking the consequences. On arrival he had at once been arrested with his companions, all of them unarmed, defenceless boys; they were each put in separate cells, stripped naked, brutally assaulted in the most delicate parts of their bodies, and flogged till they fell senseless. My friend had been in hospital six weeks and was still suffering. But what amazed me was, not the amount of his suffering, but the quality of his love. There was not a word of bitterness or anger. He was a *Satyagrahi* and it was his duty to suffer that he, and thus his motherland, might be the purer."

With all these examples before us, we must admit that the method devised and popularised by Mahatma Gandhi so long as the followers maintain the spirit in which *Satyagraha* has to be carried out is almost identical with the way which Christ followed in fighting the wrongs which faced the world in His day. Christ did not devote His energies to break the yoke of Rome. In fact the Master in His utterances made not the slightest reference to the political subjection of the Jews. It has been suggested that this may have been due to the fact that in His eyes, the weaknesses and defects of the Jews and their accredited leaders were so largely responsible for the absence of the least spark of spiritual life in the land of his birth that their removal was regarded by Him as much more important than fighting the evils of foreign domination. We must, however, note in this connection that when once He had made His choice to fight the evils referred to above, He never counted the cost but waged an unrelenting war against them and that this ultimately led to His crucifixion. Throughout this valiant fight, He always showed an abundant love for the sinners, a love which increased from day to day up to the day of His agonising death on the Cross. Even when His tortured body hung on it, He was heard to whisper almost with His last breath the supplication that His blood might not be held as lying at their door.

Gandhiji's Apparent Failure

Non-Indians have always contended that the adoption of what we call "direct action" in such forms as No-co-operation and the Civil Disobedience Movement has retarded our political progress. Side by side with this we also see that of late some Indians have taken to criticising Gandhiji because he has failed to launch mass Civil Disobedience during the present crisis. Some even go so far as to say that Gandhian leadership has been an unmitigated failure.

Admitting for the sake of argument that

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much of what has been done under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has been unproductive of any very valuable results and the necessity of what some of our friends call "alternative leadership," what intrigues me is that our great leader's aim has been misunderstood. This, in my view, is the replacement of selfishness, rivalry and cruelty in all human relationships, and specially, in politics by forbearance and co-operation. Men who have any knowledge of human nature should not feel surprised if efforts directed to the attainment of objects such as these end in complete disappointment, humiliation and failure. It is a matter of congratulation that this has not happened in the case of Gandhiji. He has a large, influential and loyal following who believe in the virtues of the method he has originated and who are prepared to use it under proper conditions and favourable circumstances. We should not forget that reformers are like the prophet Moses who may have a distant view of the land of promise but, like him, they may not enter it. We would not therefore be surprised if Gandhiji leaves his body by the wayside and if he has to be content with catching a glimpse, however dim, of that beautiful, great and glorious India to the emergence of which all of us are looking forward and to which he is pointing the way.

When we think of Gandhiji working for the uplift of our motherland and her children and being rewarded with uncharitable criticism for his efforts, one is reminded of the lines of Kabir, one of our greatest Indian philosopher-poets, who said long ago :

"It is a hard fight and a weary one, this fight of the truth-seeker; for the vow of the truth-seeker is more hard than that of the warrior, or the widowed wife who would follow her husband.

"For the warrior fights for a few hours; and the widow's struggle with death is soon ended :

"But the truth-seeker's battle goes on day and night; as long as life lasts, it never ceases."

Long ago Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* :

"A reformer's business is to make the impossible, possible, by giving an ocular demonstration in his own conduct" and also that "he is dazed" when he thinks of his own "littlenesses and limitations."

This humility is truly admirable for it gives us the measure of his real greatness. We should not fail to remember that when noble and spiritual ideals become objects of concrete endeavour the age-old contest between body and spirit begins. Only too often the prophet is dragged down into the sordid struggle between high spiritual ambitions and weak ineffective human passions. He finds the purity of his idealism tarnished and his aims blurred or obscured. As is only natural under existing circumstances, the measures suggested by Mahatmaji's idealism are implemented through agencies not always characterised by the possession of that noble enthusiasm which animates him. It is thus that his best and noblest efforts are tainted by human passion and selfishness.

It is in this sense that Mahatmaji's has been a losing battle. It is admitted that often his wise advice when actually executed by his followers has taken either undesirable or objectionable forms. This has happened not for any lack of wisdom, goodness or nobility on his part but because of the weakness of the agency through which he has of necessity to work. But such failures whenever and wherever they have come, have only served to demonstrate all the more strongly the wide gulf separating the ideal from the real, the theory from the practice, the promise from the performance. If they have proved any thing, they have proved that the fault lies in the execution and not in the original plan. What is tragic is the fact that where he has been defeated and such defeats have been numerous—his failures have been due not so much to his opponents as to his own friends.

Where others have been content to sit still, afraid to go forward or to take any decisive step for fear of making mistakes, our great national leader has taken courage in both his hands and made attempt after attempt to improve the social, economic and political status of Indians, irrespective of caste and creed. Such is the work done by our greatest leader in India today and it would ill become any one not to recognise the services he has rendered and is still rendering to the cause of India. To deny him the barest justice is to betray the possesion of phenomenal smallness of mind.

Superiority of Peaceful Warfare

An American thinker has said :

"Any real programme of peace must rest on the premise that there will be causes of dispute as long as we can foresee, that these disputes have to be decided and that a way of deciding them must be found which is not war."

I maintain *Satyagraha* meets this requirement. So far as the attainment of definite aims is concerned, this method has proved as efficient as war. From the moral standpoint, it is immensely superior to war.

India, which gave expression of its pugnacity by the adoption of this method for fighting social, economic and political evils has, today, acquired a courage, strength and self-respect to which she had been a stranger for centuries. Today we

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have to admit that the *Satyagrahis* have displayed a new type of courage which is fundamentally different from the mass bravery seen in the battle-field where men are intoxicated by hatred, blood and slaughter. The instances referred to above as well as others too numerous to mention prove that they have cherished a high ideal of discipline.

To these qualities which we may characterise as military, we have to add others not found among soldiers. The *Satyagrahis* are dominated by the spirit of service and of love and these are at the disposal of both friend and foe. We see today a retreating army harassed by bombing and machine-gunning from aeroplanes but the typical *Satyagrahi* holds his hand as soon as his enemy is placed in a difficult situation. This spirit of chivalry is totally unknown in modern warfare. The *Satyagrahis* give their services free while even a national army has to be paid.

Warfare according to the Gandhian technique does not entail any expenditure for the erection of soldiers' quarters, their salaries and pensions and their equipments. Nor does it demand that recruitment should be confined to men conforming to certain specific standards in physique. It is war on the democratic basis where no one expects rewards, titles, or distinctions of any kind.

In war of the ordinary type, the army and the general satff almost always enjoy a very large measure of personal safety for they direct all operations from the rear whereas in a *Satyagraha* campaign the highest mortality is among the leaders. If the struggle is continued long enough, many among the rank and file are called upon to assume charge of the campaign and this develops their sense of leadership and of responsibility. Self-purification, truth, love for the opponent and similar other qualities demanded of the *Satyargahi* certainly prove his moral and spiritual superiority to the ordinary soldier who is not generally fired by any kind of idealism.

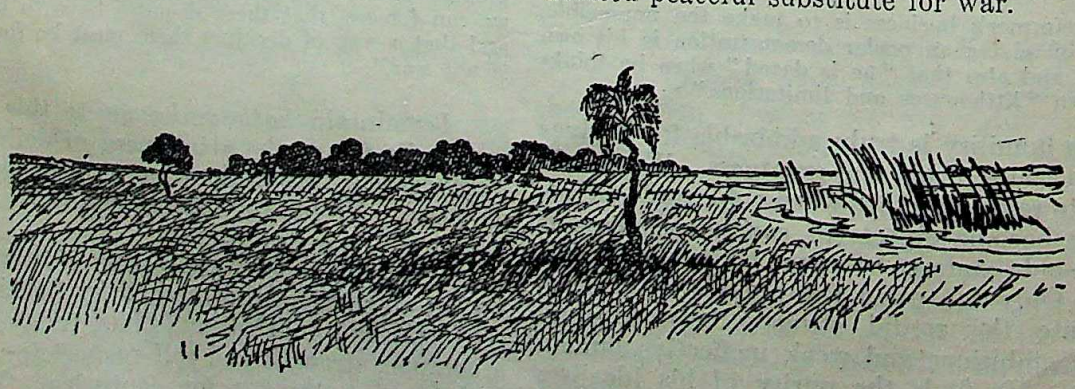
Other very important advantages of this method are that untruth is replaced by truth for no kind of false propaganda is permissible. The objects aimed at are sought to be realised only by reason of the justice of the cause. In this type of warfare there are few if any casualties, these latter consisting of those whose activities are suppressed by the opponent while on his side there cannot, by the very nature of the struggle, be any at all.

In war the combatants gradually undergo a progressive demoralisation. As tempers are roused by temporary checks or defeats, a slow but sure moral degradation makes its appearance. Recourse is had at first hesitatingly and later on shamelessly to means oftener objectionable than otherwise by which the discomfiture of the opponent is either hastened or ensured. Such is not the case in a *Satyagraha* campaign. When successful, it cannot but "create a new heart" even in the oppressor and so, at the end of the struggle, he is a better man than at its inception.

In matters such as these, there is a fundamental difference between warfare of this new type and the kind with which man has been familiar through the ages. The fact does remain that in the words of Romain Rolland

> Mahatma Gandhi "has raised up three hundred millions of his fellowmen, shaken the British Empire and inaugurated in human politics the most powerful movement that the world has seen for nearly two thousand years."

At a time when leaders in other parts of the world are by their actions questioning the necessity of regulating either public or private conduct by any such principle as fairness and justice or, at the best, are attempting to do justice to one class of society by the persecution of another, Gandhiji is leading a crusade against the social, economic and political bondage of India and the weapon he recommends and teaches others to use is *Satyagraha*, his newly devised peaceful substitute for war.



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PHILOSOPHY IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By SISIR KUMAR MITRA

The manner in which Indian Philosophy is neglected in Indian Universities is highly deplorable. In the M.A. Philosophy course of the Calcutta University, out of eight papers only one is devoted to Indian Philosophy, and a student can be a graduate in Philosophy without knowing anything about Indian Philosophy. As far as we know, the case is not any the better in other Indian Universities.

"When Lord Ronaldshay was the Governor of Bengal, he expressed great surprise that so much importance was given to Western Philosophy in the Indian Universities, and so little to Indian Philosophy. As a matter of fact, in all the Indian Universities our education is planned on Western model (specially of the London and Oxford type), and inspiration in philosophy is still being sought from the pages of Hegel and Bradley, rather than from anything Indian." (Sri Aurobindo and the New Age).

And yet in Philosophy India still stands foremost in the world.

Mr. W. Norman Brown writes in a Bulletin (No. 28th May, 1939) issued by the American Council of Learned Societies :

"No other people of record has been so greatly pre-occupied with these subjects as has the Indian, and has joined them in a team, with philosophy always functioning to serve religion. This is not to say that every coolie in the streets quotes the *Upanishads* and discusses monism, but it is to say that nowhere else have so many aspects of civilization revolved so generally around a spiritual, religious center, and so many thinkers in all departments of living carried on their special studies with the primary motive of helping to solve problems of religion and philosophy. . . . Such a concentration of intellectual interest may not have been entirely defensible, but it has made the Indians deal exhaustively with almost every possible variety of religious experience. When the intellectual West discovered the *Vedas* at the end of the eighteenth century, this Indian attitude of mind had a profound influence, which helped to mould the German romantic movement of the nineteenth century, and in another field, led to the scientific study of the history and comparison of religions. When Schopenhauer read the *Upanishads* in a Latin translation of a Persian translation from the Sanskrit, he felt that he had at last come to a clear and beautiful, though early and unsystematic, treatment of the fundamental problem of man's relation to the universe and he found in those texts 'the comfort of his life, the solace of his death.' Indic thought was responsible for many of the most important currents in our own American philosophical movement of the nineteenth century. Long before the eighteenth century, classic Greece had in India a by-word for metaphysical profundity."

It will perhaps be urged that philosophy in India has for some centuries been in an unfruitful scholastic stage. It is no doubt true that after a wonderful creative activity in all departments of life for more than two thousand years, a decline came in the vitality of the Indian people. But India never ceased to produce great saints and sages who kept the torch of spiritual light burning even in the midst of great darkness, and there has already been a great renaissance. The modern mind, educated as it is in Western thought, may indeed find it difficult to follow ancient Indian philosophy unless it is put in a more modern form and language. It is happy however that the philosophical writings of Sri Aurobindo have removed this difficulty completely. He has set out the inner significance of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita in a way that brings them home to the modern mind. Thus *The Statesman* of Calcutta observed about the *Essays on the Gita* :

"It is written throughout in easy excellent English which carries to a new perfection the difficult art of expounding Hindu thought to the West."

And he has not only interpreted ancient philosophy, but his original contributions have brought about a revolution in philosophical thought, and he is now regarded as the greatest modern sage and thinker. Commenting on *The Life Divine*, the *magnum opus* of Sri Aurobindo, Prof. Vaidyanathaswamy, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D. of the Madras University, observes :

"As regards the scope and nature of the work, it seems to be the first work written from the dawn of creation which can profess to deal rationally and systematically with the problem of the integral affirmation of the Divine and to prove its thesis by squarely facing the difficult issues involved and reaching a rational solution by a sheer insight of spiritual experience and knowledge."

Referring to Sri Aurobindo's Essays and Letters contained in the book, *The Riddle of this World*, Mr. W. A. Moore says that some of it seems to go as far as thought, which depends on words, can reach. What excuse have our Universities now not to give a prominent place to the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo in their Curriculum ?

It is a good sign that the Calcutta University has already moved a little in this direction.

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Prof. Adharchandra Das's book called *Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind* has been recommended as a text-book for the M.A. course in Philosophy by the Calcutta University. The book is very good as a brief presentation of Sri Aurobindo's thought, but it does not give a complete picture, and also a few points have to be made more clear to avoid misunderstanding. These defects can be remedied if along with Prof. Das's book, a book called *Sri Aurobindo and the New Age** by Sj. Anilbaran Roy is also recommended; these two small books together can serve as a very good introduction to the philosophy and thought of Sri Aurobindo. But our Universities should devote at least one whole paper in the M.A. course to the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo; and until the syllabus is so changed as to make that possible, *The Life Divine* can be recommended as a text-book of general philosophy as it deals with all the ultimate problems of philosophy with wonderful luminosity and profoundness.

Also a whole paper ought to be devoted to the Upanishads and the Gita, for which Sri Aurobindo's *Isha Upanishad* and *Essays on the Gita* may be recommended. The *Isha Upanishad* is the whole of the Upanishadic spiritual discipline summarised and concentrated in a few, almost cryptic, *slokas*. Sri Aurobindo's translation is marvellously close to the original, echoing, as it were, the very sense of the ancient text and yet in a form clear and near to the modern mind. His commentary contains an analysis of the thought-movement in its severely logical chain, thus giving the lie direct to the cheap European criticism that the Upanishads are generally a string of disconnected and disjointed thoughts. Some Indian Universities have adopted the Gita as a text-book for the Sanskrit course. The Gita, which is the greatest synthesis of Aryan Spiritual culture and philosophy, cannot find a place in the philosophy course of the modern Indian Universities and must enter by the back-door of language! The philosophical form of the Gita and the ancient commentaries on it are no doubt alien to the modern mind, but as we have said above, Sri Aurobindo's interpretation has completely removed this difficulty and our Universities can have no excuse now for excluding the Gita from their philosophical course. For this purpose an excellent edition of the Gita, *The Message of the Gita*, by Anilbaran Roy, based on the interpretation of Sri Aurobindo can also be recommended.† About this edition Mr. H. T. Hamblin, Editor of *The Science of Thought Review*, England, writes:

"An ideal book both for study and for reference . . . . one cannot open it at any page without learning something."

With such facilities for study, it is our firm contention that no Indian student ought to be allowed to become a graduate, specially in philosophy, without studying the Upanishads and the Gita.

All the prominent Universities of the West have chairs of Indology. In the bulletin issued by the American Council of the Learned Societies, to which reference has been made above, the learned editor remarks:

"It is pleasant and somewhat surprising to report that there undoubtedly exists in American scholarship an increasing interest in this field of study (the field of Indian culture), not only at the level of research but also at the level of more generalised curiosity on the part of all students of the modern world."

Presenting the case for still further expansion of Indic studies in America, Mr. W. Norman Brown observes in the same bulletin:

"The aim is to indicate by brief reference the importance which Indian Civilisation has had for the world, still has, and may be expected to have, with the deduction that it demands our extended study. . . We must remember that the students now passing through our educational machinery will live their effective lives during the second half of the twentieth century, and it takes no gift of prophecy to predict that at that time the world will include a vigorous India, possibly politically free, conceivably a dominant power in the Orient, and certainly intellectually vital and productive. How can Americans who have never met India in their educational experience be expected to live intelligently in such a world? . . . We believe, consequently, that no department of study, particularly in the humanities, in any major university can be fully equipped without a properly trained specialist in the Indic phases of its discipline. We believe, too, that every college which aims to prepare its graduates for intelligent work in the world which is to be theirs to live in, must have on its staff a scholar competent in the civilization of India. And we believe that every library or museum which means to meet more than strictly provincial interests must include Indic materials in its collections and Indic specialists on its staff."

But while the West is taking an increasing interest in the study of Indian ideals, the Indian Universities pay little heed to modern spiritual thought and practice in India which is the core of her civilisation and culture. How can our young men trained under such a system of education be expected to be "intellectually vital and productive"?

The late Dr. Vincent Smith, the eminent writer of Indian History, made some very per-

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The Emirsultan mosque at Busra. Sixty miles south of Istanbul, ten miles in from the sea of Marmara, lies Busra, Turkey-in-Asia

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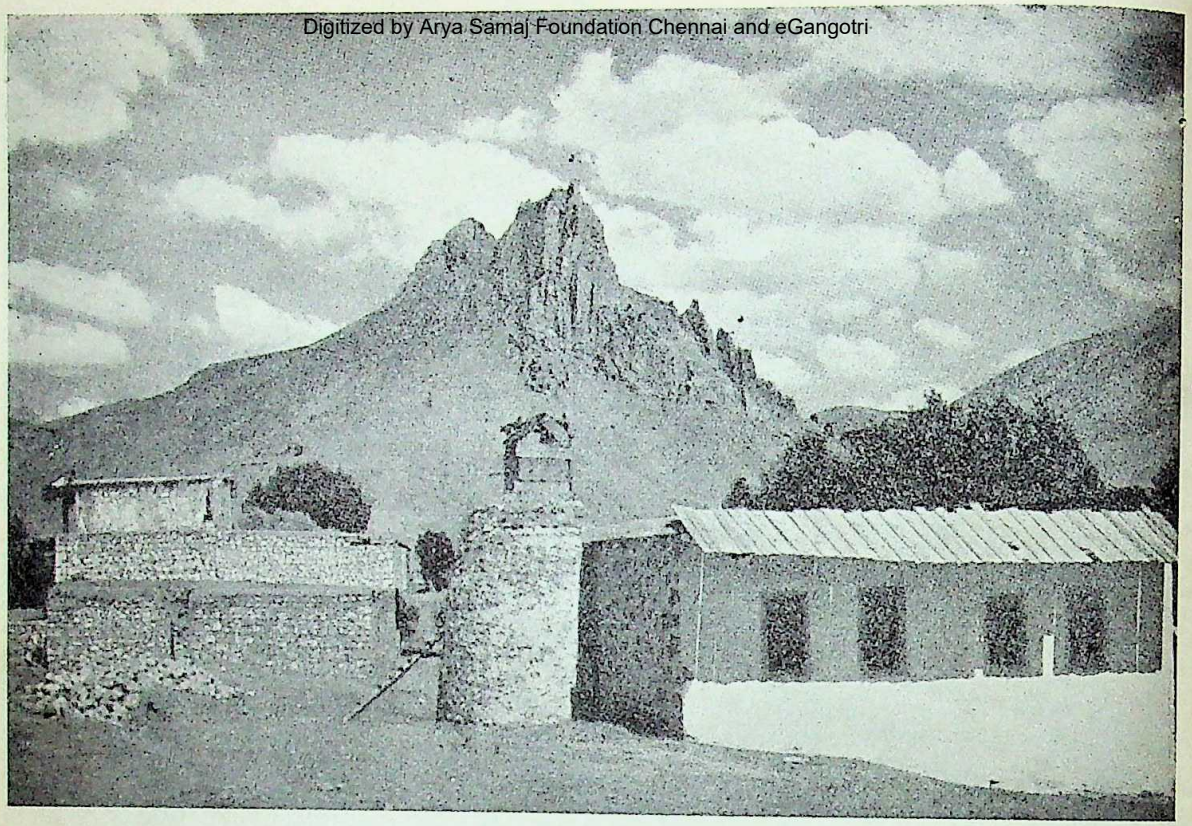

Between Zonguldak and Erzurum

The Millet ruins at Soke, Aydin

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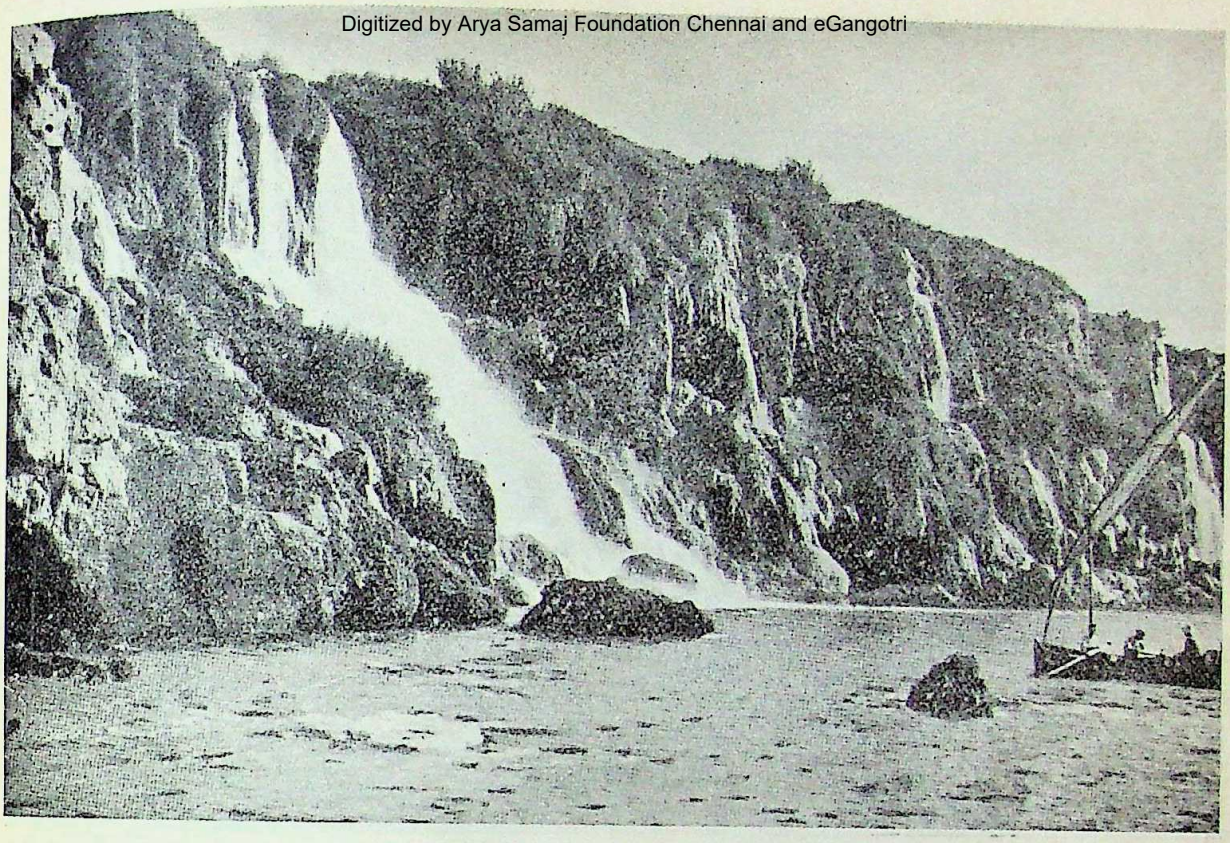
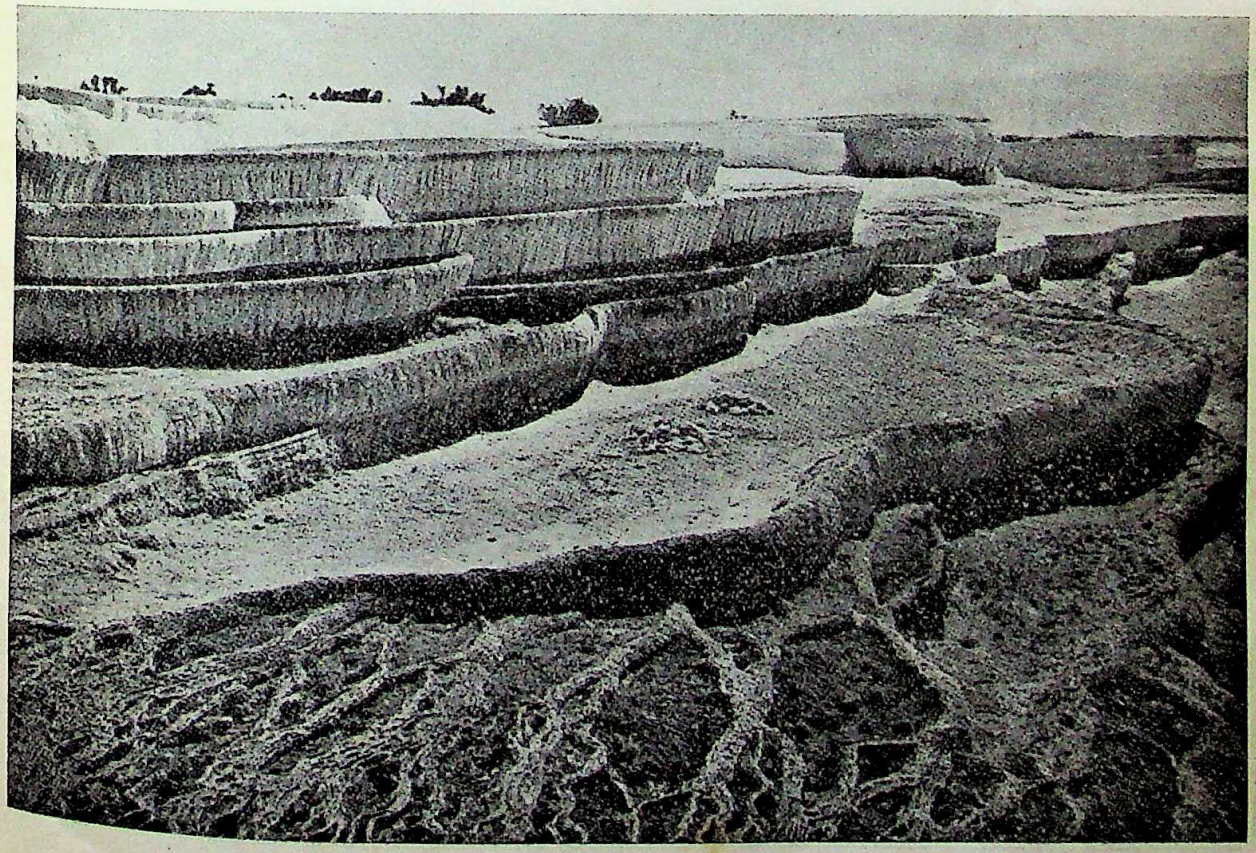


Waterfalls at Antalya



Basin of thermal water at Pamukkale

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A dwelling-house at Kars

A farmer's cottage at Ayancik

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tinent obervations with regard to the teaching of Indian Philosophy in Indian Universities. He said :

"The Indian Universities suffer from the want of root. They are mere cuttings struck down in an uncongenial soil and kept alive with difficulty by the constant watering of a paternal Government."

"When an Indian student is bidden to study Philosophy, he should not be forced to try and accommodate his mind to the unfamiliar forms of European speculation, but should be encouraged to work on the lines laid down by the great thinkers of his own country, who may justly claim equality with Plato, Aristotle and Kant. The lectures and examinations in Philosophy for the students of an Indian Uuniversity should be primarily on Indian Ethics and Metaphysics, the European systems being taught only for the sake of contrast and illustration. So far as I know, the courses prescribed by the Indian Universities are not on these lines."

"It is useless to ask an Indian University to reform itself, because it does not possess the power. Some day, perhaps, the man in power will arise who is not hidebound by the University traditions of his youth, who will perceive that an Indian University deserving of the name must devote itself to the development of Indian thought and learning and who will care enough for true higher education to establish a real University in India."

It is high time that our Universities correct this anomaly by including in their curriculum the teachings of Sri Aurobindo who is, in the words of Romain Rolland, "the completest synthesis that has been reached to this day, of the genius of Asia and the genius of Europe."

NATIONALISM AND TRADITION IN KEMALIST TURKEY

By MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. POL. (Rome)

THE Italian invasion of Greece has brought the war practically to the frontiers of Turkey. Anxious moments were passed in Ankara when the Molotov mission visited Berlin following closely upon the commencement of the Italo-Greek war. Will the Turkish Republic survive or go the way of Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, was the question on every lip. With the Italian reverses in Albania and Greece the danger of Turkish disintegration may be considered to have receded for the time being, but the strategic importance of this country renders its destiny one of the biggest question-marks of the present warfare and diplomacy in Europe. Turkey holds a key position in the eastern Mediterranean; it blocks the way of the Axis troops to the Near East; it commands the Dardanelles and has a fully trained modern army. True to the Kemalist tradition which was sharply critical of Enver's imperialist policy that made Turkey a German tool and involved her in German ruin in the last Great War, this young Republic has an alliance with Great Britain and France, and once more the Crimean spirit appears to be one of the guiding principles of Turkish foreign policy. On the other hand, the Axis Powers are dealing alternately cajolings and threats to the rulers of Ankara, and Von Papen, the energetic German ambassador at the Turkish capital, is doing his best to bring this country within the orbit of the German economic system, while Turkey's eyes are anxiously pointed towards Moscow. The long-standing rivalry between Russia and Britain for the control of the Straits that made Turkish nationalism and the rise of Kemal an accomplished fact, and saved Turkish sovereignty from total extinction, as contemplated in the Treaty of Sevres (1920) over which

She is proud of her prize
A Turkish girl with her farm produce

the spirit of Gladstone seemed to have presided, places Turkey in a particularly complicated

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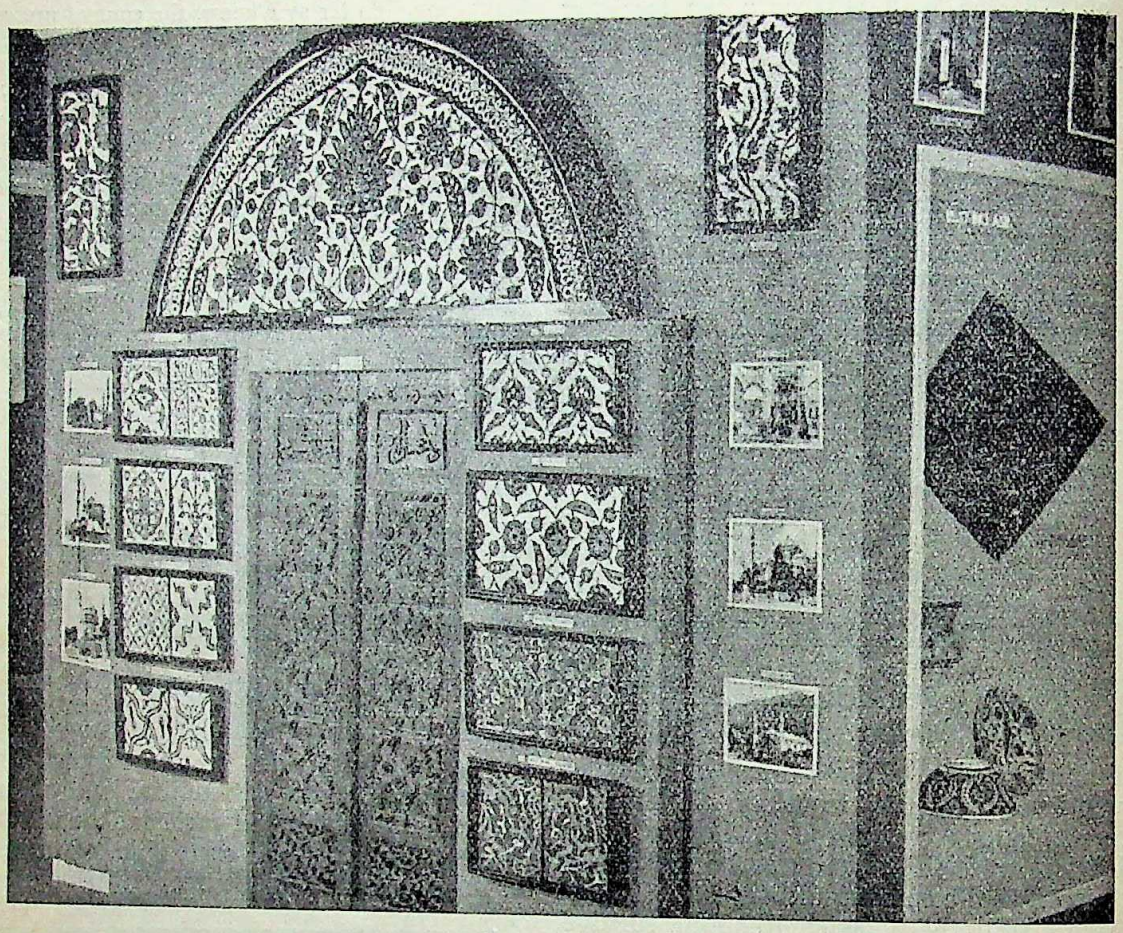

An example of Turkish wood carving of the 16th century. Door in carved wood

situation on the map of Europe. The role of Turkey in the present war, it may be reasonably assumed, will be determined by the inter-play of principally three factors, namely, the British alliance, the Axis intrigue and the Soviet foreign policy.

In order to properly understand the underlying currents of contemporary Turkish life and politics it is necessary to realize that the all-embracing transformation of Turkey in the post-war period was fundamentally a product of Turkish nationalism. Kemal's rise to the leadership of his nation was no less due to his ardent nationalism than to his clearness of head, his independence of judgment and his military and political experience. Turkey for the Turks was his motto through life. That he joined, in his youth, in the plot to overthrow Abdul Hamid, was not due to his love for constitutional liberty but due to his abhorrence of the Sultan regime which made his country decrepit, spy-haunted and the prey of foreigners. His life-long ambition was to make Turkey free and strong, give her the character of a modern democratic State and relieve Turkish society of the enormous burden of age-long superstitions and prejudices which render the progressive working of democratic institutions extremely difficult. In Kemal's view the Sultans of the race of Ottoman were usurpers who deprived the nation of its legitimate rights and powers. His reforming zeal and revolutionary spirit were fundamentally inspired by the national idea. In a speech delivered at the Grand National Assembly by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal in October, 1927, he defended the breach of tradition involved by the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, and proceeded:

"Sovereignty is acquired by force, by power, by violence. It was by violence that the sons of Ottoman acquired power to rule over the Turkish nation and to maintain their rule for more than six centuries. It is now the nation that revolts against these usurpers puts them in their right place, and carries on their sovereignty."

By way of digression, it may be observed that it was a queer calculation on the part of Indian nationalism to enter into an alliance with the anti-national religious fanaticism of the

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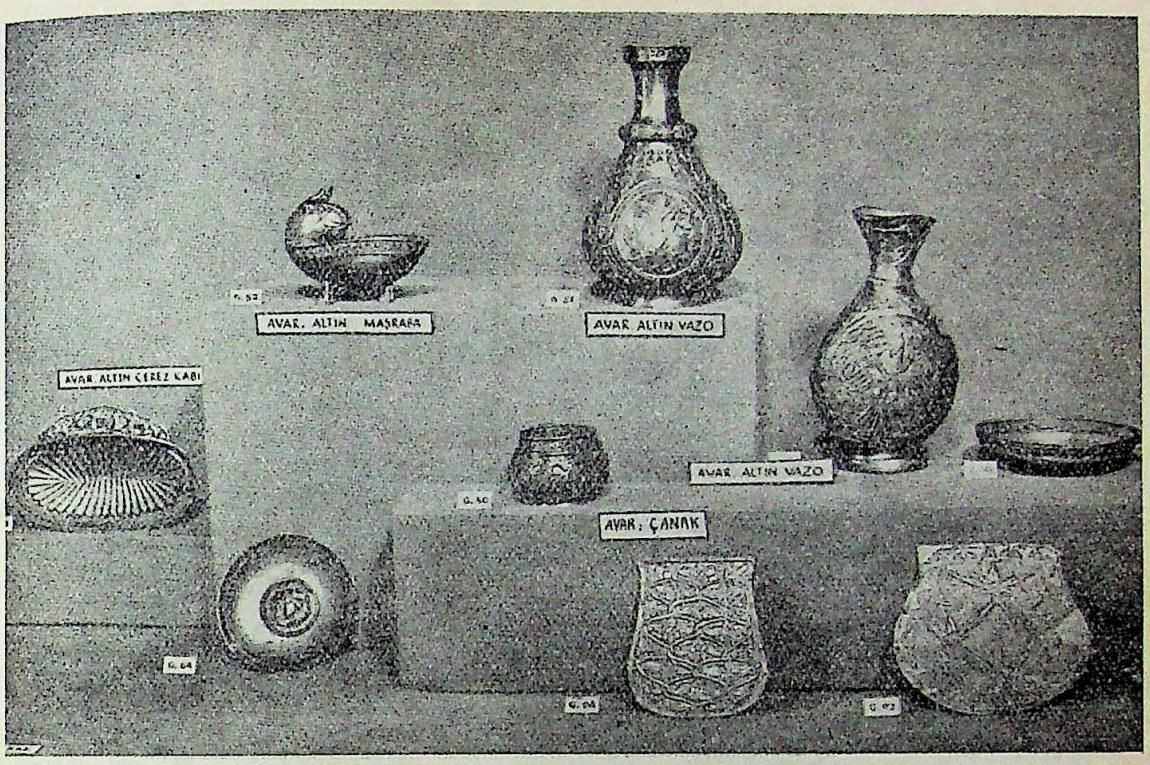

Art of the Avars. Central Asian popular Art (of the Turkish people)

Moslem world of the near East that promoted the Khilafat movement in India during the early twenties of the present century. Indian nationalists were led to believe, by a queer logic, that there was the hand of the British behind the abolition of the Caliphate. The moral which the quick intuition of Kemal derived from the Great War and the significance of contemporary events was lost upon the budding nationalists of Young India. The underlying meaning of Turkish reforms was not realized by the Moslem world until at a later date when out of all confused controversies the outlines of the modern Turkish nation-State were visible and when Kemal was acclaimed as the leader of Young Turkey. Kemal saw clearly that the defeat of Turkey was due to her entanglements with Western Powers, her unprogressive and barbaric society and her incapacity to control non-Turkish races within her boundaries. The cure was emancipation from the foreigner, internal reform and the education of a self-centered Turkish nationalism in the original Turkish homelands. To achieve this his audacious reforms, though long dabated in the private counsels of the Young Turks, were needed.

"The Caliphate was abolished, the women were compelled to abandon the veil, the schools were laicized, the Koran was ordered to be rendered into Turkish. By an astounding breach with tradition it was decreed (1928) that the Moslem faith should no longer be the official religion of the Turkish Republic. Small things as well as large attracted the innovating zeal of the Ghazi, or Raider of the Christians, and lest the devout should persevere in the practice of touching the ground with their foreheads in the course of their devotions, they were compelled to substitute the rimmed hat of the European for the traditional fez. These and other modernizing changes, such as the abolition of polygamy, the introduction of the Latin script, and the adoption of the Western codes of law, were accepted without a murmur. The dervish, the chiromancer, the magician, the dice-thrower and amulet-seller were decreed out of existence. It was sufficient that such changes were recommended by the Ghazi." (H. A. L. Fisher: *A History of Europe*, p. 1182).

One might argue that the abolition of the fez has more than a religious significance. It might have been the intention of the realist Mustapha to remove the apparant distinction between the Christian and the Moslem citizens of the Young Turkish State by decreeing a uniform headgear. The purpose of the nationalist transformation of Turkey would not have been served if the people remained sundered into rival religious groups. Although the Christian minorities of the Turkish Empire were mostly redeemed in the post-war migrations of religious and ethnic groups by the general application of the principle of self-determination and by the establishment of Balkan nationalism on that basis, yet Turkey contained within its boundaries groups of people who professed faiths other than Islam. The Ottoman Turks knew

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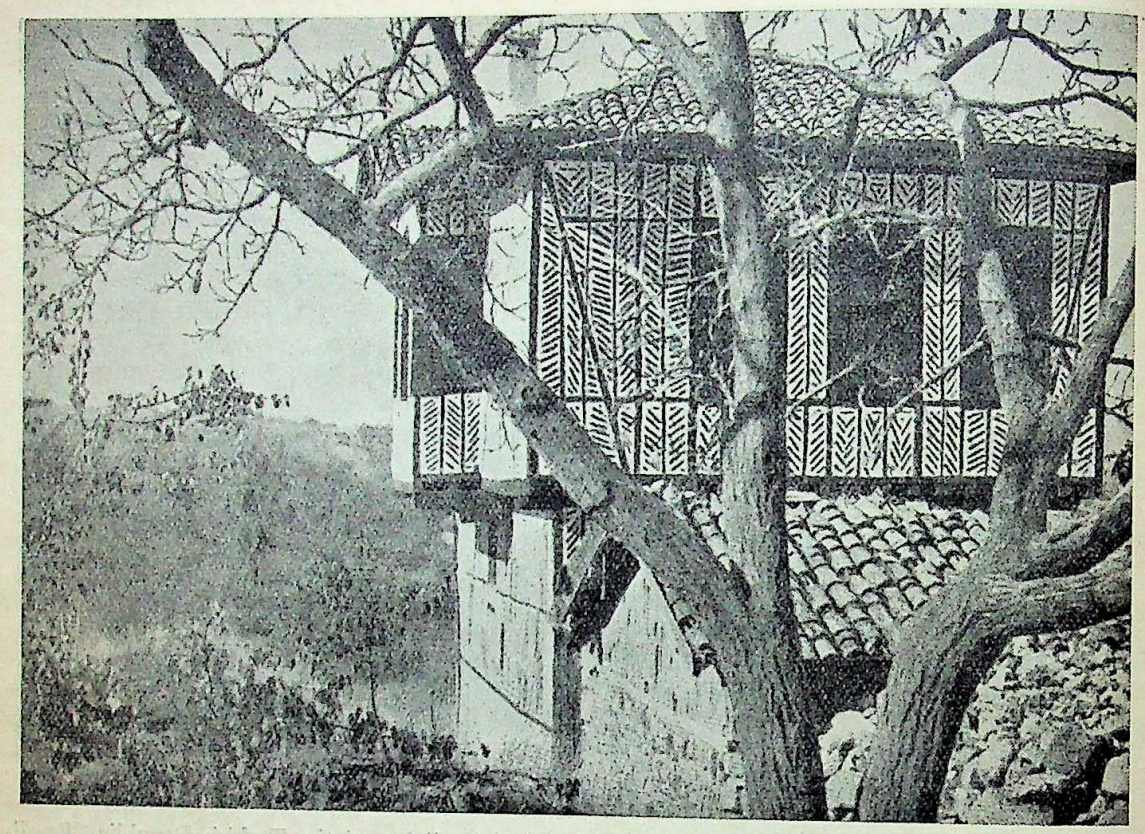

A dwelling in the dale, Ankara

how to take full advantage of the religious schisms that divided European society into many conflicting groups. It was practically the division between the Greek and Latin Churches which brought the Turks into Constantinople. With the expansion of the Ottoman empire, large communities of Christians came under Turkish rule which they seemed to prefer to the depraved Byzantine rule which preceded it. It is interesting to note in this connection that though the Turk and the Christian had never been on friendly terms with each other ever since they came in contact and have sometimes fought each other, Turkish political life and economic prosperity had been built up with the aid of Christian subjects since the time when Ottoman founded his line on the wastes of Bithynia. Ottoman Turks were a family of simple shepherds and private soldiers and were not by themselves competent enough to found a State whose religious creed would be Islam. So marriage, enslavement and military renown of the early Turkish tribe were harnessed to the drawing of adherents. The "Janissaries," or new soldiers, who helped immensely the conquest of fresh territories for the Ottoman Empire were "Christian children, taken by force from their homes, and brought up as Moslems in seminaries designed to efface all trace of their early affections and affinities, and to make of them pliable instruments of the Ottoman state. Some, and these the most unfortunate, were drafted off to serve as pages in the palace, others were employed in the civil service, but the main body passed into an infantry corps, so brave and devoted that no Turkish army with a stiffening of janissaries failed to give an excellent account of itself on the field. The janissary was a slave. The affections which sweeten the character, the interests which expand the mind, the ideals which give elevation to the will, were denied him. An iron discipline effaced the past and impoverished the future. He was made to forget father and mother, brothers and sisters. He could never hope for wife or children. The barrack was his home, fighting his trade, the Koran his religion, and he went forth to slay the enemies of the Sultan and of Allah with the inflamed and contracted fanaticism of a monk." (*A History of Europe*, op. cit., p. 402).

On the other hand, after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, large numbers of Christians passed under the Turkish rule. The Christian subjects were of course excluded from political power but eked out a comfortable existence guaranteed by the inherent defects and weaknesses of their conquerors. The Turk was cruel but indolent, overbearing but stupid. Having no aptitude for industry or commerce, he was content to allow the Christian to carry on the occupations of the shopkeeper, the merchant and the artisan. It is only after the

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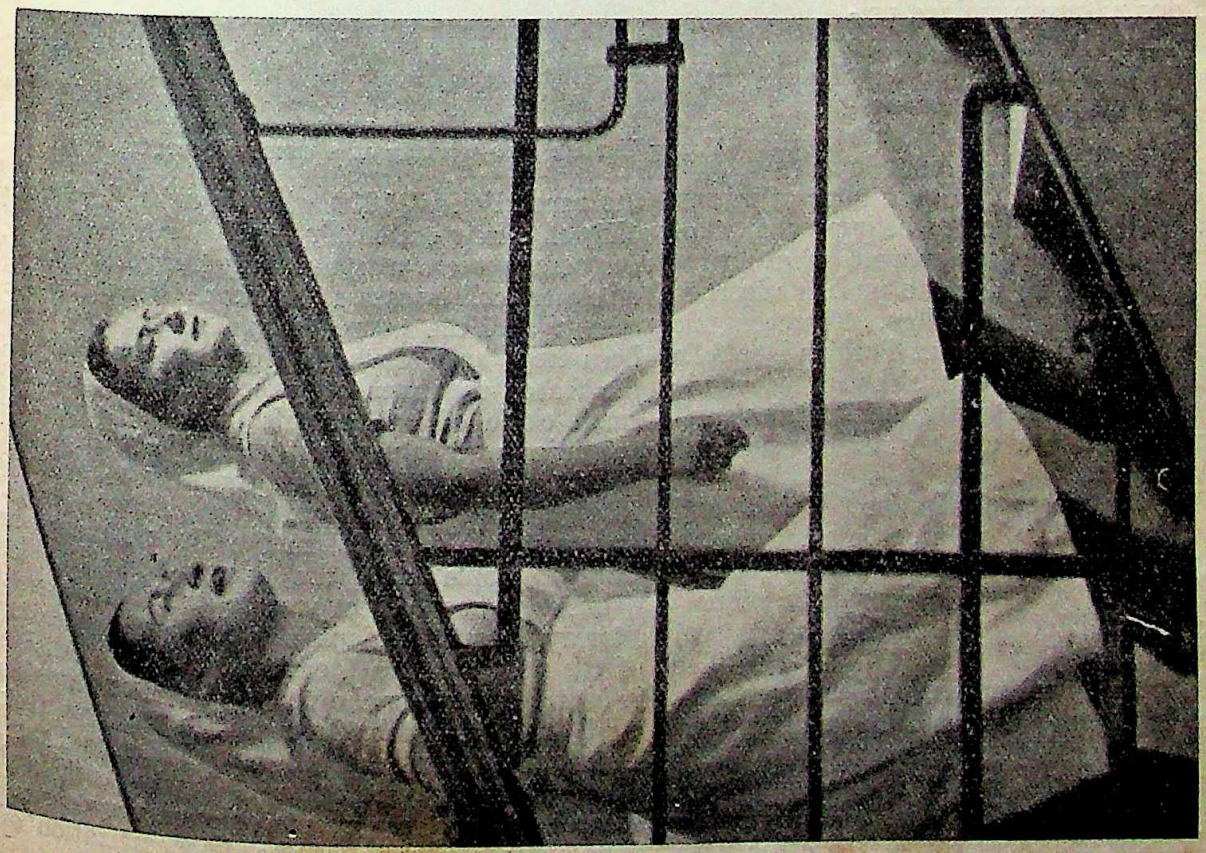
Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, popularly known as Kemal Ataturk, father of modern Turkey



In the service of the sick and the suffering
Turkish women in large numbers take up child and maternity work. Trained lady doctors and nurses are so common now-a-days in Turkey

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last Great War that the Greek, Bulgar and Slav subjects of the Porte who carried on the trade and industry of Turkey through centuries were transported to the ancient homelands of their races. What Turkey lost in territory at the Peace Conference she gained in compactness. The problem of Christian minorities which had long vexed the conscience and shaped the the policies of the western world disappeared and the long-standing Greco-Turkish hostility over this question had no more any reason to exist. According to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) which marks a turning point in Turkish history closing, as it does, the long period of imperial decline and opening the national era; an exchange of Turkish and Greek populations within their respective territories eliminated a perennial source of racial antagonism. The repatriation of Greek settlers from Smyrna and their disappearance from Turkish industry and trade disorganized for the time being the economic life of the country. Turkey's agriculture remained primitive. The Turks had little business tradition. But the new State did not give itself up in despair. Like every progressive State it set about planting its economic foundations on sure soil. Large sums of money were invested in irrigation for the improvement of agriculture, and the development of railways was taken in hand in order to push a vigorous industrial and commercial policy. The economic foundations of the independent Turkish Republic have been firmly laid, and although economic conditions change less rapidly than political and social ones, there are already visible signs of an encouraging future.

Beauties at work
Young Turkish girls working at a chemical concern

As in the case of Italian, Greek and Bohemian nationalism, political movements in Turkey were preceded by a literary revival. Although the final triumph of Turkish nationalism came with Ghazi Mustapha Kemal, its real founder was Ziyā Gok Alp (1875-1925). The democratization of culture which was the aim of this ardent nationalist and some of his co-workers was achieved mainly through a simplification of the written language and through newspaper compaigns. The turning point in Turkish national conscience came with the revolution of 1908 which marks the beginning of a new era in Turkey. With the rise of democracy there was naturally felt the need of a closer collaboration between the cultivated classes and the people who had for centuries been kept at a distance from one another for the reason that men of letters only wrote for a small circle of intellectuals in a language and on subjects which were unintelligible to the lower classes. The battle cry of the new school was *Khalga doghru* (Towards the People), and societies were formed like the Turk Derneyi at Constantinople and the Yeni Lisanjilar at Salonica, whose object was to introduce a new literary language adapted to the understanding of the people and a literature free from foreign influences. Among the foremost workers in this field were Ali Janib, Omar Saifeddin, Ziya Gok Alp, and last but not the least Mehmed Emin, a religious poet who came of lowly stock and as spokesman of the people enjoyed very special popularity. In spite of the democratization of

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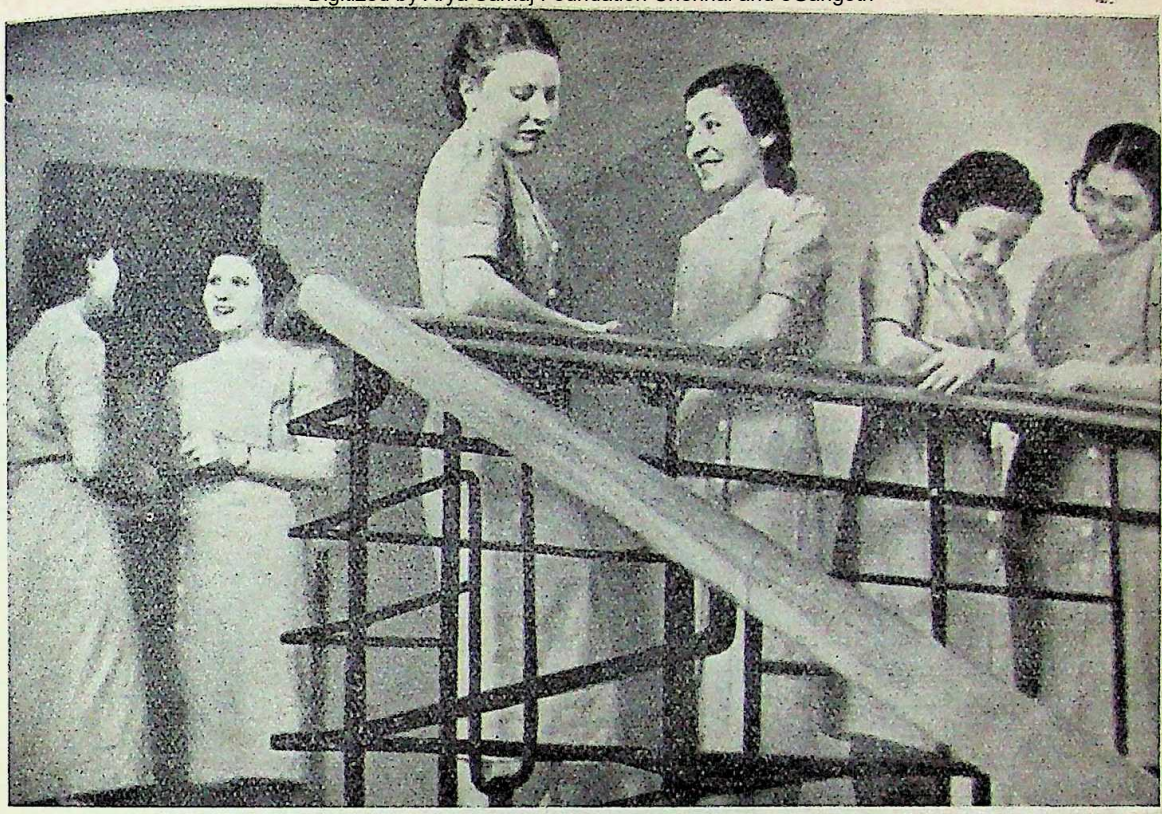
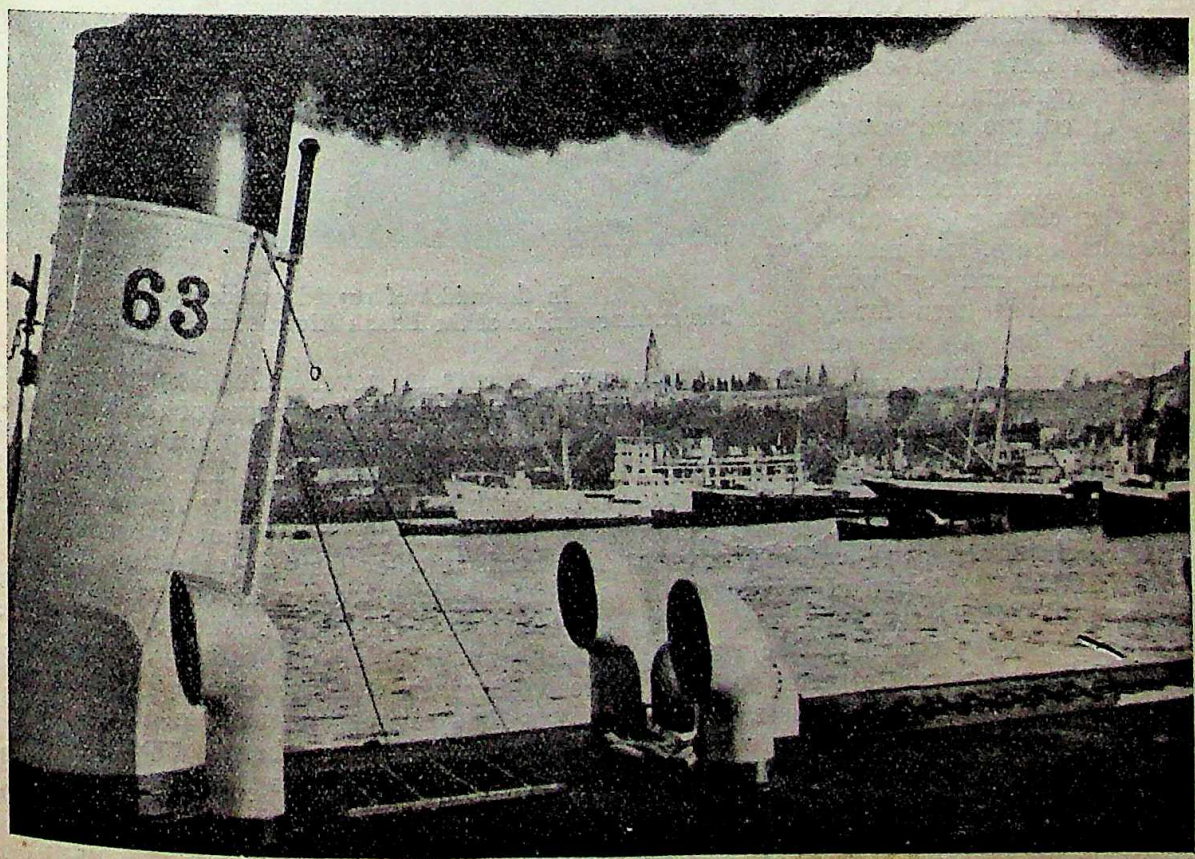


After their day's work
Turkish women now do not lag behind their sisters in other parts of the world in sharing their responsibilities to their motherland



Turkey has a powerful navy and is proud of her harbours
A corner from the Istanbul harbour; in the background is the old Seraglio

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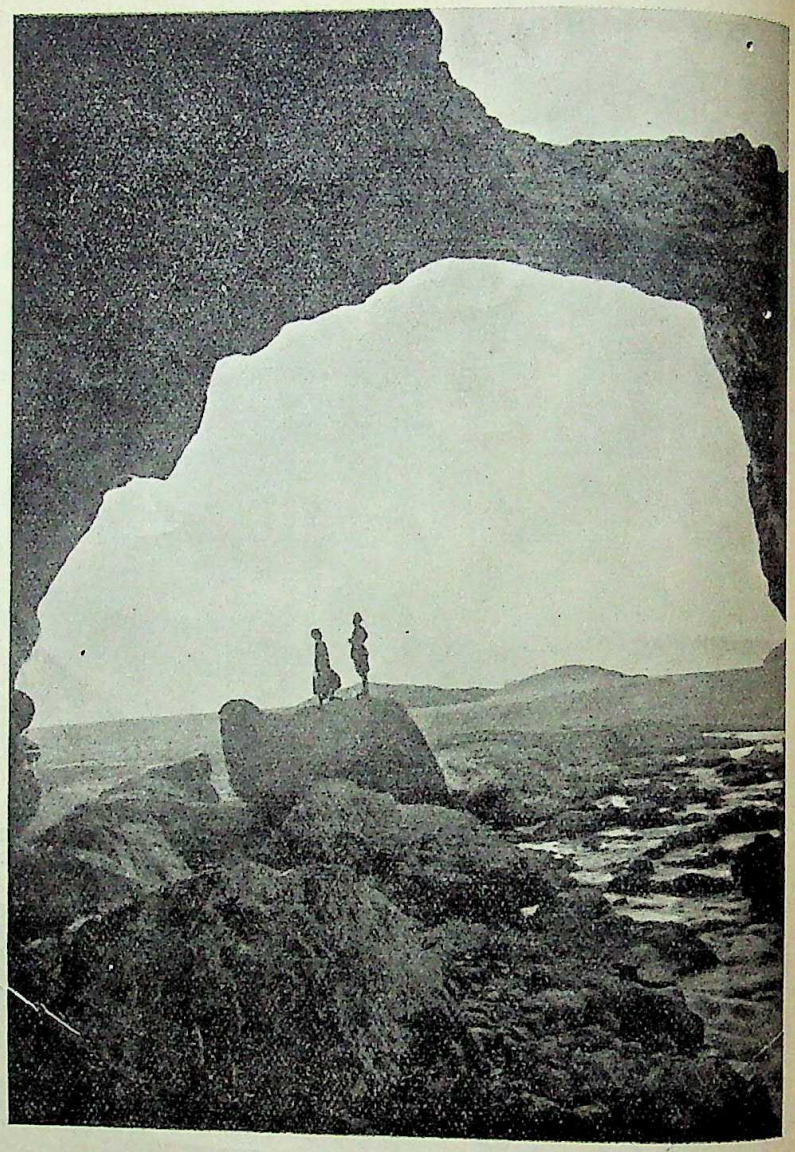
culture and secularization of education, however, literacy has not advanced as rapidly and as extensively in Turkey as in Russia or Greece. The bulk of the population is still illiterate, and the percentage of people who can read and write, according to recent estimates, would hardly exceed 15 per cent of the total population.

The principles of public instruction in Republican Turkey have been inspired by democratic ideals and are responsible for a slow but gradual class revolution. It is true that a movement for the Europeanization of Turkey started as early as 1839, but it led to a compromise by which the old systems were allowed to live and function by the side of the new. Religious books still kept their places next to the State tribunals and religious schools next to Government schools. The New Turkey drew a marked line between religion and State, defining religion, which is a matter of conscience, as something entirely pertaining to the individual, putting it out of the social and governmental life. Religious teachings have been erased from school programmes. In the institutions of culture and education of Kemalist Turkey, no one has the right to influence the conscience of the coming generation in a religious sense, no matter under what form and by what means. Laicism has been firmly established in the system of Turkey's public instruction. Another interesting aspect of school discipline in modern Turkey is its predominantly democratic character. The social position of the student and of his parents is kown only to the administration and the degree of wealth or poverty of the pupil is kept a secret. Their seats in class-rooms are assigned in such a way as to give no indication of privilege. It is forbidden to give the students rank, such as the first or second in class. It is also prohibited to distribute prizes to pupils as rewards for their good work. The scholastic standing of the pupil is followed through the monthly, half-yearly and yearly reports which circulate among the pupil, the parents and the school administration. All forms of corporal punishment are absolutely forbidden, and punishments are never inflicted upon the students in public. The abandonment of the veil has also facilitated the general adoption of co-education in all schools and colleges. The emancipation of the Turkish woman has very largely simplified the problems of vocational training to be imparted to the Turkish masses. While the modern Turkish woman in the cities is taking part in the industrial, scientific, political and artistic progress of the country, her sister in the villages is working bravely with untiring efforts thus setting an example of self-sacrifice and devotion before her compatriots. The Turkish woman has thus won for herself today, with the help of the Ghazi and the Government of the Republic, that freedom which has placed upon her shoulders the same responsibilities as



In the midst of rugged grandeur
The entrance orifice of the Elmali River, south-west of Antalya

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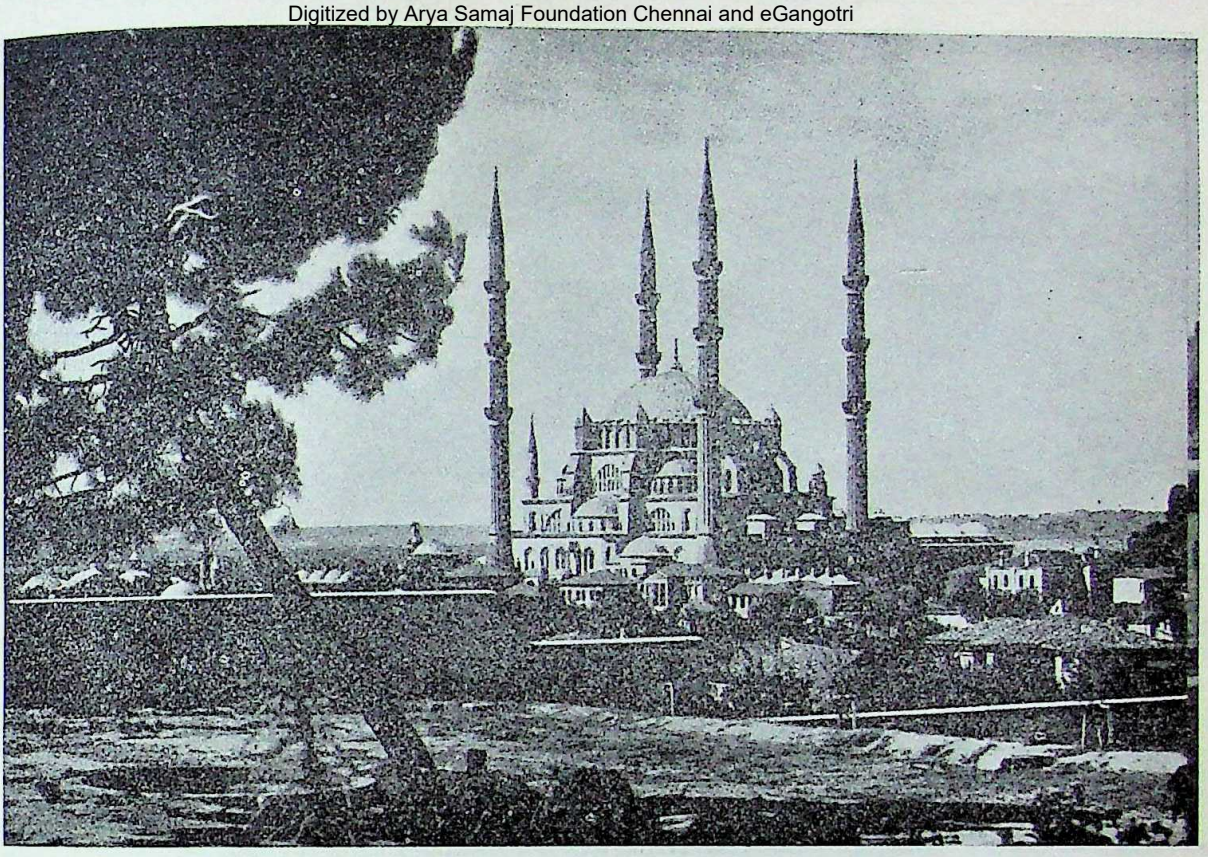
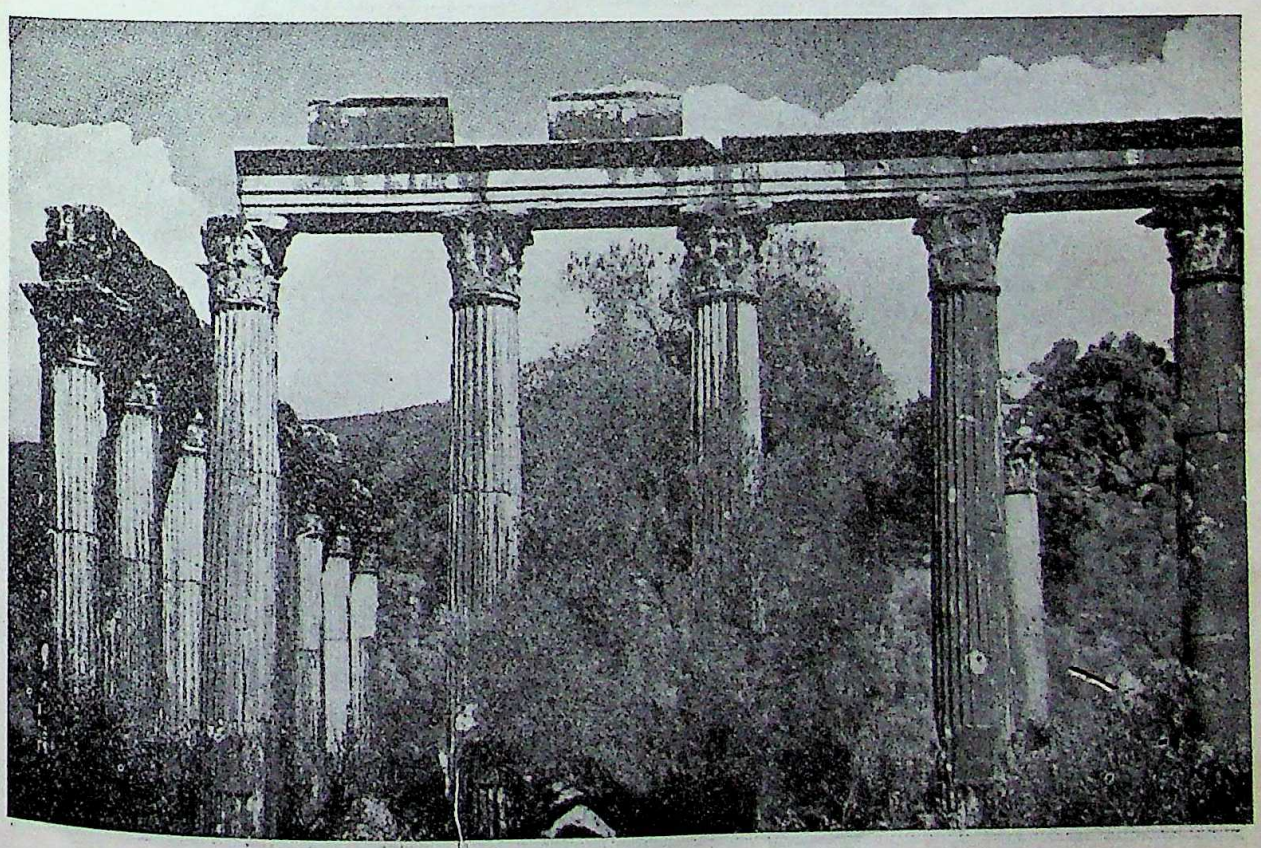


The Selimiye mosque at Edirne



The Ayakli ruins at Milas

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At Antalya

View from Edirne

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The statue and monument of Kemal Ataturk in Angora

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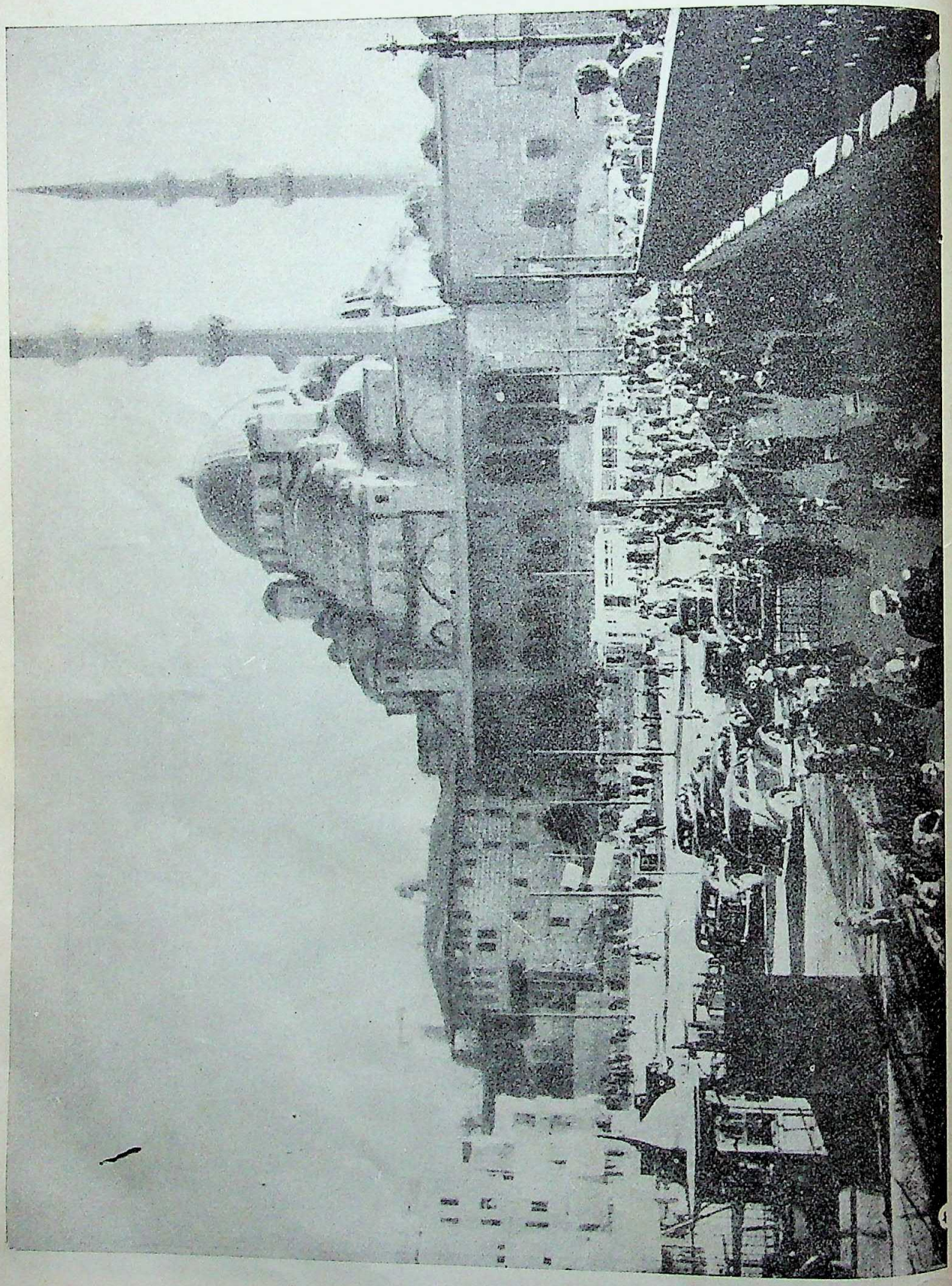

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Mischief-makers beware !
Not a sturdy peasant, nor an innocent news-boy but a member of the Turkish Police in disguise

the men are shouldering to advance the progress of the young Republic.

For political consolidation and economic rehabilitation Turkey needs peace. In spite of the democratic constitution and Grand National Assembly, the dictatorship of Ataturk, however benevolent that might have been, has left a scar on opposition parties, some members of which who were outspoken were executed during the Kemalist regime. So, democratic opposition is yet somewhat chary of the republican regime. Turkish finances are also not in a very prosperous condition. An inordinately big proportion of the total income of the State is spent for defence. Turkey is rich in minerals, particularly coal, lignite and manganese ore, but does not yet exploit them to her full capacity. Her fisheries, specially in the straits, have immense possibilities of expansion. Her loss of Mosul oil is, however, compensated by the 10% royalty on all extracted oil which Iraq pays to Turkey. Her foreign trade is principally with Italy, England, Germany, France, United States, Syria and Russia in the descending order of magnitude. In order to improve her finances, to raise the economic posperity of her people to higher levels and to complete, so to say, the process of modernization that has been in operation for the last two decades, Turkey badly needs peace. Her entire foreign policy, therefore, has been based on the maintenance of friendly relations with her neighbours, particularly with her most powerful neighbour, Russia. When Turkish refugees from Russia came to their ancient homeland in the twenties, Russia began to watch Pan-Turanianism in Turkey with some anxiety. The Turks lost no time in reassuring Russia, and the Turk *Ojaks* (national clubs) issued a declaration stating that Turkish nationalism was cultural and local, and had no Pan-Turanian aims. The ideals of the "Young Turks," successors to Ottomanism, which aimed at uniting all the racial and religious elements of the empire, were completly abandoned by Kemalist Turkey. Modern Turkey is not liked by the Moslem world of the Near East because of her abandonment of the Pan-Islamic ambitions. Turkish nationalism has dealt the severest blow to all plans for a general Pan-Islamic drive in the Near and Far East.

The present regime and foreign policy of Turkey aimed at the preservation of peace and the stabilization of a political system in Eastern Europe will exercise a decisive influence on the progress of the present war in the Near East.

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"The Turkish Republic, bereft of its worn-out Ottoman imperialism, is now a vigorous national unit of sturdy peasants, and with a Government of ability and honesty which is always characteristic of that race. Its alliance with the Western Powers is the lynch-pin of peace in south-eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. History has brought it about once more that, as in the Crimean war, so now under better auspices, we have an alliance between Turkey, France and Great Britain to restrain aggression on the threshold of south-eastern Europe and Asia. It is not a threat to Russia, and the new relations between Russia and Turkey which followed the Revolution is a guarantee for this. But it certainly is a factor which will discourage Russian penetration in this part of the world, either with annexationist claims or with the more insidious form of propaganda." (M. P. Price: *Hitler's War and Eastern Europe*, London, 1940, p. 148-9).

It is evident that the preservation of Turkish national sovereignty will depend upon the ability of the Turks to maintain the balance of their friendship with Britain and Russia. It may be reasonably expected, therefore, that Turkish policy will incline more towards open collaboration with the Soviet in case of British decline and towards a further strengthening of the British alliance in case of Russia's displaying annexationist intentions. In spite of this, it should hardly be repeated that the destiny of Balkan nationalism of which the Turkish Republic is such a vigorous exponent is inevitably bound up with the Central European regime that will emerge from the present struggle. The time is yet to come when Turkish statesmanship will have to encounter its most difficult test.

The Turks are not entirely strangers to India and Indians. They came as invaders through centuries and have left indelible marks on the ethnic, linguistic, administrative and artistic history of India. Modern Urdu contains many of the words, idioms and phrases in which the Tartar and Turanian legions of the great conquerors spoke in the valleys of the Indus. They have left us a multitude of aristocratic noblemen who claim descent from the Turkish chiefs. There are some connoisseurs who find the image of the Santa Sophia of Constantinople in the delicate lines of the Taj. The domes and minarets of hundreds of mosques in India might naturally remind one of the great empire that the sons of the Ottoman once built up in Europe and Asia. Tradition dies hard in the Moslem world, and in spite of the most astounding transformation of Turkey into a full-fledged modern nation-State, the Moslem confreres of the Turks in the Near and Far East still lingeringly meditate on the vanished glory of the Caliphate, the pomp and splendour of the Porte and dream of a Pan-Islamic federation of Moslem States and a Pakistan!

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Shakspere's Signature

To

The Editor,
The Modern Review.

Dear Sir,

It is very kind of you to have published my article on *Shakespeare Through X-Ray* in your esteemed journal (January, 1941). I shall be obliged if you kindly correct the following mistake in your next issue. The article seems to have lost a vital point without this correction.

Yours Sincerely,
S. N. Ray.

Page 104—Last line—Please read "who signed his will with great difficulty as *Willm Shakspere*" for "who . . . . . as William Shakespeare." (*Vide M. R.*, January, 1941).

Editor's note. We are very sorry for this proof-reader's lapse.—Editor, *M. R.*

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JAPAN'S ECONOMIC POLICY

By A. K. M. ZAKARIAH,
Ex-Mayor of Calcutta

Japan's economic policy has been characterised by several outstanding features of unusual importance. Above all, it has been governed by the general principle of checking the underlying menace of inflationary trends. These tendencies were feared as the result of progressive expansions in State expenditure. In the second place, the countrywide savings movement was intensified with the object of increasing it to an additional amount of Y 10,000 million. This movement was deemed necessary for absorbing the surplus purchasing power which would otherwise have been inevitable from the expanded State fiiscal operations.

In pursuance of the general policy of combating the underlying menace of inflation, the control measures introduced in the preceding years were intensified to control capital movement. Available capital resources have been mobilised and directed to productive enterprises. Restrictions have been placed on commodity prices, wages and salaries, and land and house rentals, to prevent their upward trends.

The national savings encouragement was launched in April, 1938, with the direct object of bond absorption and with the indirect object of checking the inflationary tendency that was thought certain due to the increased issue of currency. The objective of 1938-39 Savings drive was to increase the national savings to Y 8,000 million, this goal being successfully attained for the most part. The objective set for the current year is a further increase to Y 10,000 million. For the attainment of this end various financial organs are to co-operate in every possible way. Of the total savings made last year, the capital of various financial organs made up to 70% and this rate, of course, is to be raised this year. In this connection it may be noted that the deposits in ordinary banking institutions in June, 1939, totalled Y 16,915 million, an increase of Y 5,211 million over the year before. Of this amount Savings Banks' deposit amounted to Y 2,926 million or an increase of Y 954 million; cash deposits in trust companies Y 2,178 million or an increase of Y 318 million; and Postal Savings Y 4,945 million or an increase of Y 1,433 million. The highest rates of increase, it will be seen, were registered in the cases of Postal Savings and Savings Banks books. The popular savings can continue to grow at these rates, the goal of Y 10,000 million set for the year was not impossible.

Out of the Y 10 million goal proposed for the year 1939, something like Y 6,000 million was expected to be turned to the purpose of assimilation of national bonds.

Most of the military expenditure are met by bond issuance. The bonds are for the most part taken up by the Bank of Japan and later sold on the market. This financial process is naturally accompanied by increased issue of the Central Bank's currency notes, with the inevitable consequence of inflating currency circulation. .

The annual issue of Bank of Japan note between the end of 1932 and the end of 1936 averaged approximately Y 100 million, and the annual rate of increase ranged between 5% to 8·5%. In 1937, however, the note issue increased by Y 439 million or 23·5% and in 1938 further by Y 450 million or 19·5%. The note circulation for the first half of 1939 as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, indicated an increase of Y 448 million or 21·7%. It means that the note circulation has made a four to five fold increase since the outbreak of the China troubles in 1937. Moreover, somewhat similar expansion has taken place with regard to the currency note issue by the two colonial banks, the Bank of Taiwan and the Bank of Chosen.

This almost abnormal expansion in note circulation had by necessity to be accompained by a revaluation of the Gold Reserves and the concomitant extension to the limit of the excess issue by the Central Bank. In August, 1937, the Law for Valuation of Gold Reserves was put into force, revaluing the specie holdings at the rate of Y 1 for 290 milligrammes of pure gold without altering the provisions of the currency law which fixes the value of 750 milligrammes of pure gold at Y 1. Through this revaluation, the Bank of Japan's Gold Reserve increased in value from Y 354 million to Y 810 million and the margin was transferred to the Gold Fund Special Account.

The limit of excess note issue was extended from Y 1,000 million to Y 1,700 million with the

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approval of the Diet at its session in the spring of 1938. A further extenion of Y 2,200 million was authorised at the seventh session of the Diet in the spring of the year 1939. It means that there will be no occasion for excess issuance unless the amount of Y 2,701 million is extended. The Bank of Chosen and the Bank of Taiwan have likewise been authorised to extend the limits of excess issue for their notes.

In addition to the encouragement of popular savings and a further increase of taxes now under contemplation, the Central Finance authorities have consistently been following a policy of low monetary interest to an increasing extent with the object of accelerating Bond Assimilation. After the spring of 1938 fiscal year local agreements were made on deposit rates between the banks and credit associations, these agreements in some cases providing also for interest on loans.

The next plan to enforce the low monetary interest policy was carried out in the spring of the year 1939 when the rate of 3·5% on Government Bonds was made the basis. A strict system of control was introduced over both these short term and long term markets, results generally proving satisfactory.

It was found that the rate of interest on time deposit in local banks in April, 1939, was 2% lower on an average as compared with the rate which prevailed before 1937. It was also seen that the daily interest on the short term loans, which is generally subject to easy fluctuations, had become stable. The aim of those monetary policies was to keep interest on time deposits in Syndicate Banks at 3·3% and those in large local banks at 3·4 to 3·5%, and on those in other local banks at 3·5% or less.

Six Imperial Ordinances for the control of commodity prices, wages, salaries, land and house rentals, regulation of electric power consumption, and inspection of munition factories have been officially promulgated by the Government.

The Price Control Law which was promulgated, controls generally commodity prices, freight rates, warehouse charges, indemnity insurance rates, processing charges, etc.

According to the Ordinance the price level in September, 1939, was taken as the standard and no deal exceeding that level was to be allowed, except a few instances provided in the Ordinance.

Following the enforcement of the Imperial Ordinance, the Government is expected to strengthen the anti-profiteering Law and meet profiteers with severe punishment provided in the law. Wages and salary levels in September 1939, were also taken as the basic rates and unreasonable rises were not to be allowed by any firms and factories. The Salary Control Ordinance was to be applied to those companies whose capitals exceed Y 200,000. The basic rates for house and land rental were those of August, 1938, and room-rents of rooming houses and apartment houses were also to be included under the regulations provided in the Ordinance. The maximum bonus which a company worker can get is 400% of his monthly salary, under new regulations based on the Imperial Ordinance for the temporary adjustment of Company Workers Payment which were made public recently. The regulations are applicable for companies with a capital of over Y 2,00,000 and a personnel of over 30. These companies are required to report to the authorities regarding the regulations concerning payment of their workers. In raising the bonus rate up to 400% a year, the companies will be required to obtain the approval of the authorities. The maximum bonus for a company director is set at Y 1,200 a year. The new regulations also allow company managements to give to a company member a total allowance not exceeding one-half of his monthly salary per year.

The Finance Ministry announced on October, 24, 1939, that the Yen thereafter would be linked with the Dollar as the nation's official exchange standard, instead of the Sterling. The official rate as announced by the Ministry is $23 $\frac{7}{16}$ equivalent to Y 100 by cable. The Government is understood to have reached its decision to establish the Yen-Dollar exchange standard in view of the recent wide fluctuations in the Anglo-American Cross-rate as well as the recent European situation which allows no optimistic view as to the future of the Yen-Sterling Standard. It is emphasised in this connection by the Finance Ministry that the new decision was made purely from economic reasons and there is no political implications whatsoever in effecting this important change in the nation's foreign exchange policy. The consensus of opinion among the banking institutions is that, in view of the possibility that the present War in Europe may continue over a fairly long period a revised system of linking the Yen to the Dollar will exert favourable repercussions on the international merchandise trade of Japan. In this connection practically all exchange banks in Japan are ready to bring about close co-operation with the Government authorities.

According to the Exchange Banking institutions, in linking the currency of one country to

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that of another, due consideration should be given to the following important factors :

(1) That there are friendly economic relations between the two countries.

(2) That some stability is witnessed in the value of the currency to be linked.

(3) That a counrty, the currency of which is to be linked, can easily meet the demand for bills of exchange, so far as the normal international merchandise is concerned.

First, it must be pointed out that Britain is involved in the present European War and in case the War continues over a fairly long period the Japanese merchandise trade with Britain will, in all likelihood, be checked to some extent. Furthermore, economic relations between Japan and British dominions and colonies can not improve, due entirely to the present military outbreak in Europe. However, due attention should be paid to the fact that Japan's merchandise business with United States will hereafter have to be improved to a greater extent. In this light, the revised system of linking Yen to the Dollar is considered an appropriate step towards the promotion of Japan's international merchandise trade. While the value of the Pound-Sterling at the present time maintains its composure, it is feared that abrupt fluctuations will have to be characterised by Sterling value along with the progress of the European War. The value of the Sterling will hereafter fluctuate in a far wider range than that of the Dollar. Also, Britain, in War, is not in a position to meet the demand for foreign bills of exchange due to the tightening of her foreign exchange control. It is thus believed that the Yen-Dollar linking system is deemed more advantageous than Yen-Sterling linking.

What about the economic policy of the Government of India ? The average income of the Indian population is less than Rs. 70/- annually, so the question of savings in large scale cannot come into consideration. There might have been some savings if the Government had controlled the commodity prices as well as the prices of the daily requirements of the individual Indians at pre-war level like the Government of Japan. In Japan, the price of everyday requirements of commodities and articles, for the general population has been kept at the pre-war level by Government control and the people are supposed to consume things just to meet the bare necessity. No such attempt has been made ever in India. Rather due to the War in Europe the prices of articles have gone up and it has become absolutely impracticable for the Indian population to make both ends meet with their meagre income. At the same time the salaries of the employees, both in Government and semi-Government institutions, factories, and other places have always been increasing; the house rent in big cities are fixed according to the sweetwill of the landlords and without any basic standard. The land prices in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, have gone up though the income of the general population has remained the same. There is none to control it.

Recently, the Currency Gold Reserve has been transferred from the Bank of England to the Reserve Bank of India but the price of gold remained the same, *i.e.*, Rs. 22 per Tola, as valued by the Government before September, 1931, when England went off Gold Standard. If the Government had re-valued the price of gold by legislation according to the current market rate, they could have inflated the currency circulation by 41% higher, which would have helped the trade and industry of the country, but no attempt has been made to that effect. The market price of gold has gone up from Rs. 24 per Tola to Rs. 40, even sometimes it went up to Rs. 48. If the European War continues longer, the British Government will be compelled to increase the value of their Gold Reserve in the Bank of England and consequently the price of the Gold Reserve in the Reserve Bank, of India will be increased. In that case, a certain section of the Indians apprehend that the Government of India might sell the excess amount of gold to His Majesty's Government and ship it to England which will make their Sterling Reserve bigger but will not be helpful to the Government of India in any way, or to the general public. It might liquidate a certain amount of Sterling loans raised by them in the London market by floating the same here in India. But considering the monetary condition all over the country, it is now very difficult to raise a considerable amount of loan. The India of 1939-40 is not the same as India of 1914-18. In a country where the people can realise interest from 9% to 12% in their private deals, an yield of 4% or 5% from a long term loan will not be tempting in this uncertain time.

If Rupee had not been linked with Sterling, India would have got much more gold from the United States of America by selling them raw materials and commodities, when the New York-London cross-rate was fluctuating from 325 to 350 from October, 1939, to June, 1940. But as the Rupee was linked to Sterling, India had to pay $403 to buy £100 during the above period, and thus incurred about 17% loss in the

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balance of the trade with America which is always in favour of India. Moreover, whatever money has been transferred to London in the Sterling Reserve Fund, against it more currency note has been circulated without having any more Gold Reserve in the Reserve Bank of India. So India not only lost a large quantity of gold which America would have shipped to India for their purchases, but also 16% to 17% of the amount in Exchange difference, because Rupee is linked to Sterling.

The Indian financiers have always pleaded and agitated that the exchange rate between India and England should not be fixed at 1s. 6d. but at 1s. 4d. or less per Rupee. If the Government of India had ever taken seriously the considered opinion of those eminent Indians, this country with large resources of raw materials would have made a huge amount of money in the international trade, particularly at this war time. India could have earned larger amount in Rupees by selling raw materials and commodities to the world, and local industries would have flourished to a greater extent. But those valued suggestions have been repeatedly thrown out by the authorities in charge of finance of the Government of India. If Rupee were free and not linked with any other currency, perhaps foreign exchange rate would have been unfavourable to India, still much gold would have come and the loss in exchange would have been covered by the revaluation of gold according to the market rate and a larger profit would have been earned. If Rupee had been linked to Dollar just after the declaration of the War as the Japanese Government linked Yen to it, India would have been a possessor of a considerable quantity of the yellow metal.

We, a very large section of the Indian people, are surely against Hitlerism and Nazism and are with Britain, wishing that the War is won over. But at the same time we also want that His Majesty's Government and the Government of India should adopt such financial policy as the Japanese Government have done, in order to see that India prospers financially, economically and industrially. Such a prosperity of India is not only helpful to Indian population but also to His Majesty's Government with which India is so closely united and linked.

THE MULBERRY

The Silk-worm Food Plant

By ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA

II

"Science has done more to improve Sericiculture than probably any other agricultural industry."—Sir Thomas Wardle.[1]

"In Bengal, the mulberry plant grows well and the climate is favourable for silk weaving. What is necessary is to develop the industry once more and that on scientific basis."—S. C. Mitter.[2]

In the issue of *The Modern Review* for July, 1940, we penned down a few paragraphs on the scientific aspects of the fascinating subject of Moriculture of the different parts of the globe.

Since its publication, we have been requested by those curious and interested in this aspect of Botany to give out a little more glimpse in a popular manner. At the very outset, we should point out that it will not be possible here in the short space at our disposal to bring out some of the high lights in a varied panorama of the moricultural activities of the World. Nevertheless, we will, however, try to do some justice to some other centres of research where the main problems are being pursued in details.

It is needless for us to emphasize in this paper the value of the selection of the mulberry. The mulberry is extremely variable under natural conditions and this variability is greatly increased in the horticultural forms cultivated throughout the length and breadth of the country from one corner to the other. Upon its proper isolation depends the hybridization work for the permanent improvement of the yield. We entirely agree with the learned observations, recorded by Dr. J. Pavillard, Professeur a'l'Institute Botanique, Montepellier, France, well-known for his sparkling clarity and vivacity, in his thought-provoking article in the *Botanical Review*, Vol. I., No. 6, p. 211, thus :

1. *Kashmir. Its New Silk Industry with Some Account of its Natural History, Geology, Sports, etc.*—Sir Thomas Wardle, London, 1904, p. 71.

2. *A Recovery Plan for Bengal.*—S. C. Mitter, 1934, p. 322.

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"In every experimental science the existence of a fundamental unit is the prime requisite for precision and exactness in the comparison and subordination of the subjects studied."

We now like to focus our attention to the records of research carried out in other lands not reported before.

Dr. Ch. Secretain, Director of the Sericultural Station at Ales (Gard), France, in his interesting booklet, *Le Murier, 1934,* reports that these nine varieties of mulberry—*M. alba rosea, M. alba colombassa, M. alba columbassata, M. alba romana, M. alba moretti, M. alba vulgaris tenuifolia, M. alba latifolia, M. alba Lhou, M. alba tartarica*—are selected as best after proper trials. He has written in a private communication dated the 15th May, 1940 that some other varieties and races were later on introduced to his place and employed by the sericulturists, to which they gave special local names, which evidently could not be translated into botanical language but all of them are related to the white mulberry (*M. alba*). It can safely be asserted that in course of time they will also be properly classified and scientifically dealt with. They are named as follows: *Poumaon, Costo Blance* (*Cote blanche*), *Griseto* (*Grite*). Besides these, *M. alba italica, Longue de Boeuf* and *Meyne* types of *M. alba colombassa, M. alba furcata* and *M. alba rebalaira* were brought there and cultivated successfully.

Dr. Raoul M. Belot, Director of the Sericultural Station at Mont Hawa (Ituri) writes in his book, *La Sericiculture au Congo Belge, 1938,* published by the Minister of the Colonies, Belgium, that he has selected out six varieties as very good and suitable for the silk-worm raised in his place. They are *M. alba rosea, M. alba moretti, M. alba fructo nigro, M. alba japonica, M. alba vulgaris tenuifolia* and *M. alba latifolia.* He has also discussed in details in a remarkably masterly way the cocoon production, the silk-worm diseases, the mulberry diseases, the spread of industrial education, the sericultural co-operative organizations, etc.

Mr. Filipe Gonzalez Marin, Agronomic Engineer and Director of the Sericultural Station at Murcia records in his publication, *La Crianza del Gusano de Seda Y el cultivo de la Morera,* published by the Ministry of Agriculture, Spain, writes thus:

At the beginning of the 14th century, the leaves of the black mulberry (*M. nigra*) were used in small quantity, where its destruction was withheld.

He admits that the silk produced after feeding the worms with these leaves is of a poor quality and quantity. The white mulberry (*M. alba*) is universally grown in all the silk-producing tracts. There are varieties of the white mulberry, but those grown in Spain are of the best quality such as *Cristina* and *Valenciana* grown in Murcia.

He also points out the production of its leaves in more or less quantity and their superiority or inferiority depends upon conditions within and without the plant body. Internal conditions influence the production of those varieties which could be locally acclimatised and possess desirable economic characters. These should be preferred to those trees, full of leaves, well-developed, slightly festooned at the end and of juicy parenchyma. External conditions are irrigation, manures, climate, nature of the soil, tillage, etc,

He at last recommends *Filipina* (probably a variety of *M. multicaulis*—suggestion ours) to those areas, where frosts start early and the budding of the varieties of *M. alba* is restrained in the frozen conditions. This can resist very low temperature up to 25 degrees below 0.

As regards nutritive value, he is of opinion that the leaf which gives more silk and of better quality is richer in nitrogen (presumably protein contents and the latex—suggestion ours). He adds that in annual pruning much foliage is lost and so pruning is done every two years in his country. In this way, they have got century old plants in the orchards of Murcia.[3]

Dr. Hans Walter of Germany in *Moraceae* (in Kirchner-Loew-Schröter—Lebensgeschichte der Blütenpflanzen Mitteleuropas Stuttgart, 1933, Leif. 44., B. III) surveys the mulberry of his country. He states that *M. alba vulgaris* has these varieties (*italica* Loud., *rosea* Ser., *colombassa* Ser.). Besides these, the *colombassa* variety has forms *pyramidalis* Ser., *pendula* Dippel, *constantinopolitana* Loud., and *venosa* Delile. All the above bear white fruits. The varieties *Microphylla* Lodd., *Tatarica* Loud. and *skelitoniana* Schneid. are red-fruited and considered by him to be hybrids between *M. alba* and *M. nigra. M. multicaulis* is rarely found. He made a cursory remark on the growth forms by cultivation and also the wind forms. We leave the latter for the studies of the Plant Geographer and the Ecologist.

At Campania in Italy it has been reported officially that these varieties—Gelso selva-

3. The writer is much indebted to the Consul-General for Spain, Bombay for the summary translation of the relevant portion of this Spanish booklet, to whom his sincere thanks are due.

In the previous communication he has already enunciated that there is a difference in pruning between the cold country and this country.—*Author.*

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tico (*M. alba vulgaris tenuifolia* Seringe), Gelso romanella, Gelso bianco comune domestico, Gelso romano (*M. alba romana* Loddige), Gelso arancino (*M. alba guzziola arancina*—this is sterile), Gelso Lhou (*M. alba Lhou* Seringe), Gelso Rosa di Lombardia—are cultured there (*Vide* : Principali Qualita' di Gelso Coltivate in Campania. Bolletino della R. Stazione Sperimentale di Gelsicoltura e Bachicoltura, Ascoli-Piceno, Vol. III., 1924, p 159).[4]

Dr. T. Nakai in *Flora Sylvatica Koreana*, Vol. XIX., p. 94-95, 1932 isolated one variety (*diabolica*) of *M. mongolica*, two varieties (*caudatifolia* and *maritima*) of *M. bombycis* and also *M. alba*, *M. latifolia* and *M. tiliaefolia*. He has, however, not progressed in details in his studies of the mulberry species of Korea.

Mr. J. De Lyon (Sericulture in Cyprus, 1933—published by the Government of Palestine) states after a touring enquiry in Cyprus that in order to meet the demands of the sericulturists these varieties are obtained from seeds :

Agria :—small leaves used as stock for grafting.

Soultana :—Leaves of good quality for feeding silkworms.

The grafted varieties are *Paschophylli*, *Himeri*, *Metaxophylli*, *Yiallisteri*, *Phatonophylli*, *Milophylli*, *Vavatsineri*, *Antheri*, *Platophylli*, *Shamdoudu*.

Though the international rules of nomenclature are violated here, still the varieties are provisionally selected.

Dr. R. Inouye, Director of the Uyeda Imperial Sericultural College Uyeda-Shi, Nagano-Ken, Japan was kind enough to send us the dried specimens of *Ichihei* (Early variety—a natural cross between *M. multicaulis* × *M. bombycis*), *Shimanouchi* (Middle variety—a variety of M. alba), *Akagi* (Middle variety—a natural cross between *M. Multicaulis* and *M. bombycis*), *Fukushima-ōha* (Early variety—a variety of *M. alba*), *Ichinose* (Middle variety—a variety of *M. alba*), *Roso* (Middle variety—a variety of *M. multicaulis*), *Fosōmaru* (Late variety—a form of *M. Multicaulis*), *Kairyonezumigaishi* (Middle variety—a variety of *M. alba*), *Takowase* (Early variety—If it be *Takaiwase* Hotta, var. nov. it belongs to *M. bombycis* Koidzumi) and *Tomieisō* (Middle variety) for our comparative studies (brackets ours). He writes in his covering letter dated the 18th June 1940 that these are the different types which are commonly used there.

Dr. T. Hotta, who is a master-mind and meritorious votary of the subject, has made an extensive study of the mulberry of Japan. He speaks in his paper "Contribution to the Knowledge of the Systematics of *Morus* in Japan. III. Morus in Cultivation (1). Trans. Sapporo Nat. Hist. Soc., XIV., Pt. 4., 1936" in an authoritative manner as follows :

"The number of cultivated races of mulberry trees in Japan are generally reported to amount to over one thousand and six hundred. Among them, however, some are found to be synonymous. According to the writer's investigations, they are limited to not more than one thousand and four hundred. The writer has been engaged since 1929 in collecting the specimens of cultivated mulberry trees in every district of Japan. From time to time the writer has travelled through most parts of these districts to make observations on the field conditions of the cultivated mulberry. As to some particular cultivated races of mulberry trees the writer procured them from their habitats by request, and has made comparative studies on them by cultivating them in the nursery in the Botanical Garden of the Faculty of Agriculture of the Hokkaido Imperial University. The number of cultivated races of mulberry trees that the writer has hitherto collected, have reached to over 1,300 and the specimens collected more than 10,000. Some scientific reports have already been made on the cultivated mulberry trees in Japan, among which T. Nakai (Journ. Coll. Sci., Imp. Univ. Tokyo, XXXI, p. 190, 1911; and *Moraceæ* in Flora Sylvatica Koreana, XIX, p. 94-95, 1932), G. Koidzumi (Synopsis Specierum Generis Mori in Bull. Imp. Sericult. Expt. Stat. III, 1, p. 32, 51 et 53, 1917; Cultivated mulberry trees of type of *Morus bombycis* Koidz. in Bull. Imp. Sericult. Expt. Stat. VI, 3, 86-127, 1921 and, Synopsis Specierum Generis Mori in Bull. Imp. Sericult. Expt. Stat. II, 1, p. 10, 25 et 28, 1923), Y. Yendo (Traite sur la culture du murier au Japan, p. 15, 17 et 20, 1930), and likewise by T. Hotta (Trans. Sapporo Nat. Hist. Soc. XIV, 3, p. 195-205, 1936 and Bull. Soies Kinugasa 366, p. 9-26, 1937). They have mostly dealt with the varieties and forms of *M. alba* Linn., *M. bombycis* Koidz., *M. latifolia* Poiret and *M. atropurpurea* Roxb."

From comparative studies of the relevant literature, it is observed that usually the leaves of the different varieties and types of the white mulberry are generally utilised according to the nature of the soil, though some other species are not excluded. They form the chief diet of the silk worm (*Bombyx mori* L.). In this country innumerable types of *M. alba* (*M. indica*[5]) is

4. Scientific names given in brackets after the local Italian names were collected by us after comparing several references on the subject. We have gone through several Italian papers, but it is a pity that the Latin scientific names, which are universally accepted according to the International Rules of Botanical Nomenclature, are not observed and given anywhere.—*Author.*

5. *Morus indica* Linn has been sunk into *M. alba* Linn. (*Vide* Merril in Enum. Phil. Fl. Pt. II, p. 3[illegible], 1923). So *M. alba* is the valid name and *M. indica* becomes the synonym. Fischer however in Gamble's Fl. Madras, VIII, p. 1,370, 1928, has mentioned the names of *M. alba* and *M. indica* separately. According to his opinion, "the two species are not easily separated, the chief points of distinction being the obovate female sepals and the styles connate below

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being usually propagated for their leaves, though in some cases, we have observed that the leaves from some varieties of *M. laevigata* are not excepted. The only thing is that they are not properly isolated.

"In India, there is a mess of varieties of a crop so that the crops are always mixed,"

sadly bemoans Dr. S. Sarup (*Vide* his article—"A review of plant hybridizing work done in India."—*Science & Culture*, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 422-428, 1938).

We have tried to mention above as well as in the previous communication as clearly as possible a few events and a few trends of important researches, which may serve as guides in our effort to evaluate the progress that has been made during the past decade or two. We can confidently assert and hope that if the researches are pushed through in the right spirit according to the suggestions of Dr. Hotta made above, from our own experience we can safely predict that many discoveries will be surely made in the near future by unfolding the mysterious complex nature of this biological unit.

We discussed in the previous paper about the utility of the grafting and the budding, which are the quickest methods of improving the yield.

We now propose to discuss the outlines of other scientific aspects, which will usher in a new era of permanent improvement in the matter of yield.

The breeder always knows exactly what he is aiming at in the way of *Plant Improvement*.

The first kind of improvement, however, is due to a change *outside* the plant, *e.g.*, transplanting from a poor to a rich soil and other such changes in cultivation or climate. Improvements, such as these are of a temporary nature only, and are not inherited. Thus seeds saved from a well-fed plant will, other things being equal, give progeny no better and no worse than the seeds from a starved plant, and *vice versa*. The big difference between a starved and a well-fed plant is a *fluctuation* caused by a difference of environment.

The second kind of improvement is due to a change *inside* the plant (*e.g.*, immunity to disease instead of susceptibility, or the production of large flowers instead of small) and though differences in the environment may somewhat alter the character concerned, yet the improvement is a permanent one and is inherited. Change of this kind are known as *Variations*. Heritable variations are of two kinds—those due to mutation and those due to hybridization.

Of all life's manifestations none is more familiar or more wonderful than the perpetuation, generation after generation, of plants, each after its kind. Generation succeeds generation, the new repeating the distinctive features of the old with such great fidelity that each kind of plant seems at the first sight to be immutable. So alike, indeed, are the members of each several kind of organism that they are grouped together as a species. But though the passerby may see no differences between the members of a flock of sheep, the sheep-dog does. The older and more faithful the sheep-dog, the keener and more watchful are his eyes. So also those who tend the plants are capable of discovering that the members of a species are by no means alike. Not only are there differences between them, but the differences are of different kinds. Before we proceed any further, we should make our enticing theme clear. What is mutation? Each species owes its nature to a certain number of different genes, arranged in chains to form a definite number of chromosomes contained in a nucleus, which is the vital factor in the development of an individual. Species or varieties may differ not only in the number and kind of the genes they carry, but in the arrangement of these genes. The world of plants is then revealed to our imagination as an immense array of genes. With unfailing regularity at every one of the hundreds of thousands of cell-divisions in the average plant, this reproduction of the original gene goes on in the parent plant and its thousands of descendants, generation after generation, million of times—hence the constancy of heredity. Suddenly, however, the mechanism may go wrong and a gene will give rise, not to an identical gene, but to a different one. The new gene in its turn may reproduce itself for countless cell-generations until perhaps another change occurs. Gene is like an atom and no one has ever seen it and is the unit of inheritance. Thus, it is observed that after remaining constant for many generations a character may suddenly change or mutate, *e.g.*, a plant with mauve flowers will suddenly produce a branch bearing red flowers, seeds from which breeds true to red. Such changes are called *Sports* or *Mutants*. Mutants are fairly common in the plant kingdom. The mulberry is conspicuous in this phenomenon. *Tachibanwase* Hotta, var. nov. of *M. bombycis* originated from the cultivated variety "Akagi" in about 1907 in Toyota village in Higashimurayama district, Prov. Uzen,

M. indica." The distinguishing character given by Fischer is not enough to keep them as separate species and Merril's view has been accepted by most of the Botanists.—*Writer*.

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Japan. *Duplicata* Hotta, var. nov. of *M. alba* is a mutant cultivated through grafting on *Ichibei*. *M. bombycis caudatifolia* originated from the seedling *Roso* (This *Roso* is in our view is quite a different variety from the *Roso* of *M. multicaulis*), in 1893 in Misato village, Saba district, Prov. Kozuke, discovered by G. Itagaki and the name was given in 1916 in the Sericultural Expt. Station of the Province. *M. alba pendula f. sessilifolia* originated as a bud mutation from *Dateichibei-guwa*.

The second great source of the permanent plant improvement is Hybridization, *i.e.*, the natural or artificial crossing of plant which differ inherently from one another. We may hybridize varieties, species or genera and the progeny would be varietal, specific or generic hybrids respectively. Hybridization is practised in order to combine in one individual or strain, characters found in two or more individuals or strains.

It is an observed fact in Plant Breeding that crossing between parents differing in germinal constitution results in an increase of general vegetative luxuriance and in an increase in the facility of vegetative propagation and viability. It is a fact that crossing hastens the time of flowering and maturing and increases the size of the individual. This phenomenon in the scientific world is known as *Hybrid Vigour*.

The progeny of every self-fertilised plant is of inferior size, vigour and productiveness, as compared with the progeny of a normally cross-bred plant derived from the same source.

It is a true fact that endurance against unfavourable environmental factors and resistance to disease also have been noticed as properties of these hybrids.

When crosses are made, it is of course the F_1 generation that shows the hybrid vigour.

If F_1 is inbred, the decrease in vigour starts and becomes prominent and more prominent in the succeeding generations, if propagated through their seeds.

These F_1 hybrids may be sterile or fertile. If we get any fertile hybrid, we need not be sad. We usually propagate the mulberry by cuttings and graftings. We can thereby perpetuate this vigour to a distant length of time, if we so desire. If we get the sterile, it is all the more good for us.

It is common knowledge that sterility is always associated with the vegetative vigour.

In Nature as well as in experiments, hybrid strains, varieties and species are evolved. The variety *diabolica* Hotta, var. nov. of *M. bombycis* is a hybrid between *Yohei* and *Kiyuhei*. *M. alba hybrida* Tsen is a hybrid between *Nagasaki* and *rose*. The varieties *Ichihe*,, *Akagi* and *Tsyruta* are natural crosses between *M. multicaulis* and *M. bombycis*. *M. Mizuho* Hotta, sp. nov. is elected a new species and considered to be a hybrid (*M. bombycis* Koidz. × *M. latifolia* Poiret). The female flowers are similar to those of *M. bombycis* but the leaves resemble those of *M. latifolia*.

We should now turn our attention to other important subjects in agriculture and horticulture—*Polyploidy* and *Sterility*.

Almost every living organism has got a certain number of definite hereditary units in the cells, called the *chromosomes* in the biological science. The plant, as we generally see around us, is diploid and in their sexual mother cells, where the paternal and the material chromosomes meet, pair and blend their characters, haploid condition occurs. Polyploidy is a series where these intermingled haploid chromosomes are triplicated, quadruplicated and so on. Wherever this has occurred, an increase in size and vigour is noticed.

"The morphological characteristics of all the polyploids can be explained on the basis either of the increase of size through multiplication of the chromosome number, or through the combination of characteristics derived from different diploids,"

write Dr. G. L. Stebbins, Jr. and Dr. E. B. Babcock[6] (The effect of polyploidy and apomixis on the evolution of Species in *Crepis*.—*Journal of Heredity*, Vol. XXX., No. 12. Dec. 1939, p. 526). In the mulberry (*M. alba* and *M. indica*) Dr. M. Tahara of the Botanisches Institute. Kaiserlichen Universität, Tokyo, first counted in 1910 these haploid hereditary units to be 14 in number (Uber dei Kernteilung bei *Morus*.-Bot. Mag. Tokyo. Bd. XXIV. No. 287, 1910, p. 281-289). In 1920, Dr. I. Osawa (Cytological and experimental studies in *Morus* with special reference to triploid mutants.—Bull. Imp. Sericult. Expt. Stat. Japan., Vol. I., No. 3, 1920, p. 318-369) counted these chromosomes in *M. bombycis*, *M. multicaulis*, *M. acidosa*, *M. atropurpurea*, *M. Kagayamae*, *M. rotundifolia* and 85 races of *M. alba*. Of these 85 races, 40 types contain triploid number (42) in their somatic cells. Such mulberry plants have been found actually grow-

6. Dr. E. B. Babcock of the Division of Genetics, University of California, Berkeley, California, U. S. A. has established a school of Geneticists in America. He along with his numerous pupils and co-workers has been studying the Genetical, Cyto-genetical and toxonomical studies on *Crepis*., for nearly two decades. First rate contributions, issued from his laboratory, opened up new lines of investigations and threw new light in the domain of Plant Genetics.

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ing vigorously and due to their irregular divisions in their sexual mother cells, they always remain sterile.

These polyploid plants are derived either by mutation as mentioned above (a term used in general sense for all types of alteration in the hereditary substance aside from that accomplished by normal meiosis and syngamy) or by hybridization between different species and varieties in Nature and experimental plots. Such condition due to hybridization can be produced at will. In fact, Dr. Osawa (*ibid.*) carried out many painstaking and laborious hybridization experiments since 1915 between several species and races of *Morus* after they were properly selected and well established. Among 105 seedlings obtained from a cross between *M. atropurpurea* male×"Makado female," a variety of *M. alba*, one vigourous plant appeared in the spring of 1918, though it produced no seeds. On critical analysis and examination it was found to be triploid, probably due to the union of haploid and diploid gametes or a triple fusion of an egg nucleus with two male nuclei.

"Such an occurrence of triploid mutants among mulberry seedlings appears to be not very rare, which will easily be understood, if we consider that numerous varieties are cultivated in our garden as has already been mentioned. These plants are almost *sterile* (italic ours) but their propagation is carried out vegetatively such as grafting, layering, and cutting, so that they are protected from extinction." (Osawa, *ibid*).

In Japan, *M. alba* was introduced in about 677 A.D., according to Dr. Y. Yendo (Agriculture and Horticulture, IX., 9, p. 2099, 1933). The authentic history runs to the effect that this species (*M. alba*) is of Chinese origin. It is told that, as early as 2697 B.C., Sirintsu, Empress of Hoandi, used its leaves to raise the silkworms. It was imported from China to Japan in *Hakuho* era of Emperor Temmu (about 677 A.D.) by a priest, Joe-Osho, who transplanted it in the grounds of Kuwami Temple at Azuchi village, Gamo district, Province Omi.

A. P. De Candolle, the noted Systematist of the last century in his book *Origin of Cutivated Plants*, London, 1884, p. 149, writes thus :

"The antiquity of its culture (*i.e.*, of the white mulberry) in China and in Japan and the number of different varieties grown there, leads us to believe that its original area extended eastward as far as Japan; but the indigenous flora of Southern China is little known and the most trustworthy authors do not affirm that the plant is indigenous in Japan."

It is thus evident from all these valuable records that the mulberry was introduced into Japan and that in course of a few centuries, so many bud sports, so many mutants, so many types, so many varieties, so many hybrids have evolved in Nature as well as in experiments.

Japan started these researches on the mulberry at least 50 years ago on the scientific basis. Naturally, the land of the Rising Sun is 50 years ahead and can legitimately claim superiority in the world market.

The history of silk in India has a dim past. Its past is glorious. It was well-known to the ancients of this land. It is being cultivated in this ancient sacred land of ours from time immemorial for certain religious purposes. The mulberry plant is also indigenous in India. Experience tells us that India with her vast wealth of untouched, unexplored materials offers much food for thought for those, who have made an humble beginning in this field. To an onlooker it is, no doubt, a stupendous gigantic task for one, who has come forward to attack the problem, but the researcher should not shirk the responsibilities devolved upon him with great trust. He should mobilise all his resources, all his energies, all his stores of knowledge to solve this intricate problem with his inflexible resolve and single-minded devotion so that he must have the fullest satisfaction at the end that he has been able to serve his countrymen as a seeker after Truth.

As a True Artist, the Creator never reveals the whole of His Magnificent design all at once. We should be bent upon the quest of the minutest : a sort of splitting process that is awe-inspiring in its endlessness, for as we probe deeper and deeper, it unfolds and unravels to our moving, searching, wondering eyes mysteries within mysteries, worlds within worlds. Curiosity lures us on and on and leads us to the right path till we realise at long last the supreme Truth—the true and real nature of this living entity.

If India is to raise her economic standard, she should without the least delay take the help of science. That is why the Indian National Planning Committee has taken the help of eminent scientists to solve the numerous problems before it.

"India cannot go back to the past; she must go forward and develop the best points of a material civilization, if she is to become more prosperous. My countrymen had better take a lesson from America and Japan * * * *;"

said Sahabji Moharaj Sir Ananda Swarup, a great Indian thinker and founder of the Dayalbagh Colony at Agra in reply to a query by Mr. Paul Brunton, a well-known Western Philosopher (Vide : *A Search in Secret India*. By Paul Brunton, London, p. 238).

We should like to record in the end a word

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or two about the great insurmountable difficulties, confronting a worker in this field of biological science. That is the paucity of reliable and relevant mulberry literature on the subject in India.[7]

We take this opportunity to quote from *Science & Culture*, Vol. 5, No. 10, April, 1940, p. 589-590 :

"It is well-known that no progress of research can be achieved unless the worker is fully apprised of the recorded findings of his *Confreres* either living or dead. In other words, books and periodicals and journals are the foundations on which future progress is built. When knowledge becomes very extensive and its dissemination difficult, the collection of books, periodicals, etc., at a central fixed place for a large number of people becomes a very useful method. That is how a library comes to serve the people. A library is a temple of knowledge which lends itself to human progress to an enormous extent."

As early as 1882, J. A. H. Louis in his book, *A Few Words on the Present State and Future Prospects of Sericulture in Bengal* (Government Publication, Calcutta) strongly recommended the formation of two sericultural libraries—one at Berhampore (District Murshidabad) and the other at Rampore Beuleah (District Rajshahi). In an alternative suggestion he advocated the establishment of a circulating library at least so that workers could learn the scientific sericulture and keep themselves *au courant* of the progress made in other lands. In an appendix he even gave a list of important references, then available.

Ideas are institutions. But the pious ideas, rather the long-cherished honest dreams of Louis, have never been realized and materialized to this day to our great dismay and sorrow. It is a matter of pity that our countrymen could not rise up to the occasion to take up such a valuable advice from the lips of such a great savant, serving our country's cause.

Bengal silk had the proud privilege of capturing the attention of culture and aristocracy of the world. And it is Bengal, our homeland, that has started first the researches on some of its main aspects in an all round manner. Interesting possibilities stimulated by researches lie ahead. A good beginning and a good start have been made and we are fully conscious that our countrymen will be benefited thereby. We must be up and doing and try our utmost at the altar of Science.

The sacred honour of Science lies now in the laps of the future, which has its glowing possibilities. That future is not distant far. It is now the future and the future alone, which will prove what Science can give to our beloved Motherland.

In the pursuit of the so-called unattainable, we must be prepared and bold enough to court and face many a deplorable defeat and many a saddened tribulation to solve this secret riddle of Life. In this kingdom of Lord, we must have to travel and tread along many sweaty miles and miles afar in the exploration of that beautiful territory that was, not very long ago, thought and imagined rough, rugged, shaggy and pathless.

A pencil of rays, kindled by the lightning sparks of hope, is already peeping out on the dark dusty distant horizon.

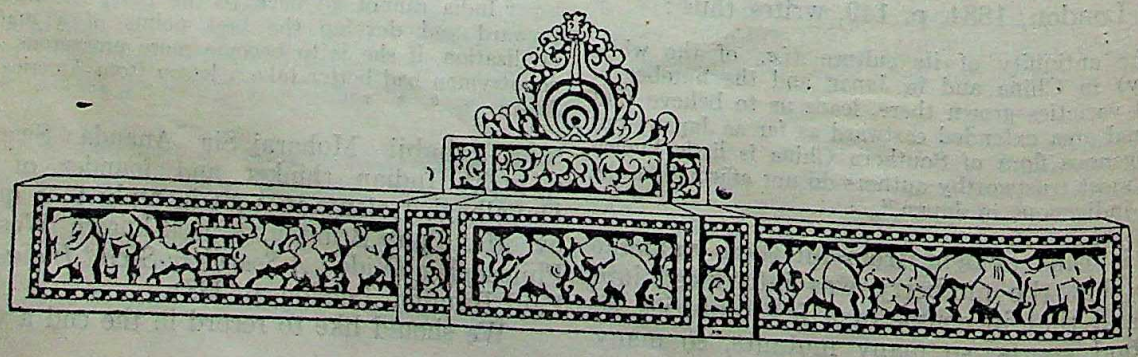
Let us tell our countrymen concluding with the poetic words :

"This lurid light is not a sun-set glow—
It is the herald of a morn."

—Sahni.[8]

7. The present writer had to get a few typed pages of an important reference from the library of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Surrey, England, thanks to the courtesy and kindness of the Director of the Gardens, Sir Arthur Hill, F.R.S., to whom he was introduced during the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress, 1938. It is quite conceivable how difficult it would have been, if he was not known to such a great scholar of international fame. Further, he had to write to the Director, British Museum, England, to get the microfilms and photostats of certain most important references. These involve a heavy expenditure and an enormous amount of trouble, leaving aside the question of time in the progress of work.

8. General Presidential Address to the 27th Indian Science Congress, 1940, p. 19 by Prof. Birbal Sahni, M.A. (Cantab.), Sc.D. (Cantab.), D.Sc. (Lond.), F.R.S., F.G.S., F.N.I.



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IS INDIA'S FRONTIER IN DANGER ?

Growth of Russian Power in Asia

By A. T. SRESHTA

German propaganda has recently conjured up the bogey of Russian designs in Irania and of ultimate conquest of India.

This, however, is not a new peril. Time and again has the sinister figure of the bearded Russian emissary loomed dark and shadowy against the snow-clad mountains of the Pamirs —to strike terror into the Central Asian kingdoms and to call forth endless counter-moves from the India Government. It was this spectre which dominated the Indian frontier policy of the last century and was responsible for more than one costly war over the Khyber Pass.

Fear of Franco-Russian Invasion

The dawn of the 19th century rang the alarum of serious dangers over the north-west frontier. Napoleon's cyclonic campaigns which had brought empires hallowed by time crumbling to the ground gave rise to the dread of a French invasion. In 1801 the French General had prepared plans for an attack on India by the overland route but they had fallen through owing to important events in Europe engaging his attention. In 1806 war broke out between Persia and Russia. The Shah appealed to India for assistance on the strength of Malcolm's treaty of 1800 and, finding none forthcoming, turned to France for help. Napoleon immediately concluded an alliance with Persia. The news alarmed Britain and its fear was not mitigated when, the following year, Russia and France came to terms after the battle of Friedland and a combined invasion appeared imminent.

A British mission proceeded forthwith to Teheran and persuaded the Shah to sever his connections with the French. A treaty of mutual assistance was signed in 1809. A similar alliance was made with Amir Shah Shuja of Afghanistan. But in 1810 France and Russia were at war again and threat of invasion melted away.

The First Afghan War

At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, Dost Muhammed was ruling Afghanistan. Shah Shuja had been driven out by rebellion and was now a pensioner on Indian bounty.

Afghanistan, at the time, was in grave peril. On the West the Persians were marching on to Herat, in the north Russia's ponderous weight was feeling its way downwards. The new Amir was inclined to be friendly to the British but insisted, as a condition of his alliance, that Ranjit Singh should be persuaded to restore to him Peshawar, formerly part of Afghanistan.

This the British could not agree to, but sent Captain Burnes to negotiate a treaty. At the same time appeared the Russian emissary at Kabul. Dost Muhammed, finding that Britain would not accept his conditions, received the Russain agent with marked favour.

To India, it was the signal for a forward move. In 1839, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, decided on the invasion of Afghanistan and the setting up of Shah Shuja on the throne. It was a fatal decision. Even at the last minute, it was possible to withdraw without loss to British prestige; Russia, forced diplomatically, had recalled its emissary who, on his return, committed suicide in bitter disappointment; and Persia had lifted the seige of Herat. The *casus belli* had vanished.

But Auckland was adamant and India plunged into the first Afghan War. In vain were 20,000 lives sacrificed and £15,000,000 spent. Shah Shuja who was placed on the throne was found unfit to rule and Dost Muhammed was permitted to return as Amir.

The Shadow of Greater Russia

Early in the fifties, Russia embarked on a policy of expansion in Central Asia which was pursued till the close of the century. The British viewed this advance with misgivings and sought for an explanation.

Prince Gortschakaff, the Russian Foreign Minister, argued that his country was urged southwards by the same causes as those which induced Britain to move northwards to the Himalayas.

The boundaries of Asiatic Russia marched, at that time, for a thousand miles, with the Khanates of Turkestan which periodically burst aflame with anarchy and revolution and washed over into the orderly Russian Empire their disruptive forces. Russia could not remain

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passive in the face of this menace, but was compelled, for its own security, to move on and absorb the states in the grip of chaotic upheavals.

It was difficult to appreciate the force of this reasoning and the British could not dissociate from the Russian advance the idea of an ultimate attack on India. And this was natural enough, for the Russian boundaries were drawing with lightning speed to the Afghan border. By 1868, Tashkend and Samarkand had come under Russian sway. In five more years Badakshan and Khiva were absorbed. Finally in 1876, the Khanate of Khokand melted into the Russian Empire. The shadow of Greater Russia hung for a while on the Afghan mountains and began creeping down into the valleys.

The Second Afghan War

Sher Ali, the Amir, who had succeeded Dost Muhammed, was beside himself with fear at this unseen peril clawing into his land. To the east the British, beyond vague promises, were doing nothing to stop the Russian march. His country was being crushed between two powers "one of which expostulates and remains passive, whilst the other apologises and continues to move forward." And the bazaars of Kabul hummed with the tale of the partition of Afghanistan between Russia and Britain by the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh with a Russian Princess.

There was now a persistent cry, in India, for a vigorous forward policy. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, had endeavoured to persuade Sher Ali to receive a British mission but had failed. Eventually international quarrels, echoing in Central Asian solitudes, gave Lytton the long-desired opportunity.

In 1876, Britain had refused to recognise the Treaty of San Stefano which Russia had concluded with Turkey after its war on the latter. As a reprisal, Russia despatched General Stoletoff, the Governor of Turkestan, to Kabul to demand the reception of a Russian mission. Sher Ali declined to open negotiations for reasons similar to those given to the British. The General then insinuated that, if he proved intractable, a rival to the Afghan throne might be found in his nephew Abdur Rahman, now living on Russian territory. Sher Ali demurred, paused, and finally yielded.

The Indian Government, naturally, could not view with equanimity a foreign power fostering intrigue in one of its border-states and prepared to despatch a British mission to Kabul. All at once the eastern sky cleared. General Stoletoff, who had come only to sting Britain for her interference in Russia's wars, withdrew from Kabul. In the words of Mr. P. E. Roberts, "a golden bridge was built for retreat from an untenable position by Stoletoff's retirement."

But Lytton was set on his Forward Policy. The events that led to the war of 1839 were repeated and India drove headlong into the second war with Afghanistan. And again to no purpose, for Sher Ali died at Masar-i-Sharif and Abdur Rahman, unassisted, made his way to the Afghan throne. For many years India left Afghanistan severely alone.

Amir Averts Anglo-Russian War

But the onward march of Russia had not slackened. In 1881, the country of the Tekke Turcomans was conquered and, three years later Merv, only 150 miles from the Afghan boundary, merged into the Empire. And now Russia's warm breath was blowing hot over Afghanistan.

It was time to call a halt, for there was no knowing where the final limit of Russian advance would be reached. In 1869, Russia had agreed to allow the Amir full control of the territory below the Oxus, provided its claim to Bokhara as coming within its sphere of activity was acknowledged. But the border-line between the Oxus and the Hari Rud rivers was still unsettled. A Boundary Commission consisting of Russian and British representatives sat at Sarakhs on the Persian frontier to decide the issue. While the deliberations were in progress the Russian General Komaroff wrested the disputed town of Panjdeh from the Afghans. This almost precipitated a crisis. Central Asia thickened with war clouds and England and Russia prepared for war; in India itself £2,000,000 was expended on military preparations and the Imperial Service Corps came into being. The situation was saved by the shrewd Amir, Abdur Rahman, who declared that he would be willing to forego Panjdeh in return for Zulfikar.

The Commission continued its work and finally settled the Afghan boundary by a protocol signed in 1887.

Trouble in the Persian Gulf

The age-long strife on the Afghan frontier had hardly been smoothed when trouble broke out in the Persian Gulf. This Gulf into which the Tigris and the Euphrates empty their pearly waters holds the trade of a vast hinterland. Round it were constantly hovering the Great European Powers for driving the thin end of their wedge.

Russian influence had filtered right through Persia and was making itself felt on the southern sea-coast. Germany in the west was endeavour-

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ing to secure important concessions for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway.

Great Britain claimed special interests in the Gulf owing to her eastern possessions and successfully frustrated Russia's efforts to secure a coaling station at the Gulf entrance.

At this time Persia was in the throes of unrest and it required little inducement for Russia to march in and take this ancient Empire into its all-embracing fold. The degree of Russian penetration in Persia is summed up by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the then assistant to the British Minister at Teheran.

"Order in this town is kept by a Russian Colonel. . . finances have been set in order by a Russian loan. Corn is brought into the town by a Russian road. We have given nothing and can expect nothing."

Some action on the part of the British was now imperative to counteract Russian terror. In 1903, Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Secretary, declared that Britain would on no account permit any European power to establish a naval base in the Gulf. This was followed up by the visit of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, to the Bahrein Straits. The imposing naval manoeuvres that marked the occasion of the visit firmly impressed the local chiefs with the might and power of Great Britain and were an antidote to the exuberant ardour of Sheiks seeking alliance with nations hostile to the British.

Russian Designs in Tibet

The centre of political gravity now shifted to Tibet. The close of the last century marked the rise to power of Dorjieff—a Russian-born subject—as Prime Minister to the Dalai Lama. With his annual visits to St. Petersburg from Lhassa ostensibly for religious purposes but in reality to ally his country with Russia began the train of events that lead to the famous Younghusband mission. Further it was rumoured that Russia and China had come to an agreement over the Tibetan question. Lansdowne then issued a warning that the British would seriously view any attempt by Russia to penetrate into Tibet. The matter would probably have ended here but for Lord Curzon who insisted on a military mission to Lhassa. On this mission it is not necessary to dwell here. It resulted in the establishment of important trading centres in southern Tibet.

In 1907 a threefold convention was signed by Russia and Britain. By it the integrity of Tibet was guaranteed, Russia declared Afghanistan to be outside her sphere of influence and Persia was demarcated by an east and west line dividing the country into the Russian and the British zones of influence. This treaty came as a relief for, at that time, the atmosphere in Central Asia, owing to anarchy reigning in Persia, was so charged that sooner or later British and Russian interests would have clashed and war would have been inevitable.

World War and After

Peace had reigned in the stillness of Central Asia for some years when the Great War ushered in its series of dark plots. A German mission reached Kabul but failed to achieve any purpose, the members of the mission later fleeing from Afghanistan and becoming prisoners in the hands of the Russians. Habibullah, the Amir, was at this time, in a difficult situation in view of Turkey, the chief Islamic Power, entering the war on the German side, but succeeded in maintaining strict neutrality throughout the War.

In 1921 Russia and Afghanistan entered into a treaty by which the former was granted the right of establishing Consulates at Ghazni and Kandahar. The British protested as this was in contravention of the spirit of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907; as a result the concession to Russia was withdrawn.

In more recent years Persia and Afghanistan have been in danger of Bolshevik influence. In Persia the new Shah, Reza Khan, put down foreign penetration with a strong hand but in Afghanistan the infiltration made considerable headway during the Amirship of Amanullah who received large quantities of gold and ammunition from the Soviets; but in 1925 the folly of this policy was visibly demonstrated to the Amir when Soviet troops occupied by force the Afghan outpost of Darkabad. Afghanistan had since turned its back to Bolshevism particularly under the new Dynasty that succeeded Bacha-e-Saqao.

Is there now any likelihood of Soviet invasion ? The question is answered by Russia's past history. So long as the states on her southern boundary are ruled by strong and vigorous Rulers, there is no danger of Russia moving southwards. It was the constant turmoil and unrest in the Central Asian Khanates that had invited Russia to throw out her long arm. To-day Persia is ruled with an iron hand by a forceful Shah and in Afganistan is to be found a strong Government such as the country has not witnessed since the days of Abdur Rahman. And the Communism of the Soviets is hardly likely to mingle freely with the fanticism of the Iranians. In Germany foisting on India the prospect of a Red Invasion, it is attempting to divert Britain's attention from her battles in Europe and weaken her Empire.

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PRESERVATION OF FORESTS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN MODERN STATES

By NARENDRA CHANDRA DEB, M.SC., A.E.S.

THE word forest means an area of land covered with trees big and small whether of natural growth or planted by men. Forests generally grow in the plains, on low hills or at the foot or slope of a lofty mountain. The top of a high mountain is intensely cold and covered with snow all the year round—hence no forest can grow over the top of a mountain.

In old days, people perhaps had no clear idea of the high purposes these forests were to serve towards the preservation of life in all its aspects. They could not think that in future any harm could come to their descendants through their cutting the trees indiscriminately from a forest or that plantation in a forest was essential to the improvement of a country. The only profitable idea they had in mind was to clear as much forest land as they could by cutting and burning down as much forest as they desired.

To a lay-man, it appears that a forest is mainly meant for supplying us with timber for lumber, fuel for culinary purposes, pulp for paper and other allied industries. Ordinary people have no idea that forest has got any other utility besides those mentioned above. Until recenly the main function of the forest department was to keep an account of the trees and bamboos etc., cut by the people and to collect royalties for them. But at the present time, all the Governments of the world are using scientific means for the preservation of forests. The object of this article is to consider in brief, the direct and indirect advantages derived from forests and the awful effect of deforestation.

FOREST AND RESPIRATION

It is a known fact that animals exhale carbon-dioxide in the air.

Large quanties of carbon dioxide are also finding place in the atmosphere from the combustion of coal and other carbonaceous substances. Animals can not live when the quantity of carbondioxide exceeds certain fixed limit. Now unless this carbondioxide is removed from the atmosphere by some means, the whole atmosphere would have been filled with it and animal life would have become impossible for want of oxygen, since all oxygen would have combined to form carbondioxide. Now the green leaves of plants containing chlorophyl can decomp carbondioxide with the help of sun-light, i carbon which the plant assimilates and oxy which finds its way into the atmosphere. Th plants by decomposing and thus removing carb dioxide from the air make it possible for us live on earth.

FOREST AND RAINS

As a result of long series of experiments has been found that the temperature of the in a forest is much lower than that remote fr it. It has also been found that a full-gro tree with all its roots draws many maunds water from the earth and gives out as much the form of vapour to the atmosphere in t course of a day. This water-vapour colder th the sorrounding air, rises upwards in the s continuously to a great height and when a pi of cloud while passing over a forest comes contact with this cold water-vapour, it is c densed to rains. So if there were no forest in country, there would have been no such rise water-vapour and consequently little rains.

Another cause of excessive rains in forest is due to the fact that clouds wh passing come in contact with the tall tr tops and there the leaves and branch of the trees help the codensation of the clou in the form of rains. The leaves and bran here serve as threads in the preparation of sug candy from sugar solution where the crystals sugar-candy are deposited on the threads s pended in the solution. Of course, in this matt forests over an elevated place exert grea influence on the condensation of water-vap than those on the plains, because the tree-t of the elevated places can come in contact w clouds very easily. Examples of this are of met with when one travels through a hilly trac

FORESTS PREVENT HAILS AND EARLY FROSTS

Again it is a known fact that when a gas formed from a liquid the gas absorbs heat fr the liquid which becomes cooler and so w water-vapour pases out of the trees in a fo into the atmosphere, it absorbs heat from trees and as a result, the trees and along w them, the space inside a forest must necessar

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be cooler than the space outside it. The difference in temperature of the regions inside and outside a forest has been found to vary from 2°-5° F. Hence, the air inside a forest is more refreshing than the air outside. Moreover, dew is easily formed on the cooler branches of the trees and the above difference of temperature causes a current of air to flow from the surrounding open country into a forest and *vice versa*. These air-currents save the fields near about a forest from early frosts in autumn and from hails in summer by the formation of dews and fogs. The cause of this is that water-vapour is easily converted into dew and fog by coming in contact with the leaves and branches of the trees and so the forst-formation is delayed, thus allowing time for the people to make their harvest. This is also the cause why forests prevent hails from falling over the fields adjoining it. Observations made on particular places, have shown that places without forest are subject to frequent hail-storms but in forest regions hail-storms are of rare occurrence.

Forest Prevents Inundation and Erosion

It is an experimental fact that forest soil is cooler in summer and warmer in winter than the soil outside. As the sun cannot penetrate into the forest soil freely so the forest soil remains soft while the ground outside a forest becomes very hard. The branch and the leaves of the trees break up the rain-drops into particles before they reach the earth and there the soft soil absorbs these very easily. Again water drips for some time from the trees after the rain ceases, so the forest soil gets ample time to absorb as much water as it can. But the open soil which has become very hard by the heat of the sun can absorb very little of the rains, so all the water passes out unabsorbed. Hence after a heavy rain, the water from a treeless land will pass in torrents over-flowing rivers and thus flooding the adjoining villages. But when an equal volume of rains fall in a forest, its soil absorbs most of the water and the remaining portion also comes out slowly and so no inundation can take place easily.

A land covered with forests can not be much eroded by rain water because in a forest, rain water can not reach the earth directly. It falls on the branches and leaves of the trees from which it goes down to the earth slowly. Moreover, the roots of the trees hold the earth firmly and very little earth is eroded away by rain water. But an open soil will be much eroded by rain water and will be taken to streams where sands and silts will be deposited in the river, thus raising the river beds higher and higher. In consequence, water in the rainy season will not get sufficient outlet to flow down quietly and so there cannot but be high flood. Hence deforestation is one of the causes of inundation. Forest prevents erosion of soil and it also prevents the rapid flow of water in the rainy season. When water passes through a forest, it is obstructed by the trees both standing and fallen causing the water to flow slowly. Thus, we see that forest, by checking the rapid flow of water just after rains helps to stop high flood, because it does not allow the whole quantity of water to pass in the lower country all at the same time.

Forests and Distribution of Water in Rivers

It has been mentioned before that soft soil can absorb a much larger quantity of rain water than an open ground which can absorb only a small quantity. The huge quantity of water absorbed by the forest soil is given up by it gradually during the dry season. Hence forest streams can flow all round the year and do not give up the whole amount of water all at the same time and thus remain dry for the rest of the year. Thus forests serve to distribute the water to flow regularly during all seasons of the year and so help in the generation of electric power because if there be no flow of water in dry season, the plants will have to remain idle for the greater part of the year. Canal system is also disorganised by a high flood in the rainy season and droughts in winter.

From what has been said, we can easily conclude that if the forests are cut down or destroyed and not adequately replaced at the same time, there will be high flood in rains and droughts in the dry seasons of the year. There are places where the rain-fall is very scanty for want of forests. Clouds are seen to pass over the places without giving any rain. Thus it is seen that rain-fall is profuse where there are big forests and big forests are there where the rain falls profousely. So a scanty rainfall will result from wanton deforestation. As an example of this we can cite the frequent floods in Orissa. These frequent floods in Orissa are due mostly to the deforestation of the hill-slopes of Chota-Nagpur. Some hill-tribes are in the habit of destroying forests by burning and cutting down trees. These people grow their crops for a couple of years in one place and then they abandon the place and migrate to a new place where they prepare new fields in the same manner. Forest Department should look after these migratory people and stop or restrict such wanton destruction of forests by them.

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Forest and Fertility of Soil

The upper fertile portion of the soil outside a forest is washed away by the rains and becomes sterile in course of time. Plants improve the quality of the soil by increasing the organic matter and so raise its fertility. The land prepared on the slope of a hill by cutting down trees has been found to lose its fertility in a few years and become useless for practical purposes.

Forest and Navigation

In the absence of a forest rivers will get dry in the dry season and so fish will perish and the rivers will be unfit for navigation. Moreover, there will be scarcity of drinking water for the people living on their banks. Again as there will be no current in the river, the water will be polluted very easily causing wide-spread diseases.

Forest and Swampy Land

Another utility of a forest lies in the fact that forest can drain and dry up swampy lands, thus indirectly helping the removal of malaria. A tree spreads its roots in the earth in all directions by which it draws water from a great depth by its deep roots which it gives out in the atmosphere to form a cloud, thus helping nature to utilise the water from a great depth as well as from a swampy land.

Forest and Agriculture

It has been found by experiments in America that an open field produces less crops than that protected by trees. Americans are now-a-days planting trees in large numbers and preparing what is known as "shelter belts" which consist of trees of all types indigenous to the locality. The trees are planted on one or two sides of the field depending on the direction of the wind which does the greatest damage. These shelters prevent the crops from the bad effects of hot, dry or cold winds and thus help the copious growth of the crops. Thus it is seen that forest has intimate connection with the agricultural progress of the country.

In cold countries where wind blows very hard in winter, trees break the force of the wind and thus keep the houses with its gardens safe from the ravages of the wind. As the effect of a bitter cold wind is lessened by the trees, the houses also require much less fuel to keep themselves warm and comfortable.

Forest and Health

We all know that sea air has a great beneficial effect on our health due to the large percentage of ozone that it carries. It has been found that forest air also contains considerable quantities of ozone and it is free from dust particles or smoke. Hence people can regain their health by going to hill resorts. It is a curious thing to note that cholera does rarely break out in places surrounded by forests.

Forest as Nitrogen Supplier

Another important purpose for the benefit of mankind is served by the trees or vegetables. Human beings require nitrogen for their growth but no living creature can assimilate it directly from the air though the whole atmosphere is four-fifths filled up with nitrogen, nor can they assimilate nitrogen from simpler nitrogenous compounds. Plants have the power of assimilating nitrogen from soluble nitrogenous compounds in the soil and to some extent directly from the air. Animals are thus dependent upon the vegetable kingdom for their supply of nitrogen. They must therefore either live on vegetables or on animals such as goat, sheep, etc., which in their turn live on vegetables. Thus animal life would have been impossible but for the existence of vegetable kingdom.

Wood and Wood Products from Forest

The quantity of wood that we get from the forest annually is enormously large and its usefulness is beyond description. As the area of land is diminishing, its usefulness is looming large before us all the more. With the progress of civilisation, the need for wood is daily increasing. The foreign trade of timber is very considerable. Before 1915 the average foreign trade of timber was 5·6 per cent of the total foreign trade of the world. This has been increasing by leaps and bounds during the recent years. The foreign trade of timber in India is also very great. In 1930-31 more than 3[illegible] millions cu. ft. of timber were obtained from the state forests of India. The utilisation of wood-pulp for paper-making has revolutionised the demand of wood. India consumes on an average about one hundred and fifty thousand tons of paper of which she produces only about 40,000 ton only. In 1935-36 India imported paper and paste-boards worth about 3 crores of rupees. Besides producing pulp for paper and other purposes, Germany now produces a kind of fibre from wood which they utilise in the preparation of their clothes in place of cotton which can not be grown in Germany. England gets her supply of wood and wood-pulp from various countries such as Norway, Sweden, Finland, Canada and other countries of America which have the most thriving business on wood and wood-pulp. Wi[illegible]

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the commencement of the presnet war, as the wood supply from Finland and Scandinavian countries does not come up to requirement, Great Britain has made arrangement for wood with other countries such as Yugo-Slavia in exchange of mineral oils and other things. Germany is also trying to get her supply of wood from Scandinavian countries, Russia and Czeco-Slovakia. The last named country and Norway are now under German domination.

Reforestation

At present all the countries are alive to the danger of destroying their forest areas. They are now busy after reforestation. In this respect, U. S. A. is the ideal country in the world. They are following the maxim to plant in the same year twice the number of trees they cut in one year. The magnitude of the work of reforestation can be judged from the fact that in a single year (1938) 195 millions of trees have been planted in that country. There the Forest Department take special care of the plants. In case of forest fires, scientific appliances are employed to put them out. American people are trying to prevent erosion of soil by planting trees. In India erosion is going on owing to excessive rain but no steps, to my knowledge, have ever been taken to prevent it. In India plantation is now-a-days done in forests only. This is well and good but in this respect the authorities concerned will do well to follow the example of America which not only plants trees in the forests but takes every care to grow trees in the plains, fields and homesteads too. With proper propaganda, free supply of seeds and plants and with the help of local influencial men, it is possible to get this work of afforestation done without much cost. In this way, the wealth of a country can be greatly increased. Though the forest area of America is very extensive yet the people there, are growing trees systematically at such enormous rate. In that blessed country, the Deparmtent of Agriculture co-operates with the Forest Department to work the process in the best possible manner.

Forest and Climate

For the manufacture of railway slippers and for other purposes, huge number of trees is cut down every year in India specially in the province of Assam and if proper care is not taken from now to develop the forest area sufficiently by new plantations, not only will it have deleterious effect upon our industries but it may go so far as to affect even the climatic condition of the country. As an illustration it may be said that even now Sylhet forests produce mainly bamboos and not much good timber owing to indiscriminate cutting of the trees in former times.

Recently, arrangement has been made with Nepal to get the supply of railway slippers for India and there will be much deforestation in Nepal too and if reforestation is not adopted properly from now, it may awfully affect the climatic condition of Nepal and consequently of India in future. For wanton cutting of forests the climatic condition of the province of Trieste in Italy changed so much that its water dried up making the soil dry and hard and unfit for cultivation.

Tea Garden and Flood

The existence of a large number of tea gardens is partly responsible for frequent floods in our country. The tea gardens are generally made on the slope or at the foot of a hill. At the time of plantation the forests are burnt down and many ditches are made for rapid discharge of water. This water goes down to the plains all at once after a heavy shower and thus makes a flood possible. This difficulty may be obviated by planting large number of trees in the tea gardens. These trees besides supplying wood, will help the growth of the tea plants by their shade and at the same time natural order of things will not be disturbed.

Protection of Forests

Every country in the world has forests which are reserved and protected. However dense the population of a country might be, it is essential that a certain portion of its soil must be kept for the growth of forests. Every civilised country now thinks that in order to live honourably, a country must have a certain minimum proportion of its land filled with forests. Without this, the progress of a country is bound to be retarded. Belgium which is a very thickly populated country possesses 18·4% of its land covered with forest. Germany has 23·8 per cent, Russia 38·76, Japan 53·3 per cent of its land as forests. India has about 22·7 per cent of its land as forest. So it is not proper to reduce the forest land of India any more; on the other hand it should be increased in some provinces. In India, Assam has 40 per cent of its land as forest but Bengal, Madras, Bombay has each 13% of its land as forest which is far below the average. Forest land of a country can also be compared in the following manner :

For every 100 people in Japan there are 120 acres of forest land; in India every 100 people have 80 acres of forest land. Even now we are dependent upon foreign country for our supply

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of soft wood. More than 30 per cent of the packing woods of Calcutta come from Japan. But any amount of soft wood can be easily grown by planting soft-wood trees such as Simul, etc., here and there, in the hills, plains as well as on the vast river banks of our country.

It is gratifying to note that in Bengal, a committee has been formed to report about the possibility of reserving forests in the province. This is very good because the forest area of Bengal is very low compared with the size and population of the province.

In places where no natural forest occurs, it can be grown artificially by planting trees. In early stages of its growth it will require some care but once the trees are grown up no further care will be required. The forest will then grow by itself if only unrestricetd cutting is stopped. Establishment of forest area in Bengal is very easy because Bengal which lies on the direct route of the monsoon, receives a very heavy rainfall which is the main factor for the growth of forests.

Forest Products

Besides wood, we obtain a large number of various valuable things from forests but unfortunately we, in India, can not utilise these products properly. India imports papers and paste-boards worth about three crores of rupees but this amount can easily be kept in the country if we know how to obtain these from bamboos, grass, and wood which grow abundantly in the forest area of our country. Besides these, rubber, balsams, rosin, terpene oil, many medicinal herbs, barks, roots, etc., are found in our forests in large quantities. If these forest products are utilised in proper manner, the income of the country from this source will multiply ten-fold very easily and within a very short time.

Conclusion

Thus from all points of view—economic, hygienic, climatic—we must not allow unrestricted destruction of forests in the country. It is gratifying to learn that at present governments of all countries have given their serious attention in the matter and they do not allow unrestricted destruction of froests; on the contrary, they now take all possible care for their extension and development, by making reserves and new plantations. If an all-round improvement of our country is desired, we must take care of our forests as an essential factor for our existence. We must extend our forest area by creating new reserves and also we should plant large number of trees every year in the hills, plains and all over the country.

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BRIEF OUTLINE OF A FOUR-YEAR PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN INDIA

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THE purpose of the primary school as defined in the Board of Education Code is

"To form and to strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically and as well as intellectually, for the work of life."[1]

The prevalent primary school curriculum mainly consists of the 'three R.s,' and has failed signally in its task of satisfying the moral, intellectual, physical and social needs of the childhood. What the children read or write has little or no connection with their interests and experience. They learn to read parrot-like and to write mechanically and from memory without showing a real interest in what they are reading or writing.

The present curriculum is gravely defective for its vagueness of purpose, lack of elasticity and flexibility. It is highly important that a curriculum should be modifiable as demands are altered in the face of rapid changes going on in the life round about us. It is impossible to think of one that is rigid and permanent.

The needs of the learner must most certainly be taken into account in framing the curriculum. The Hartogg Committee stressed the point when they said :

"A curriculum unrelated to the conditions of home life results in a divorce between the interests of the school and the interests of the home."[2]

It should consist of projects and problems that reflect the interests of the life in which the children are ordinarily and daily participating. Thus the scheme of study should be related to the life and surroundings of both parents and pupils. This is particularly so in the case of rural schools, a view that has also been strongly advocated in the Report of the Indian Royal Commission on Agriculture,[3] and by Mr. Wilkinson in his *Rural School Management*.[4] The present curriculum has no relation to the conditions of village life and the life of the children, and consequently does not prepare them to face the problems of life.

The primary schools, however, should not attempt to impart definite agricultural or industrial training but should attempt to give the children a preliminary general training which will make them intelligent self-respecting citizens and responsible house-holders capable of self-protection and of earning a decent livelihood.

Curriculum activities should be based on child-psychology and arranged according to the growing needs, interests and capacities of the children. This will bring about the desired development in the children and a change in their attitude and behaviour towards school-life.

According to Professor Frank Smith the pursuits of the school may, with great advantage, be grouped under five headings:—physical, artistic, human, scientific and linguistic.[5]

(a) Physical Pursuits

The development of health should naturally come first, for without good health, that is, a sound body, it is impossible to follow any programme of education successfully.

Whether children continue schooling or not after the primary stage, they should acquire the habit of personal cleanliness, and of keeping their homes and surroundings clean and in order. Various situations will arise in the schools which can be used as opportunities for a beginning in the development of better health. Anyone who has come in contact with conditions in rural areas and the poorer sections of the community will admit that things are pretty bad there. Poverty is sometimes cited as a cause of untidy habits but curiously enough the reverse is equally true. The large death rate among infants, the short span of life of the average Indian

1. Elementary Education Provisional Code, 1922 (England), p. 7.
2. Hartogg Committee Report, p. 63.
3. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, p. 513.
4. W. A. Wilkinson : *Rural School Management*, p. 377.
5. Frank Smith and A. S. Harrison : *Principles of Class Teaching*, pp. 45-46 and 154.

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man and woman, the wide prevalence of diseases may be traced to habits of uncleanliness practised by the people as a whole. The school ought to strive earnestly to create a strong public sentiment against these evil habits by beginning with the children from the very start. This can be achieved by creating a hygienic environment, by affording every opportunity for the development of their bodies and by instructing the children in the working of some of the simple laws of health and sanitation.

(*i*) *Hygienic Environment*

The sight of the school, its attached garden, play ground, the building with its well-ventilated rooms, well-chosen pictures, simple decorations, neat and orderly arranged useful furniture, and other equipment—play their educational part in habituating the child to a healthy atmosphere conducive to the cultivation of a healthy body and a healthy mind.

(*ii*) *Appropriate Physical Exercises*

The more formal physical exercises should include out-door games suitable to the age of the children, mass drills, active sports, folk dancing, swimming and other "varied activities which children find pleasure in doing and which promote a healthy all round development."[6] We have a good variety of indigenous games which incur little expenditure but offer ample scope for suitable physical culture. A wise combination of the good points of indigenous and western methods for drill will be of use.

(*iii*) *Personal Health and Hygiene*

Topics relating to health and hygiene, cleanliness and prevention of diseases, and precaution to be taken at times of epidemics should be dealt with in the form of discourses illustrated with charts and pictures, and lantern slides if possible. But the study and practice of physical welfare, tidiness, etc. is best done by making the children keep themselves, the class-rooms, equipment, etc., clean and tidy. This indirect but practical training is far more important than formal lessons on hygiene and health.

Whatever the programme of health education may be the thing that is most important is not so much the knowledge of questions relating to health as the actual formation of health habits. To gain this end the teacher should set the example himself, thus teaching the children effectively by example as well as by precept.

(*b*) Artistic and Constructive Pursuits

India is widely known for her arts and crafts. With the development of the artistic life of the children the village life can be made more beautiful, the homes better places to live in, and individual life enriched by culture. The subjects under this head should include drawing, painting, music, crafts, etc.

Music has been not only one of the most important features of Indian culture but also an instrument for its perpetuation through the ages. In all the ceremonials instrumental music, chanting of hymns and songs are used. But they have been rigidly kept out of the school-room.[7] Songs should be carefully selected. As the Hadow Committee says, "Good clear melody and good poetry are essential."[8] Folk songs may be strongly recommended. Better results can be obtained if children accompany music with movement of their bodies. Indeed through music the simple life of the villagers, although poor in material things, could be made in other respects rich and beautiful.

The crafts taught should be simple and of such a practical nature as to encourage the children's natural activities of hand and eye. The rural areas possess very rich materials which are utterly wasted. The children should be taught to use these local materials in school activities. Through such training they will learn what is beautiful and useful for them. The following crafts may be suggested :

(1) Modelling in card-board and paper-folding.
(2) Needle-work including knitting for girls.
(3) Basketry.
(4) Clay modelling.
(5) Weaving in coloured thread and wool.
(6) Gardening.
(7) Any other simple craft suitable to the locality.

(*c*) The Humanities

The aim of the school should be to create in the children a living interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind through the literature, history and geography of their own country. Indeed "literature, history, human geography .. offer a unified story of man's life, aspirations and efforts."[9]

History should be taught in the form of simple narratives. Stories from the Indian epics, Ramayana, Mahabharata, medieval romances and the lives of great personalities furnish instances. Memorising of facts apart from their meaning and significance should be discouraged. It is essential to stress understanding rather than memorising.

6. Frank Smith, *op. cit.* p. 156.

7. Prem Chand Lal : *Reconstruction and Education in Rural India.*

8. Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary School, London, 1931, p. 186.

9. Frank Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

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Children should not begin geography by learning definitions or by committing to memory names of places, mountains and rivers. Formal geography should be deferred to a later stage. As children love folk-tales and stories of the people of other lands these should be told to them. Geography can be taught easily with the help of wall-charts, maps, globes and lantern slides. Local geography is also fundamental. A good start may be made in the teaching of human geography by studying the different races of people often found around us.

Biographies of great men of India and other places should also be included under this head. No better means of developing the minds of young learners and raising them from a national to an international plane could be suggested than the method of relating lives of great men of all countries in the East and the West.

(*d*) Mathematics and Science

Lessons in mathematics should be related to the demands of village life. They should consist of such items as simple measurements, weights, ideas of shapes, sizes, etc., of things and commodities of daily use. Examples from arithmetic should be brief and numerous rather than long and complex.

Science should be taught with a view to the training of the children in habits of observation and deduction so that they may be acquainted with some of the most common facts and laws of nature. Natural phenomena such as light and darkness, day and night, heat and cold, rain, wind and storm, rivers and floods, different seasons, etc., should form a part of the curriculum. These should be first approached as they are experienced by the children themselves in their particular locality.

An acquaintance with some of the inventions of modern science as applied in daily life offers great opportunity for real science teaching. No doubt it has a lmiited scope in the more remote areas.

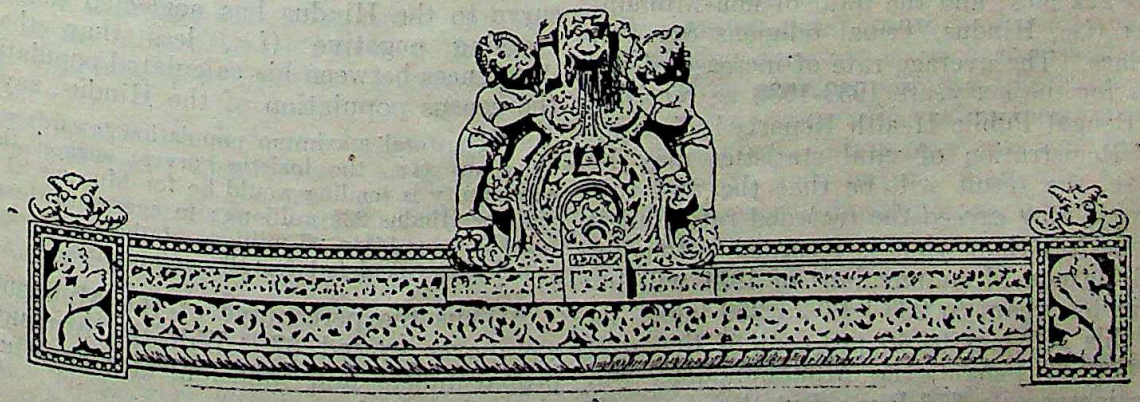
Nature study should be confined to the lives of some domestic and pet animals and a few common plants. The children should be made to realise that pets and plants need care and attention. There should be some observation lessons in gardens about the habits of insects, birds and plants. Other lessons should be illustrated by wall-pictures, specimens in glass jars, picture books, etc. This will result in the general recognition by the children of the great wealth of life around and its various forms, manifestations and interdependence.

(*e*) Language

The pupil should learn to read, write and understand his mother-tongue comprising words in ordinary use, should gain fluency in expressing his own thoughts, and should attain the ability to summarise his acquired knowledge.

The course should include the reading of books on scientific, historical and geographical topics, and on travels. This would help to provide incentives for reading and stimulate the children to acquire skill in it. Children should be asked to speak or write on subjects which interest them most, such as amusements, hobbies, excursions, games and the like. This will give them opportunities to express their feelings, thoughts and opinions on revelent subjects in writing or help them in developing the art of speech and oration. Dramatics and recital of popupar poems should also be included.

It would be desirable that all these subjects should not be kept in watertight compartments but should be presented in a unified whole through some form of project method. But this may be hard to realise in actuality owing to the lack of skill and training of the teachers.



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SIXTY PER CENT MUHAMMADANS IN THE CENSUS OF 1941 !!

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L.

We estimated the proportion of the Muhammadans in Bengal at the next Census to be 54·0 per cent. [See *The Modern Review* for August, 1940]. Since then the Bengal Public Health Report for 1938 has been published; and we find the respective birth- and death- rates to be :—

	Hindu		
	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Rate of increase
1938	29·1	24·8	4·3
	Muhammadan		
	Birth-rate	Death-rate	Rate of increase
1938	30·7	27·1	3·6

The average excess of increase in favour of the Hindus for the five years 1933-1937 was 0·1 per mille; the average excess for the *six* years (out of the ten for the decade 1931-1940) has now increased to 0·3 per mille. We are, therefore, more confirmed in our estimate.

But the *Azad*, the paper subsidized by the communally-minded predominantly Muhammadan Ministry of Bengal, says that at the next Census (1941) the proportion of the Muhammadans will be 60 per cent. In some pamphlets issued by the Muhammadans it is asserted that their strength is 60 per cent. A very responsible Muhammadan officer, whom the present writer had occasion to meet in his capacity as the Secretary, All Bengal Census Board, told him that it is his personal belief that the percentage of the Muhammadans will be at least 58, if not 60. We can understand the *Azad*, we can understand the pamphleteers—they are propagandists. But for a responsible officer of the Government to believe and argue that their percentage will be 60,—it passes our comprehension.

We shall show the absurdity of the percentage of the Muhammadans being 60 at the next Census. Let us *assume* that their number has been correctly recorded at the last Census of 1931. It is 278,10,000. The number of Hindus alone is 222 lacs; and the total of non-Muhammadans (*i.e.*, Hindus, Tribal religions &c. &c.) is 233 lacs. The average rate of increase of the Hindus for the six years 1933-1938 as *recorded* in the Bengal Public Health Reports is 7·4 per mille. Registration of vital statistics may be defective, the result will be that the real rate of increase may *exceed* the recorded rate; but it cannot be *less* than what is recorded. Roughly the 233 lac non-Muhammadans of 1931 will increase in ten years to 233+17·2=250 lacs. To reduce this 250 lacs to 40 per cent of the total population of Bengal, the Muhammadans will have to increase to 375 lacs. But their numerical strength in 1931 was 278 lacs. Or in other words, 278 lacs shall have to increase by 97 lacs to make the percentage of Muhammadans reach the figure 60 !

We give below the strength of the Muhammadans at each census since 1881; and their inter-censal increase.

Year	Number of Muhammadans	Inter-censal increase
1881	183,94,000	
1891	201,75,000	17,81,000
1901	219,55,000	17,80,000
1911	242,37,000	22,82,000
1921	254,86,000	12,49,000
1931	278,10,000	23,24,000

The Muhammadans increased by 94 lacs during the fifty years 1881-1931; and they are going to increase by 97 lacs in a single decade! Their increase in a single decade exceeds their total increase during half a century by 3 lacs!! Is it because Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq is the Chief Minister; and the Muhammadans are assured of their statutory majority under the Communal Award ?

According to the Census of 1931, the Muhammadans are 54·44 per cent; while the Hindus are 43·48 per cent. Broadly speaking for 44 Hindus, there are 55 Muhammadans. If the representation in the Bengal Legislature was proportional to population, for the 80 General (mainly Hindu) seats, the number of Muhammadan seats would have been 100; but it is 120 under the Communal Award. How to justify such over-representation is the problem before the Muhammadans. If they can increase their percentage strength in the total population to 60; it will be justified. That is why from the pamphleteers and the *Azad* to responsible Muhammadan officers, every one is asserting that at the next census they will be 60 per cent! Even Mr. Griffiths, who in fitting the Logistic curve to the Hindus has neglected the ever increasing negative (*i.e.*, less than the real) differences between his calculated population and the census population of the Hindus, says :

"The total maximum population towards which the equations (*i.e.*, the logistic curves) suggest that each community is tending would be for Muslims 32 millions and for Hindus 23¾ millions : in aggregate these figures fall short by 14 to 20 millions of the upper asymptotic population calculated for all communities."

Thus the percentage of the Muhammadans can never exceed 57. Will the Muhammadan propagandists and inflationists please note the above ?

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MIRAGE

(A Short Story)

By JESSICA PHILIPS

I was travelling through the Punjab on a hot day in April, third class. Now, third class in India simply isn't done, except by Congress folk and a few of the more conscientious missionaries, and I was neither—just a travevlling writer out for a year or so, to pick up plots, atmosphere, personalities for my next novel which I hoped to make my masterpiece, though I was still frantically groping for a theme. I was still in the early thirties, unmarried, a bit of an adventurer, without too much convention and dignity to prevent me trying anything that came along that would supply fresh material for my pen: and travelling third for an Englishman is really very unconventional.

Third class in India. Well! It was a specious long cattle-pen, crammed to overflowing with human kine. The air was filled with dust, there was no glass in the windows, the seats were just hard boards placed along the sides and down the middle, the lavatory was a hole in the floor with a door in front, and the company was rustic, loaded with all kinds of bundles, bedding, milk-pots, water-jars, shepherds' crooks, flies, smells and babies!

Next me was a snake-charmer, knees well tucked up to his chin, head lolling on to my shoulder when he dozed, sinister basket pushed neatly into the calves of my legs. A round greasy individual with a grimy sack round him and a coil of turban like a filthy dish-cloth on his head was selling bananas. A large comely peasant girl in the corner was feeding her baby under the shadow of her bright pink veil. A young man in a lounge suit, with collar and tie complete, on my other side, tried to be polite and talkative—language does limit one's expressiveness!

"Give me your book," said he, in English, "if you do not read I like to see."

I handed him a book of short stories and he plunged studiously into one of them. He finished and handed it back quite politely saying, "He write beautiful!" So I smiled and assented; it was written by myself!

Crowded and odoriferous though it was I was interested. These were simple men of the soil, real and unpretentious, except for our friend in the suit, and many of them were splendid physical specimens.

But it was the boy opposite who caught my artist's eye. He was a peasant too, with just a strip of unbleached hand-made cloth folded about his waist revealing shapely bare legs and feet, a dirty shirt open at the neck and that was all.

The face drew me. Imagine that dust and sweat washed off, that square chin shaved, that curly black hair trimmed and combed, and a new person would be looking out at you.

The brow was broad and high, the brows level, the eyes a deep bluey-grey (unusual in India where one encounters millions of the blackest and most brilliant eyes in the world); the lashes curled and gave a wistful boyish look; the nose was long and straight, with finely curved nostrils; the well-formed lips parted slightly over white glistening teeth. The skin was moderately tanned a pale olive.

I sat blinking in the sunlight, watching him and dreaming, imagining him cleaned up and educated. I could see him gentle, smiling, debonair, handsome in tennis white or evening black, a cigarette dropping from his lean fingers, the earnest smile on his handsome lips. Imagination! Well, he intrigued me, fascinated me. Here might be stuff for my next novel. But how could one sketch the theme realistically? The one sure way was to take the lad himself and write from the life. The artist in clay and oils has his model always before him from first to last; why not the artist in words?

The broad fields of green deepening to harvest-brown corn rolled past. Beyond the vital waving mass stretched barren land, semi-desert, with alluring mirages like glimmering flats of water and pa trees casting their reflections from the horizon. My sleepy eyes smarting and half-closed to keep out the glare saw the long path this peasant lad might tread, if it proved not to be a mirage in the end and wake us up in a land of sand and thorns.

And then I made my resolution. It had been done before and could be done again. I decided to take this very lad, if possible, risk disappointment, waste of time and money; take him and educate him, make him my live model,

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and—yes—induce Lord Fenton to bet me a thousand to one I couldn't do it, and get even with him, for he'd scored off me quite easily only a year ago, and I'd been pondering how to get my own back! But this time I'd be cautious, make my experiment first, introduce my male Galatea in club and house-party and then enjoy the triumph.

To cut a long story short—for you will find all the details in my coming novel—with my smattering of Hindustani, and a few English words he had picked up in some school, I made the boy's acquaintance on the spot, accompanied him to his village, persuaded his uncle (he was an orphan) to let me educate him, and after a little bargaining, marched off with my prize.

Now I am a writer from choice not necessity and the financial side of this strange adventure did not worry me. So, a few weeks later, behold me and my protegé and his tutor abroad a splendid liner sailing for Trieste, en route for Lausanne. For I had decided to keep Adrian (as I called him, being a non-committal sort of name) out of England and the whole thing dark for a year, and let the lad find his feet in a less conventional place than London. In Lausanne he could pick up a little French too, attend some lectures, imbibe a modest liberal education, and be passed fairly easily in an international atmosphere.

I found him quick, intelligent and adaptable, straight and honest, but with very little sense of humour. He took everything seriously and was embrassingly grateful for all I was doing. I began to take it seriously myself too, and grew quite fond of the lad. He was determined to be a success, though he was not told about the bet, naturally, and had set to work with a will studying English with Ralph Morton, the tutor, and copying him and me in all points of etiquette and dress.

When I left them both at their hotel in Lausanne he was already unrecognizable—a bright-eyed, ingenuous, eager, lovable youngster.

"Goodbye," I cried, "get down to your studies, and at the same time don't neglect society. Meet everyone and go everywhere. Don't spare cash, but keep a careful account, and I'll see you again after three months or so."

"Goodbye, Sir. I'll do my best. Thank you for all—all—" he choked a little and turned aside. I felt touched and the landscape was a trifle blurred for a minute as we steamed along by the lake.

It was only a week or so later when I met Fenton's daughter again, Margot, at a house-party in Bulks. We had been good friends once! She was a small, pink-cheeked, winsome little creature, with auburn hair, thick and short sticking out all over her head like a Puck. Her eyes were not green or blue as is usual with that colouring, but a warm tawny brown. She was a young devil with the boys already, a crowd always hanging round her elbows; and she dressed in the latest Parisian models, with bravado, quite careless of the sensations she raised—enjoying them in fact. A rogue, but a lovable one—clever too—up at Oxford and just presented. She was studying Mods, and had to go abroad for a time every year, so some imp in me suggested Lausanne.

"A bit hot for June and July," she murmured chewing some grass as she balanced gracefully on the edge of the sun-dial.

"Not at all," I replied promptly, "You can always dip in the lake or run up the mountains to get cool. Then you meet young people—see life—isn't that what you want? You've been kept pretty much at home up till now. You're not thinking of playing the role of a Versailles shepherdess or something so sophistically unconventional, are you?"

"No—o." She tilted a piquant profile to peer at some bird tweeting in the branches above us.

"Besides, I know some very fascinating people there," I went on slyly, "including myself when I pop over to see you all, and I promise you'll be interested."

'Oh oh, you do, do you! You've always something up your sleeve now, haven't you, naughty man? I believe you'd be rather clever at practical jokes, and yet you try to do the grand-uncle over me! I believe you lead two lives, and you keep the strictly proper and conventional side specially for society."

The young miss wasn't far wrong there. Anyhow off went she to Lausanne amongst other places, and I wrote to Morton and Adrian to inform them of her address and hint that they might call on the strength of my introduction. (Adrian, by the way, had now been metamorphosed into an Hungarian Prince, no one of our crowd at home knowing Hungarian, and both he and Morton were enjoying studying Hungary from text books and creating a fictitious background.)

I was due to look them up again about this time so I soon followed on Margot's heels.

I arrived on one of those clear luminous evening so frequent in Switzerland, and the first person I met in the hotel was Morton, so we sat having a drink together in the lounge before dinner. He looked a bit depressed I thought.

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"Well, how are things going, Morton?" I asked.

"First class, sir. He's the most adaptable fellow I've ever met; very likeable too—too much so I'm afraid."

"Hello, how's that?"

"Why! We went and called on Margot Fenton as you suggested, and the wild young filly just fell for him at once—though she doesn't let him know it and keeps him on a string, I can tell you. Why! After a week she'd packed up and left the superior where she booked rooms and fixed herself up here, though she could only yet get a fourth floor back—said she was lonely, or some such nonsense."

"Oh!" I felt a bit taken aback to tell you the truth. I had never even wildly dreamt of a game of consequences such as this! That Margot would meet Adrian in an hotel, and she'd say, "I like you boy!" and He'd say, "Right, pal, we make a couple," or some such phrase he may have picked up; and the consequence was—well, what? Things sounded serious.

As I drained my glass and watched Morton out of the corner of my eye, (he was hit too, no doubt about it!) I saw them come in together—she in the most absurd of modern short shorts, and he, brown and handsome in a bright blue shirt open at the neck. It was she who caught sight of us first and came dancing across the room calling, "Hello, Uncle Deb, of all people! Now we'll have some fun. And how's the mystery?"

Adrian, who was shaking hands with me looked sharply at Morton, who looked startled too, but I knew it was just a shot out of the blue on her part, and shook my head at them smiling.

"Still up my sleeve, my lady," I murmured mockingly. I felt hurt being called an uncle before the two lads—I wasn't so very much hoarier, hang it all!

"And now I must simply fly and bath and change in ten minutes," she cried.

"Impossible," I said, "ten hours is more like it for the modern girl."

She gave me a swift look and made a move and then ran off without a word.

After dinner I sat smoking on the terrace and was privileged to watch Margot teaching Adrian how to dance. Rhythm is in the very blood of the Punjabis, and the lad was making fine time and would soon be presentable in the ball-room.

Then I got tired of playing wallflower and got up to look at the moon rising from behind the palm trees over the way when I heard the creak of basket chairs and Margot's voice.

"Let's sit here and rest, Adrian. I'm breathless, but you have improved, boy!"

"Have I? Thank you," cried he softly.

They had taken my chair and another beside it, no doubt thinking I had departed, so I prepared to sneak away when Margot spoke again.

"Just look at the Chinese lanterns down there in the pine-trees, isn't the colouring just exquisite! And here, with these flowers and palms and the stars—just wonderful! Why, it's like Fairyland; I'm the Princess, and you're the Prince!"

"I—the?" he murmured; caught off his guard.

"The Prince. An Hungarian Prince. How very romantic!" cried Margot in raptures.

"But—but—" cried poor Adrian, struggling to express himself. "I like poor life—simple things—more than this." He spread his expressive hands.

"Oh, of course, so do I," replied Margot, not meaning what she said; she was prepared to like anything he liked at the moment! "We are so alike, you and I," the minx went on, softly, "We are both interested in the same things. It's wonderful to meet a person like you."

"Oh, it's you who are wonderful, not I," quoth Adrian.

I coughed discreetly and tip-toed silently away. I did not want the consequences to take place quite as quickly as that—nor quite in the same way!

That night I had a talk with Adrian and the next day we packed quietly and were off while Margot was shopping, Adrian leaving a discreet little note for my lady. We left Morton for a day or two to see her through!

The success of my wild plot was beyond all expectations. Adrian was already a gentleman—in a year or so he promised to be quite a normally accomplished one too.

We went straight back to my Surrey farm for the Autumn, I to get going with my novel, and Adrian, my unconscious model, to study. We took French in small doses, but we paid great pains with his English, and he was reading like wild-fire. He also began the violin, which seemed to suit the queer sort of airs he would hum—(I even got to appreciate them after a time!)—besides keeping up his old job of carpentry for a hobby in my work-shop, where he perhaps enjoyed himself most.

And what was I to do with him when the episode of the bet was finished? Well! In the first place I had decided that the result would be a secret between the betters. Adrian was far too fine a person to be the object of light sport.

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I then played with the idea of adopting Adrian as a companion, he was too old for a son, and give up any idea of marrying myself—at least until he was settled. I'm not a marrying man I said, and I fall in love with all my heroines in turn. As a matter of fact, the only person I had ever felt desperate about had turned me down, and my pride was too hurt to risk another wound, as they say.

I discovered that Margot had nosed out the place of our retreat and was corresponding regularly with Adrian. He confessed as much to me but I said nothing.

Christmas was spent in Paris and then we returned to the farm for the New Year, with frequent private trips up to town together. My novel was progressing but it needed a little more jerk and verve in the action. My imagination had become so dependent on the actual that I found it impossible to delineate the rest of it without waiting to see what the real denouement would be—it might prove to be far better than fiction.

When, therefore, an invitation came from Margot to take Adrian and Morton to their Easter house-party in Warwickshire, I could not resist accepting it, though I realised the risk of inconvenient developments.

It was a glorious April day, full of green and blue and yellow lights when we drew up under the stately portico of Oakbridge Hall. A fine Georgian mansion in creamy sandstone, it rose in self-possessed dignity (if one can say so of a house) above the broad western terrace with rose-garden, nurseries, lake, deer-park and all that constitutes the ideal English country home.

"Welcome, Debenham," cried Lord Fenton, advancing across the old Venetian pavement of the entrance-hall. "So this is Prince Adrian Barsony." Welcome Prince. And Francis Morton! How are you? Ah! Here's our little hostess, my daughter Margot. You have met in Lausanne? Good!"

Now Margot was not her usual bright self—she was a little paler and thinner and more serious and it suited her. Studying too hard, thought I, or in love, and I glanced at Adrian. He had turned away for the moment and was admiring a stained glass window representing Una and the Lion.

Without her usual running and bouncing, Margot led us quietly up to our rooms and said, "Dinner at seven-thirty. Come down to the library as soon as you're ready."

On entering the library, a magnificent long room with a row of long windows looking south, we found Margot and another male figure rather close together by the marble fire-place in the twilight.

"Another complication," thought I. "Well, good! Father's choice I suppose."

A fresh-coloured, fair-haired giant rose like a young ox to be introduced as "Lord Craigsborough." Another lord! Poor Adrian! Poor Morton! and poor—!

Things progressed pretty rapidly I can tell you. Craigsborough seemed to scent Adrian as a rival immediately and did all he could to ridicule his slips in English. Adrian kept good-tempered at first, and then ignored him but it depressed him I could see. Margot became actively pro-Adrian, and that made Criagsborough see red.

I caught a snatch of conversation between them once, quite by accident, as I was lounging outside the library window one morning, that being on the sunny side of the house.

"Look here, Barsony," came Craigy's voice in an unmistakable sneer, "may I give a newcomer a little bit of sound advice?"

"Advice? Certainly, if you be quick. I must go and study."

"Well! Just be a wee more discreet with Miss Fenton, and don't make her so conspicuous."

'Miss Fenton? Margot? What is con-conspic—?" cried Adrian aghast.

Craigy did't find it easy to give a simple explanation of the word conspicuous; evidently he hadn't learnt such things at school.

"Conspicuous? Why, conspicuous." That's just what it means. Something that makes you look at something—in the lime-light—you mustn't go about with her so much."

"I—," cried Adrain, astonished, "I never go about with her; she comes about with me." He said it quite seriously and sincerely, but Craigy seemed to regard it as an attempt at cheap joking and fairly roared.

"With you." What the hell d'you mean? Of all the conceited asses these foreigners—."

"Yes, with me," interjected Adrian impatiently, "and you better tell Margot that she must not—er—follow me, that she follow you." And he threw up the window and jumped out quite near to me but without knowing I was there, and walked off in real anger for the first time.

"And where is the Barsony estate, Prince?" Asked Craigy one evening across the dinner-table, in a markedly ironical tone. "Anywhere near Budapest? I'm thinking of exploring Hungary this summer and may give you a call."

"Oh, a hundred miles or so away," replied Adrian calmly and courteously, "and it is all-mortgaged you say—it is let to an American

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millionaire. If not I would delight to entertain you."

"Rather fortunate for you," remarked Craigy insolently. "Hungarian princes and Italian counts are usually dispossessed."

"Dispossessed? That is—yes! We may be—of land," answered Adrian smiling, "but not perhaps of brains and character. In the modern world we must live by our wits rather than by our ancient privileges."

"Bravo, Adrian!" cried Margot, "Well said! I'm all for brains myself."

Craigborough went a dark red and took the insult personally. He muttered something about adventurers living by their wits, but I managed to turn the conversation round to India in which Adrian joined in quite naturally and gave some interesting information about the Punjab. I enjoyed their astonishment at the detail of his knowledge, but Morton looked uneasy and thought the joke was going too far, so we steered off again.

I decided to make by bet as soon as possible before the atmosphere got too dangerous, and caught Fenton after dinner in a quiet corner.

"What about our return game, dear sir?" said I.

"What game? Oh, the bet? Go ahead, my boy. What's the bright idea?"

"Why, I got it when I was travelling with Adrian in a third class carriage in the Punjab. There was a good-looking youth opposite us and I remarked how I would like to bet you a thousand to one I could educate that boy till he could appear in the best society and no one be any the wiser. Well, I propose going over again soon for other reasons, and at the same time picking up some young fellow like that, by hook or by crook, and making the experiment, if you take it on."

Fenton laughed loud and long.

"What a quixote you are! Why, it'll cost you the thousand to get hold of him and send him to school."

"I dare say," said I cooly, "but that's my risk."

"A real peasant, mark you; none of your smart town lads." "Oh, absolutely! The genuine article. And if I produce him any time within the next year I win."

"And I lose—a thousand—quits."

"I will go so far as to say," cried I, touched by his innocent generosity, "that the lad shall not only just pass muster in society but shall be accepted as an equal by yourself unknowing!"

"You are only making it impossible for yourself, but just as you please," replied he, smiling, and we moved off.

I looked round for Adrian and Margot but they had disappeared.

"Playing billiards," murmured Morton, seeing my look of inquiry. Half-an-hour later I wandered into the library to get a book for the night and bumped into Adrian just coming out. He gasped.

"I must see you," he said between his teeth.

"What is it now? She hasn't proposed to to you I suppose?"

"Yes, that's just it—she has—and I must get out of this."

I caught him by the arm and drew him in and we sat down together by the fire. Things were getting serious. My experiment was running away with us.

"I'm not a cad you know. I love her, but I can't deceive her—and it couldn't be, anyhow. I must just get away."

"Wait, wait, let me think it out," I cried. The door opened and Criagsborough's florid horsey face looked round the door.

"Oh, you're there, are you! I've found a letter for you, Barsony, tucked away in the rack. You must have missed it. Indian post."

Adrian tore it open nonchalantly. I felt sudden qualms, I don't know why, and almost shouted, "Read it after, not now." But he had already glanced at the first page, covered with Urdu scrawl as if a crow's feet dipped in ink had wandered all over the paper.

I saw him start and go pale. "I must go back," he whispered.

"Bad news?" inquired Craigsborough ironically. Why the devil couldn't he go and leave us. I began to wonder if he suspected anything.

Adrian looked at me and gave a sign to go. But at that moment Lord Fenton walked briskly in and began in a loud voice,

"What's this, Adrian? Margot tells me—" then he saw Craigy and stopped.

"Wait, my lord, please," burst out Adrian, in a strained voice, and I could see he was preparing himself for the revelation of his identity.

"Not yet, Adrian," I interrupted, rising. "This is my show. Let me talk to Lord Fenton for a few minutes alone and then you can tell him all."

"What's the mystery?" cried Craigy furiously. "Tell it now."

"No!" cried Margot appearing, flushed and worked up, meaning, of course, something quite different.

"This is a family affair, Daddie. Please ask Lord Craigsborough to leave us before we proceed to explanations. Uncle Deb can stay."

I bowed. Craigsborough gave an ox-like

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stare at Adrian, and then turning on his heel left the room, and Margot shut the door behind him. She seemed to have taken command of the situation.

In the meantime my mind was in a torment of innner debate. If I exposed Adrian I should win the bet, but let the boy down for ever in Margot's eyes—at least I thought so. Fenton might even be extremely angry and cast me off too. After all, it was a practical joke par excellence. On the other hand I felt sure that Adrian was far too honest to keep quiet or even to allow Margot to reveal how far she had gone in pursuing him. The horns of a dilemma—

"If my daughter really cares for you—as she says she does," began Fenton, "I want to know who you really are!"

"I—am—" began Adrian.

"Wake up, wake up!" came a voice in my ear, and a lusty hand shook my shoulder. "You said you were going to Lahore, and here we are."

It was the facetious young Indian looking into my face. The cornfields and mirages had disappeared and I woke up to the vast dinning confusion of a large railway station.

I discovered that my peasant lad had got down six stations before and had faded into the Punjab plain. I still think of him as Adrian and almost feel as if I had lost a son!

A cable awaited me at the hotel.

"Come home for my birthday. Love. Margot."

My heart leapt and I smiled foolishly.

THE DEAF-MUTE ARTISANS

By S. N. BANERJI,

Hony. General Secretary, The Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India

The exhibition of handicrafts by deaf-mute artisans held in the premises of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School under the auspices of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India from the 23rd to 30th December, 1940, was a great success in every respect. Every evening the exhibition was visited by a large number of people which included many distinguished ladies and gentlemen of the city. Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow paid a visit to the exhibition on the 27th and was highly impressed with the quality of the exhibits done by the deaf. The general opinion was that the work done by the deaf was not in any way inferior to the work of the hearing artisans.

The Convention desires to invite the kind attention of the Hon. Labour Minister that in spite of the high standard of skill, the deaf-mute find great difficulty in getting employments with government, railway and other big factories. The employers feel reluctant to employ the deaf on the theoretical ground that they are more accident-prone. In fact the risk is rather less since they are extremely cautious in their movements while working with moving machinery. Besides the deaf worker is not distracted with any extraneous factor while at work which gives him a clear advantage over a hearing worker, for he can put in more amount of work in the same period. The present Act of Compensations goes against the employment of the deaf in factories. The Convention respectfully requests the Government to remove the unfair barriers against the employment of the deaf so that they may have equal opportunities in life. It may also be hoped that the employers will consider the case of the deaf artisans more sympathetically in order to give them a fair chance to make their life happy and bright.

The Convention has a project to start a Home for the deaf where they will be housed and boarded after they leave school till they find employments. During their stay in the Home they will produce such things as they can to cover a portion of their boarding charges. Such Homes form a very important part in the after-care work for the deaf in all Western countries. It is evident that a Home can never be made self-supporting. As soon as the war will be over and more opportune time will arrive, the Convention will issue an appeal to the Government and to the public for necessary funds to start the proposed Home. It is hoped that the appeal will be generously responded to.

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THE UNITED PROVINCES IN THE PRE-REFORM PERIOD

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.

The history of the North-Western Provinces after the Mutiny has been a record of steady development in every direction. The administration has underwent a series of readjustments and reforms to suit the requirements of an altered situation, and one can easily notice the the different stages in the evolution of the administration and constitution of these provinces. The hisory of these provinces has yet to be written because the major part of the available material is still buried in the official archives. In the short compass of a magazine article, I shall attempt to stress a few aspects of the progress made during the pre-Reform period.

The districts around Benares, the ceded territories in the Doab, the tracts obtained from the Marathas, and the hill areas conquered after the Gurkha War had been combined in 1836 to form the original North-Western Provinces. In 1858 the Delhi territory was transferred to the Punjab. In 1861 some territories obtained from the Raja of Nagpur were transferred to the C. P., though Jhansi was obtained in return. Oudh which after its annexation had been a separate charge under a Chief Comissioner with a Court of Judicial Commissioner was amalgamated for purposes of better administration with the North-Western Provinces in 1877. During Lord Curzon's viceroyalty these provinces were renamed the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh to avoid confusion between their title and that of the newly created North-West Frontier Province. From this brief outline it would appear therefore that these provinces form the oldest and also the heaviest charge among the provinces ranking next to the three old presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal.

Until the advent of the Montford Reforms these provinces were administered by a Lieutenant Governor, appointed by the Viceroy with the approval of the Crown, and selected from the members of the Indian Civil Service of at least ten years' standing. There was a High Court at Allahabad established in 1866. The United Provinces had no Executive Council and the Lieutenant Governor was assisted by Civilian Secretaries and a Board of Revenue. The Senior Secretary was called the Chief Secretary, and the other Secretaries drew their designation from the principal department to which they were attached. The administrative side of the government was in the hands of the District Officer, though power was concentrated in the Secretariat at Allahabad. The control over the entire administration was vested in the Government of India which though did not always interfere in matters of detail, yet exercised a constant and real control over the general policy, laying down principles, and keeping a vigilant watch on the budget, the increase of expenditure, creation of new posts, or augmentation of salaries. The strict control from the above in those days was not unjustifiable because of the absence of popular control from within.

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation observed that the Government of India had been too much dominated by considerations of administrative efficiency. The Commission accordingly recommended that future policy should be directed to steadily enlarging the sphere of detailed administration entrusted to the Provincial Government, lest the latter should complain that there was an undue interference from the above. It would come as a surprise today that the Provincial Government was not free to appoint a *chaukidar* on Rs. 10/- or sanction a paltry sum of Rs. 8/- to meet expenses incurred by a Lady Doctor; and might be overruled on the situation of a staircase erected in a Government bungalow !

This subordination of the Central Government and consequent lack of liberty of action did not then worry the Indian leaders and publicists in these provinces so much as the absence of an Executive Council. It would be difficult to realise today the extent of public agitation on this point in the pre-Reform period. The Government of India in the time of Lord Hardinge were in favour of granting an Executive Council to U. P., yet the local authorities, and particularly Sir John Hewett, the Lieutenant Governor, strongly opposed this reform. The Indian leaders suspected that the Lieutenant Goversor was against the reform, because he was afraid that the creation of an Executive Council would put an end to his personal rule. Sir John Hewett, however, contended that work coming before him was not sufficiently arduous to justify the creation of an Executive Council. Besides, he urged that suitable Indian nominees would not be available, as non-official Indians had little experience of administrative business.

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Indian leaders desired an Executive Council for several reasons. Firstly, they wanted the head of the provinces to be chosen from men in public life in England rather than from the Indian Civil Service. According to the Decentralisation Commission, a Council would be necessary, if this change was made. Secondly, Government by Council was regarded as a superior form, necessary for the dignity of an old and important province like U. P. Thirdly, it was hoped that the creation of an Executive Council would lead to the appointment of one or two Indians to the new high offices.

In 1913 a resolution was moved in the Local Legislative Council. Sir James Meston who had now succeeded Sir John Hewett as Lieutenant Governor was not so strongly opposed to the creation of an Executive Council as his predecessor had been. He thought that the demand was bound to be conceded in time, and forwarded a copy of the debate to the Government of India. Opinion in the Government of India was divided. Three civilian members of the Governor General's Executive Council and the Commander-in-Chief were opposed on the grounds of communal jealousies in these provinces and the lack of experience of Council Government in U. P. The majority were impressed by Sir James Meston's advice and supported the proposal. Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State, accepted it, and a draft proclamation was laid before Parliament in 1915. The proposed reform was, however, frustrated by an adverse resolution moved in the House of Lords by Lord MacDonnel, which was carried by a mojority of 21, in spite of the opposition of the Secretary of State, 47 voting for the motion, and 26 against it! Thus, the U. P. could not have even an Executive Council till the advent of the Montford Reform!

These provinces had not even a Legislative Council uptil 1886 when one was constituted under the Indian Councils Act of 1861. Not less than one-third of the members were to be non-officials. As there was no election in those days, and as the Legislative Council had no parliamentary functions, it failed to be popular. No questions could be asked, and the Government policy was not to be discussed. No resolutions could be moved. The work of the Legislative Council was severely restricted to mere legislation, lest it should degenerate into a debating society.

Under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, however, both the size and powers of the legislature were increased. The number of the members now to be nominated for the first time on the recommendation of the local bodies, under the so-called Kimberley clause, was not to exceed 15, the proportion of non-officials remaining as before. Questions could now be asked, and the annual financial statement could be discussed, though no resolutions could still be moved. Voting too was not allowed. As official majority was retained, and the principle of election was not recognised, the reforms of 1892 did not satisfy the leaders of the Congress which had been recently founded. The discontent which grew in intensity from year to year ultimately obliged the Government to concede a more generous instalment of reforms in 1909. Election was now allowed for the first time, powers of the legislature were increased, and its size was also enlarged.

The U. P. Legislative Council under the Minto-Morley Reforms was constituted as follows:

Nominated members—28 (of whom not more than 20 were to be officials).

Elected members—21 (of whom 4 were Muslims elected from their own constituency now for the first time created). Thus a non-official majority was now possible. The budget could now be discussed for several days before it was finally settled, resolutions could be moved on matters of public interest, supplementary questions could be asked, and voting was allowed. That the elected element had greater influence now will be evident from the passing of the United Provinces Municipalities Bill. Twenty-seven non-official amendments to it were accepted by, and one was carried against the Government. One of the most vital provisions of the Bill, fixing the proportion of Muslim representation was, it is interesting to note, the result of a conference of non-official members. Although private members' legislation was not considerable, non-official members carried certain important bills such as those against adulteration of foodstuffs and opium gambling. The number of questions too rose from about 200 in 1910 to about 500 during the war time.

The restrictions on the powers of the legislature were, however, still so great that the Minto-Morley Reforms quickly became unpopular, and in the words of the Montford Report ceased in the brief space of 10 years' time to satisfy "the political hunger of India."

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

INDIA'S TEEMING MILLIONS: *By Dr. Gyan Chand. Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.*

Dr. Gyan Chand's book is a timely addition to the several contributions on the Indian population situation. At the outset the author has given a brief summary from the various provincial census reports of the growth of population and of birth- and death-rates. He has rightly indicated the incidence of infant mortality and of maternal mortality in its bearings on the problems of poverty. India's high birth- and death-rates have been stationary during the last 50 years. These involve human suffering on a colossal scale, because under the more favourable circumstances of prosperity and absence of epidemics of the last decade about 12 or 13 million babies are born of whom about 8 to 9 millions die every year. Differential fertility on the basis of the present inadequate statistics is also discussed but no definite conclusions have been adduced. Studying the relations between population increase and growth of wealth in the country, the author's general conclusion is that pressure of population on the soil has been increasing and the extension of cultivation and the improvement of crops has fallen short of India's requirements.

Tnough development of large industries, trade and finance has been considerable, he doubts whether their contribution to the national income can be regarded as a material relief from the increasing pressure of population. He recommends birth-control as a remedy and that the state should promote its introduction and help non-official propaganda in its favour. Parents in India should be brought by propaganda and persuasion to adopt the three-child family rule as a general principle of social conduct.

RADHA KAMAL MUKHERJI

HINDU AMERICA: *By Chaman Lal. Published by the New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. 1940. Price Rs. 10.*

The author is a journalist endowed with rare enthusiasm and spirit of adventure. Fortune brought him to various countries and remote shores of the Ocean, and he has spared no pains to propagate the noble ideas of mother India wherever he went. A few years ago he visited Japan and published his *Secrets of Japan*, which proved to be popular enough to go through three editions in English and to be translated into six languages. Literally driven to the mysterious land of the Mexicans, through the importunity of the Passport Department, he found a Passport easily to the heart of the Mexican people, who, as we feel from every page of the book, captivited the heart of the author. From this instinctive sympathy he was drawn to trace the line of kinship between the Indian and the Mexican peoples. He felt the affinity so strong that he almost discovered every race and racial traits of India in the Mexican towns and countries. An ardent champion of Hindu culture that he is, Mr. Chamanlal has tried to equate most of the Hindu cults and institutions with their Mexican counter-parts. The resultant study, therefore, will prove extremely interesting to all those who are interested in the history of Hindu cultural expansion. Naturally the author has earned the gratitude of the Hindu world by publishing his book on Hindu America. He has given long and interesting extracts from many books not easily available to our Indian readers, who, therefore, should feel an additional debt of gratitude to the author giving a veritable pocket-library of extracts on Indo-American cultural relations.

Scholastic fastidiousness may, however, demand that the author should make his next voyage through the *island bridges* of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia to Peru and South America, where we find some of the most valuable records of Pre-Columbian art and culture, a fragment of which is partially preserved (even after the ruthless vandalism of the civilized Christians) in Mexico and Central America. Parallel to this line of migrations along the Oceanic routes, we should study the overflow of Asiatic culture into the New World through the *land bridges* of the Behring Strait which, from prehistoric days, has permitted the North Asiatic Mongoloid races to cross over and people the vast continent accidentally discovered in 1492 by Columbus. Centuries before that so-called discovery, the Asiatic Indians of America, as have been admitted by scientific scholars and anthropologists like Dr. Alex Hrdlika, developed a wonderful civilization and social polity which have not yet been adequately studied from the point of view of Asiatic culture history. The Museum of the North, the Central and the South America are packed with sculptures, art objects and potteries with designs which ever lure us to undertake comparative studies. But alas, the chances of examining systematrically the documents of Asia and of America are few and far between. What part the Indians played in this general migration of Asiatic culture, it is as yet difficult to ascertain. We expect progressive clarification of the problems with the more and more intensive collaboration between the Universities of India and of America. Meanwhile, we

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are thankful to Mr. Chaman Lal for having roused so much of enthusiasm not only amongst his average readers but also in eminent Indian leaders like Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Professor Radhakrishnan.

KALIDAS NAG

ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES : *By Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Assistant Professor of History, Patna College. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1939. Pp. 306.*

Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta has produced an accurate and readable monograph on our valiant and tolerant ruler, Alivardi Khan who reigned as an independent Nawab from 1740 to 1756 A.D. The task of Mr. Dutta has been a tough one; because materials lay scattered in several languages and partly buried in the archives of the Imperial Record Department. He had to overcome patriotic bias regarding a popular hero, and resist the temptation of mob appreciation in his pursuit of a scientific study of the subject. The author has sifted with laudable skill all available materials, weighed their authenticity carefully and arrived, in our opinion, at sound conclusions on most points.

Our good Nawab, as depicted by the author, though a pious Muslim in private life was not an unthinking bigot, and did not take the same view of study as a Muslim ruler as Aurangzib. He was pure in private morals, content with one wife and above the seductive influence of music and dance, always chivalrous to the womenfolk of his even bitterest enemies. Alivardi no doubt paved his way to the *musnad* of Bengal through treachery, bloodshed and deceit. But we think the historian has been a bit severe to Alivardi. Alivardi, so far as the public morality of his age, Hindu and Muslim, was concerned was neither better nor worse than some of the most illustrious rulers of the Orient in the Middle Ages. Gratitude was not a kingly virtue but only a laudable weakness of a few and therefore praised so much for its rarity by historians. Alivardi supplanted Sarfaraz by the law of survival of the fittest, and his assassination of his overpowerful and defaint lieutenant, Abdul Karim Khan Ruhela was no crime but only a painful necessity of removing an undesirable person whose open punishment would have meant the loss of several thousand soldiers on both sides. Where the physician or the cup-bearer failed, rulers like Al-Mansur and Al-Mamun had to break the instruments of their rise to power in the same ruthless manner as Alivardi did with his Afghan allies, who but for the unscrupulous and violent removal of them would have made a Sarfaraz of Alivardi. The massacre of Bhaskar Pandit is, according to Mr. Dutta, a charge against Alivardi that cannot be defended.

The Maratha was as elusive as the wind and a worse pestilence than plague. War, according to the notions of the medieval and modern times, is nothing but more or less refined fraud, which is complained of as mean and unfair only by the outwitted. If there was ever any justfication of removing an enemy of peace by foulest means, it is perhaps the entrapping of Bhaskar Pandit, whose murder is, however, less tragic and deplorable than the captivity of the unsuspecting Bonaparte in St. Helena. These are, however, matters of opinion.

Dr. Dutta has shown extraordinary industry and patience with maps and topography in the preparation of this volume. His skill in extracting history out of contemporary or almost contemporary literature is also praiseworthy. We only regret that he has not been a bit more cautious in utilising the uncritical labours of Dr. D. C. Sen. How Magan Thakur, reputed to be a Chittagong Brahman, could be "the Muhammadan Minister" (p. 257) of the King of Arakan?

We should only like to suggest that the portion of the book dealing with Alivardi's relations with the Marathas perhaps admits of a little improvement. Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao continued to be friendly with Alivardi to whom and his household presents and robes of honour were sent by the Peshwa. One document dated 31st October, 1749 mentions Mahabat Jang Alivardi, Nawab Haibat Jang, Nawajish Muhammad Khan Ataulla Khan, Janki Ram Dewan, Haji Sahib, Elder brother, Mahabat Jang's Begam, Bagam of Haibat Jang, Udat Singh, Zamindar of Bhojpur, Rajah Kirat Chand (Dewan of Haibat Jang), Yahaya (?) Khan, Mehta Ram, Dakhini Begam of Patna as recipients of presents sent with one Amrit Rao Shankar (Sardesai's Peshwa Daftar, No. 45, pp. 86-87). But according to Dr. Dutta's authority Haji Ahmad died nine months before (p. 134).

We are sure Dr. Dutta's scholarly labours will be much appreciated by all right-thinking persons; and with the students of Bengal history it will remain for years to come as the standard work on Alivardi and his times, so successfully handled by him.

KALIKA RANJAN QANUNGO

ORNAMENTAL ART : *By Nandalal Bose. Published by the author. Kala-Bhahan, Santiniketan, Bengal. Pp. 13. Price annas five.*

When knowledge becomes ripe, it can be expressed in the form of a few simple sentences. That is perhaps the reason why the celebrated artist, Nandalal Bose has come forward with this small brochure on ornamental art. Where he puts down his thoughts and opinions almost in the form of *sutras*. The commentary on these *sutras* is supplied by drawings from the author's own pen.

Every lover of Indian art will cherish this small volume from the hands of the master.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

DEFENCE OF MADAME BLAVATSKY—VOLS. I AND II : *By Beatrice Hastings. Published by the Authoress from 4, Bedford Row, Worthing, Sussex, England.*

Serious allegations were at one time made against Mme. Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical Society. With regard to certain writings, she was even accused of forgery. Committees of enquiry went into these allegations and some of them found against her. But she was equally ably defended by her followers and supporters. In these volumes, we have one such defence.

But as it is advocacy in defence, the whole case of the other side has not been presented. It need not be so in legal defence. But as all the evidence and arguments on both sides are not before us, it is difficult for the lay reader to pronounce any judgment either way. Besides, without being trained lawyers, many of us will find it strenuous job to wade through the jungle of facts cited and referred to. The whole controversy has given rise to a huge literature. The book before us is an able contribution to that literature; and, on the whole, makes interesting reading.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE BIHAR MONEY-LENDERS ACTS, BEING ACT III OF 1938 AND ACT VII OF 1939 : *By Murlidhar Srivastava, Pleader, Muzaffarpur. Published by the*

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Bihar Law House, Muzaffarpur. Price annas twelve. Interleaved Price annas fourteen.

This book presents in a small compass all that need be known on the subject by a practising lawyer. The Acts constitute the law of the Province of Bihar and as such must be applied to cases falling within their scope and purview.

The commentary of the learned author has explained the provisions of the Acts by comparison with and in relation to the law such as it was before.

The utility of the book has been enhanced by the insertion therein of other Indian Acts bearing on Interest and of the relevant Notifications issued and Rules framed by the Government of Bihar. The book has been prefaced with a Foreword by Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji, Kt., Ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court.

Lawyers will find this book extremely helpful to them.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

INSURANCE FINANCE: *By Amar Narain Agarwala, M.A. Published from Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Insurance, though a much talked of subject in India now, the study of its financial aspect had not been given as much importance as it deserved. As a matter of fact finance is the backbone of the insurance business. Upon the successful handling of its finances depends largely the prosperity and progress of an insurance institution. The plethora of insurance literature that have been issued during the last few years hardly could offer any contribution on this side of the problem. Mr. Amar Narain Agarwala's book *Insurance Finance* makes a very important contribution towards the study of this subject and will fill in a portion of the gap hitherto existed. The author's suggestion for reorientation of the investment policy of the Indian Companies is particularly interesting and deserve wider attention. The book on the whole deals with most of the problems connected with insurance finance with reference to the situation obtaining in this country.

AGENTS GUIDE TO LIFE ASSURANCE: *By K. B. Roy Chowdhury. Published by K. Roy, Rangoon. Pp. 325. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The author of this book seeks to educate the insurance agents with a smattering knowledge of all problems connected with the insurance business. Within recent years, insurance has attracted a large number of educated youngmen to its organisation side. But few could yet attempt to study the subject in all its bearing from the signing of the proposal form to the payment of the claim money. Mr. Roy Chowdhury's Guide will undoubtedly help the agents to equip themselves for the profession. The book will give an interesting reading to the public as well, inasmuch as the author presents his subject in clear language, in short and in a comprehensive manner.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKERJEE

MODERN IDEAL HOMES FOR INDIA: *By R. S. Despande, B.E., A.M.I.E. (Ind.), Engineer, Bombay P. W. D. Published by the Author himself at Saraswat Brahman Colony, Poona No. I. With a Foreword by Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Pp. 319. Price Rs. 8 only.*

An excellent handbook on building construction. The author visited most of the civilised countries of the West with a view to study how the problem of housing can be tackled from the point of view of economy and comforts, and has incorporated in this volume the new ideas acquired therein. The book contains 95 different varieties of designs of buildings with plans, elevations and their probable cost. In making these designs the author has also in view the religious and social customs of India.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya writes in the course of his Foreword:

"Housing is one of the three or four prime necessities of life and house building is the oldest of Indian arts. As changes are taking place in the habits and standards of living of our people and new structural materials are coming into use, an up-to-date book on house design and house planning comes as a timely addition to our scanty technical information in this country."

The language is lucid and non-technical so the book will not only be useful to the professional, but to the lay public as well.

The get-up of the book is excellent.

ANANGAMOHAN SAHA

MATHEMATICAL TABLES No. 1: *Published by the Statistical Laboratory, Calcutta. Pp. 30. 11" × 8½". Price Rs. 2.*

Of the many useful work done by the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, under the guidance of Prof. Mahalanobis, the publication of the Table under review is not the least useful one. Squares, Cubes, Fourth Powers, Square roots, reciprocals, reciprocals of square roots, logarithms, c x/100 of all numbers from 1 to 1,000 are given correct up to 7 places of decimals, in some cases more, Natural sines and tangents, logarithmic sines and tangents are given by tenths of a degree correct up to 6 places of decimals. This method of presentation, though novel, is an useful one. The Tables are real aids to computers.

The paper and printing is good; though in our opinion the clearness and readability of the figures might have been easily improved by proper spacing.

J. M. DATTA

DESHGAURAB SUBHAS CHANDRA: *By Sreemati Sudhira Sarkar B.A. Published by H. Sarkar, 7B, Ballygunj Place, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

In this booklet is depicted in barest outlines the life and career of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and that too, without any comment or criticism. For a proper estimate and appreciation of Subhas Chandra's life and activities much more is needed than brief recordnig of facts and events in the newspaper fashion.

It is written in an easy, simple and refreshing style. Her valuable collection of Subhaschandra's letters written to Sj. Hemanta Kumar Sarkar throws a flood of light on the inner workings of Subhas Chandra's mind in his early youth.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

POLITICAL GROUPINGS IN INDIA: *By Benoy Bhusan Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L. Published by the National Literature Emporium, Calcutta. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Sen Gupta has tried in this book to give us an idea as to the philosophical position and actual programme of work of different political groups in this country. The book contains nine chapters in which he has explained the position of the Gandhians, the Communists, the Congress Socialists, the Royists, the members of the *Forward Bloc* and those of the Indian Labour Party. The general public has a very hazy notion about

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the basic principles of most of these groups. It was good therefore that Mr. Sen Gupta who is himself a political sufferer undertook to write a book on the subject. The details he gives as to the position of the League of Radical Congressmen of Mr. M. N. Roy and of the *Forward Bloc* are welcome to the general reader. We wish similar details were available to us regarding the principles and programme of Congress Socialists and members of the Indian Labour Party.

NARESH CHANDRA RAY

SANSKRIT

CITRA-CAMPU OF BANESVARA VIDYALAMKARA BHATTACARYA: *Edited by Ram Charan Chakravarti, Headmaster, Jay Narayan High School, Benares, 1940. With a Foreword by Mm. Gopinath Kaviraj.*

Although belonging to a comparatively recent time (circa 1744 A.D.), this remarkable work is an interesting product of Sanskrit culture associated with the names of a group of learned Pundits who flourished in the middle of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century in Bengal. It is a quasi-historical and philosophical composition, written in elaborate prose and verse in the approved manner of the Sanskrit Campu Kavya. Perhaps the enthusiasm of the editor reckons its literary merit a little too highly, but there can be no doubt that, despite its highly artificial style and diction, the work is well worth publishng as a late but notable attempt to reproduce the graceful refinements and subtleties of the Sanskrit Kavya. The work derives an additional interest from the brief reference to the Maratha raid of 1742 A.D. and the dire calamity which it inflicted on Western Bengal. The poet's patron was Citrasena of the Burdwan Raj family, and the Campu purports to be an account of some episodes of his royal career. But Banesvara, like most Kavya-poets, is absorbed in the poetical and philosophical possibilities of his theme rather than with sober facts, and the historical value of his composition need not be exaggerated. The present edition is prepared from a single manuscript, namely, that in Bengali script belonging to the India Office Library; and, considering the difficulties of editing a stylistically learned work from a single manuscript, one must say that the editor has spared no pains to reconstruct an extremely readable text. The fact, therefore, that another edition of the text is being published from three manuscripts in the Sanskrit Shahitya Parisat Patrika need not impair the value of this *editio princeps*. There is a learned introduction, which supplies all relevant information regarding the author, his works, his patron and his times. The printing and get-up are attractive. We have no doubt that the work will commend itself to all lovers of Sanskrit culture.

S. K. DE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

WOMAN TANTRIKA PRANAMANJARI: *By Prof. J. B. Chaudhuri, Ph.D. Published by the author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta.*

This is an edition of the first *patala* of the Tantra-raja-tantra with the commentary of Pranamanjari.

For some time past, Prof. Chaudhuri has been engaged in the perfectly laudable but hitherto unattempted task of rescuing from oblivion the women of antiquity who wrote on different branches of Sanskrit literature. We have already before us his volume on "Sanskrit Poetesses." The present volume is the fifth of the series and presents to us the work of a woman writer on Tantra. She wrote a commentary on the Tantra-raja-tantra.

Unfortunately the whole commentary could not be discovered. Possibly it is lost beyond recovery. Prof. Chaudhuri has brought to light the only portion of this interesting book which is still extant and thereby saved it from destruction. In order to make the commentary intelligible, he has also printed the portion of the original (*viz.*, the Tantra-raja-tantra) on which it is a commentary.

Prof. Chaudhuri deserves congratulation on the care and ability with which he has edited the book—both the Text as well as the Commentary. We have a very informing table of contents; and appendixes, indexes, notes and variant readings are also there. And the use of different types in the Sanskrit portion of the book enables the reader to easily distinguish the original from the commentary and the word or words of the original quoted in the commentary. Proper names used in the Commentary have been underlined. And there is an Introduction to explain the plan and purpose and the value of the book. Even diagrams have been constructed to explain certain intricate matters of the text and they have been incorporated into the Commentary.

The value of the book for modern minds, is, however, a matter of opinion. In fact, it is part of the general question of the value of Tantra literature. But whatever opinion one may hold about Tantras in general or the Tantra-raja-tantra in particular, there cannot be two opinions about Prof. Chaudhuri's skill as editor. His editing is excellent. And he deserves our thanks—and the thanks of womankind—for saving the women writers of Sanskrit from neglect and oblivion.

The printing and get-up of the book, also are very good.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BENGALI

MUKTIR SANDHANE BHARAT (OR, INDIA IN QUEST OF FREEDOM): *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Introduction by Sir P. C. Ray. Published by Messrs. S. K. Mitra & Brothers, 12, Narkel Bagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 18+484+4. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

Mr. Bagal's researches in the cultural, social and political movements of India in the nineteenth century are well known to the reading public. In this volume he has tried to present a complete picture of the stage reached in political movements upto the present moment. This book may be recommended as a very suitable companion for students of public affairs as well as for those interested in the modern history of India.

India's contact with the Western civilization and culture started, roughly speaking, with the establishment of the Royal Asiatic Society, but this was confined only to the higher class literati. It was with the establishment of the Fort William College in 1800 under the official auspices and the Hindu College by private individuals, seventeen years later, both at Calcutta, that the contact found its way to the masses. As years rolled on, this contact greatly influenced the receptive mind of Indian youths, and left a permanent stamp in various aspects of life. Religious, social, literary, educational and political movements were gradually started first by enthusiastic persons and later by organized bodies. Politics cover everything human in Western society. Indian youths imbibed this idea and founded political associations for the amelioration of the country. Bangabhasa-Prakasika Sabha, Bengal British India Society and the British Indian Association were founded in

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conducting political activities in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The Hindu Mela in the sixties and the Indian League and the Indian Association in the seventies not only preserved the continuity of political movements but also broad-based them on Indian culture and tradition, and as such can be regarded as the true precursor of the Indian National Congress of today. Mr. Bagal has told the little-known story of this period in a lucid manner in the first part of his work.

The second part contains the story of the genesis, growth and development of the Indian National Congress. It began its session fifty-five years ago with only seventy-two men at Bombay under the presidency of W. C. Bonnerji, and now it has developed into a country-wide mass organization, having for its objects the complete independence of our Fatherland. Matters social, educational, economic, industrial and scientific, have received great impetus and encouragement from political endeavours from time to time. The author has taken particular care to narrate them in the book. The dynamics of the *Swadeshi*, the great mass movements of 1921 and 1930, the activities of the Moslem League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other prominent sectional bodies have come in for treatment in their proper places. The Government of India Act, in spite of its defects inherent in a constitution imposed from outside by an unsympathetic plutocracy, contains the seeds of a State in India, based on popular goodwill. The Act has released forces which, if handled wisely and well, would have tended to the progress of the country, but this has been greatly handicapped by the outbreak of the European War and due to re-emergence of fissiparous tendencies so long lying latent. Mr. Bagal has not overlooked this aspect, and his narrative rightly closes with the year 1939.

The publication of this volume, containing the history of political evolution for the hundred years and a half, has not only removed a long-felt want, but also has enriched our Bengali literature. I congratulate the author on the fair success he has achieved in presenting in a neat volume such a narrative and that in a simple and unpretentious style. The contents of the book constitute a vital part of modern Indian history and should be included in the subjects of study in our Universities. The book is profusely illustrated. The get-up of the book is attractive. I would like to see an English variant of the book, which may serve the functions of a *source book* for the student of India's political evolution.

M. N. SAHA

DVIPAMAYA BHARAT: *By Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.). Published by the Book Co., Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. (September, 1940). Pp. 369. Price Rs. 4 only.*

One of the most significant travel-books of our generation is that of Count Keyserling, entitled *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher*. Dr. Chatterji's book may be similarly called the travel diary of a philologist and yet much will remain unexpressed by that general title. For, he has not only given us a vivid picture of Insulindia and its linguistic patterns, but he has gone beyond languages to the very life of the peoples of Greater India. Privileged to accompany the Poet Rabindranath Tagore in his cultural mission, Dr. Chatterji opened his survey with the description of men and things in Malaya: Singapore, Malacca, Kuala Lampur, Ipoh, Penang, etc. Thence crossing over to Sumatra and Java, he finally reached the magic island of Bali which with its rare grace and harmony, literally hypnotised the party and evoked some of the noblest lyrics composed by Tagore. The bulk of the book is naturally devoted to a graphic description of the Periplus of Bali. Many books have been published on that island, but I doubt if any one of them can stand comparison with Dr. Chatterji's work, in which we find the precision of an expert philologist combined with the profound sympathy of a humanist. The Hinduism of Bali has nowhere been analysed with greater understanding and thoroughness. Almost every page evokes a picture and the book is richly illustrated with significant photographs of the life of the common men and women, their homes, temples, markets and festivals. The magic of his pen makes us almost feel as if we are travelling with him, actually seeing the monuments, the plays, the processions of that far off island. Returning to Java, the author spent sometime in studying not only the historic temples like Borobudur and Prambanan but also the inimitable art of the Javanese dancers. The best traditions of Javanese dancing and shadow plays were those of Jogjakarta and Surakarta in Central Java and the enlightened Sultans of those States entertained the party with some of the finest representations. The indigenous peoples of Java and Bali occupy naturally the largest part of his book but Dr. Chatterji has done full justice to the Dutch officers and scholars who are co-operating with the native people to conserve and interpret their great cultural traditions. The publisher, Mr. Girindranath Mitra, has spared no pains to make the book in every way worthy of the author and his grand theme, which was developed through a series of letters published in the *Prabasi*. Dr. Chatterji's book should be in every School and College library and also in the hand of all those who aspire to develop travel science and travel literature through the Bengali language.

KALIDAS NAG

KHOYAI: *By Surendra Nath Maitra. Published by Modern Publishing Syndicate. Price Re. 1.*

In an age when Poetry often appears in shocking and absurd poses, it is a pleasure to come across such a neat volume of lovely refreshing poems. Unassuming and homely these 57 lyrics have a soothing grace and a distinctive colour of their own. Prose-poems have of late been much criticized; but here they gleam in charming simplicity. The poet does not profess anything highly ambitious or extraordinary. He sings his joys and sorrows in perfect sincerity and reveals the beauty of everyday life. The tendency "to fade far away and dissolve" in hazy idealism is conspicuously absent from these poems. Thus they mark a distinct departure from the trend of the day. The poet adds flavour to real life and casts a spell of poetry around our little home.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEA

BANGLAY BHRAMAN, Two VOLUMES: *Published by the Eastern Bengal Railway. Pp. 331 and 200. Numerous plates and seven maps. Price Re. 1-8 for the set.*

Many of us are prone to believe that there is hardly anything interesting for the tourist or the sightseer in the province of Bengal. This sumptuously illustrated and remarkably cheap guide-book, published by the Eastern Bengal Railway's Puplicity Department will serve to dispel that illusion. Indeed, there is much to be seen in Bengal from the point of view of natural scenery, commercial information or of historical interest.

The book ought to be in the hands of all lovers of the province and its people.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

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HINDI

HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA : *By Jagdish Singh Gahlot, Jodhpur. 1937.*

There was a real need for a handy volume on the history of the Rajput States for general Hindi reading public and average students of Indian history even after the publication of M. M. Gaurishankar Ojah's monumental work, *Rajputana ka Itihas*, which is too formidable in bulk, and too critical and learned to suit the taste and leisure of our reading public. We congratulate Mr. Jagdish Singh Gahlot on the success of his attempt to remove this need by undertaking the compilation of the history of the Rajput States of Mewar, Dungarpur, Pratapgarh, Shahpura, Karauli and Jaisalmir treated in the volume under review.

Mr. Jagdish Prasad has a genuine sympathy for not only the Rajputs, but also for the earlier and no less valiant races, the Bhil, the Meena, the Med, the Jat and the Gujar. Though a nationalist, the author does not deceive himself by giving the reader a rosy picture of his country's past. He deplores the present fallen condition of the Rajput and the economic misery of the pastoral and agricultural communities of Rajputana. Wine, woman and opium swallow up the un-earned income and also the ample and unworthy leisure of the feudal lords of the land; their swords rust in the scabbard or at most occasionally tried on the necks of sacrificial goats. The Rajput of today is a sorry spectacle, a degenerate specimen, in mind and physique, of India's medieval knighthood. The social and economic condition of the peasantry of Rajputana is a sad contrast to that of the flourishing peasantry of the Panjab. The misery of the landless agricultural labourers is still more deplorable. Only capitalism and official class flourish luxuriantly there. It is verily the lot of the cultivator to satisfy his hunger with the refuse of grain while the Bohra (money-lender and merchant) enjoy wheat, *i.e.*, the finest produce of the sweat of the tiller's brow (*Kura karsa khay gehun zime Borah*). The Brahman also feeds fat on the religiousity of the Sanatanist.

The author here and there peeps out through his narrative as an Arya Samajist of the *ghas* as opposed to *mans* (meat) party. He would have us believe that *Ashva-medha* and *Gau-medha* of the Vedic times *do not really mean the sacrifice of the horse and the cow*, but the *gift* of a territory (*Ashva*) or offering of food (*Gau*) (p. 97) ! Such unhistorical interpretation of ancient custom does not become a serious student of history.

It is praiseworthy of the literary skill of the author that he has succeeded in making his narrative interesting, informative and vivid by weaving into it many appropriate popular sayings. The market value of knowledge of different languages is appraised in Rajputana as follows :

Agar magar ke sole ane ikdam tikdam barah
ate kate ke at hij ane, sunsa paisa char

i.e., Urdu (formerly official language) is worth sixteen annas; Marathi, twelve; *Marwari*, eight annas; while Gujrati is hardly worth four pice.

As regards the proverbially illegible character of the Marwari writing :

Ala bache na apsun, sukha banche na bap-sun

i.e., undried letters cannot be read even by the writer himself; when dried up not even by his father !

The author has taken much pains in making his book useful to the average reader in Hindi. He has given us a fairly good bibliography of his sources, original and secondary. His book has much to commend itself to the notice of the public. We only hope the author may continue his labours in this risky field under the shadow of a native court without meeting the tragic fate of Rajputana's great historians Muhnot Nainsi, and Kavirajah Shyamaldasji.

KALIKA RANJAN QANUNGO

CHHALNA : *By Bhagwati Prasad Bajpai. Publisher Lakhshminarain Agarwal, Agra. Pp. 121. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a drama in three Acts. Its theme is the modern educated Indian woman's discontent with things as they are,—a discontent due to overmuch ambition for a life of comfort. And as this discontent is not informed with any aspect of higher idealism, it is far from being dynamic or divine; on the contrary, it leads to series of concentric circles in self-deception, sloppy sentimentalism and disgusting double-dealing. Kalpana, wife of Professor Balraj, is unhappy because her husband cannot fulfil her dreams of paradisical happiness. His appeals and arguments to evoke from her heart the virtue of contentment fail; so he goes to Bombay to try his fortune. She finds, in the meantime a satisfaction, but, alas ! short-lived, in the company of Vilaschunder, a young College dandy, whose Bohemian ways have already entangled Kamna, a fashionable daughter of a retired Sessions Judge, in his ever-spreading net. The latter joins a cinema company in Bombay, where she develops the emotion of affection for Balraj. Some "inexplicable" discontent is all the time gnawing at the very vitals of their being ("inexplicable" to them because they have not realized that happiness, like the musk in the deer, dwells in one's own innermost self). As a striking contrast to this *dark* scene of dissatisfaction and deception is the bright picture of the life of the poor like Champi, the lame beggarwoman, on the roadside, whose sincerity, sympathy and self-effacement, in spite of their ragged wretchedness, stand out in bold relief. This "parallel" plot serves the purpose of the Chorus in the ancient Greek drama, making its silent comment on the views and ways of the principal characters. The conflict of the latter is resolved by a reunion of Balraj and Kalpana, while Vilaschunder dies of repentance. The playwright has succeeded skilfully in creating an atmosphere of suspense and symbolism throughout the play. Not only in point of literary excellence, but also in its *actable* quality, *Chhalna* is an achievement of a high order.

RAGHUNATH BHAGAVAD-GITA : *By Swami Raghunath Rai, M.A. Publisher Professor H. C. Kumar, Sevakunj, Rambaugh Road, Karachi. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a unique metrical rendering of the *Bhagavad-Gita*,—unique in style, because its language is Hindustani (as spoken by the teeming millions of the North) and its spellings basically simple; unique in interpretation, inasmuch as it is not a mere translation, but an exposition, illuminated with the light of inner realization; and, finally, it is unique in its singing quality, which has invested the book with a value and vitality (in the mind of the masses), and with a reverence, which are usually associated with the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas.

The author, as he says in the preface, was inspired to do the work, he having acted only as an humble amanuensis of Sri Krishna. The exposition, therefore, is psychical, as it is poetical. The Pundits may find fault with it in several respects if they judge it from the point of view of grammatical or scholastic hair-splitting nicety. But they will have to remember that *Raghunath Bhagavad-Gita* is intended to be the Bible

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of the people; hence, its supreme merit is the fire and fervour of the Prophets of old, who *sang* the truth of Life rather than "study" it.

The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

G. M.

SAMAJVAD-PUNJIVAD : *By Shobhalal Gupta. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 212. Price annas twelve.*

The book under review is a brief rendering in simple and lucid Hindi of George Benard Shaw's famous book *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism.* We quite agree with the author's contention that one should not take to the terms "socialism" and "capitalism" without understanding their proper connotation. But we don't quite understand as to why he has chosen G. B. S.'s book for this purpose. With due regard for the unrivalled achievements and superb intellect of the veteran dramatist, we are constrained to say that he has not done justice to socialism. G. B. S. has not so far refuted the charges of wilfully misrepresenting the former and being partial to the latter term. Looking at the already too much muddling about socialism in India, it would have been better if the author had selected some other book, more authoritative and balanced, for the purpose.

HAMARI RASHTRIYA SAMASYAYEN : *By Bhagwandas Kela. Published by Bharatiya Granthamala, Brindaban. Pp. 148. Price annas twelve.*

This short book deals, briefly and superficially, with some of the burning problems of the present day politics in India. The absence of many other important topics will but be felt by the reader, which we hope will be included in the next edition of the book.

NIRVACHAN-PADHATI : *By Prof. Dayashanker Dubey and Bhagwandas Kela. Published by Bharatiya Granthamala, Brindaban. Pp. 120. Price annas nine.*

This nicely printed short book gives an account of the working of election-machinery in India. It can serve as a useful brochure for the electors.

HINDUSTAN—PAKISTAN : *By Rudra Narayan Agarwala. Published by Lajpatrai Publishing Co., 10, Munshi Sadruddin Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 160. Price annas twelve.*

The fantastic scheme of dividing the country into two—one to be known as *Pakistan* and the other as *Hindustan*—(whose authorship is attributed to the late Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal and which is being revived till lately by Mr. M. A. Jinnah), deserves more than a passing reference. The book under review deals with the subject in a simple and straightforward manner. We congratulate the author for this timely publication.

M. S. SENGAR

KANNADA

DEEPAMALE—PEN PICTURES OF FIFTEEN EMINENT INDIANS : *By S. Krishna Sharma. Published by Minchin Balli, Dharwar. Crown Octavo. Pp. 144+12. Price Re. 1.*

The author of this book is already known to the Kannada readers by his other publications. His latest work was *Wardha-yatre*, meaning a pilgrimage to Wardha. He may be said to be a pioneer in drawing pen-pictures in Kannada. Others have imitated him but none have surpassed him. His style is incisive, graphic, and brief. Behind his style is his penetrating and poetic insight which makes it possible for him to draw out the very soul of his subject and paint in a few telling words the whole personality.

Here are about fifteen sketches which include those of Sir Radhakrishnan, Sardar Vallabhbhai, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Saratchandra Bose, Chakravarti Rajagopalacharya, Sarojini Devi and others.

He has come in direct contact with most of them in his capacity as a public worker in various fields and thus he adds first-hand knowledge and freshness to his observation and study of the eminent people he has chosen to depict.

However brief his sketches, he does not seem to miss the essentials. They are always a pleasant and profitable reading.

R. R. DIWAKAR

TELUGU

SURYANARAYANAMURTY KATHALU : *By Mr. A. Suryanarayanamurty. Published by Nammalwars, Madras. Post Box No. 251. Pp. 110. Price annas six.*

The book under review contains seven short stories, and two one-act plays, which may be called "curtain raisers." All the contributions, except the last playlet, lack in artistic development and literary purpose. For instance, "Yanadi satthi" is mere sob-stuff. Its rigid conventionality and the worn-out theme leave no impression at all. There is nothing novel or original about the plots. The Reformist in the writer peeps out here and there, but fails to take any definite shape on account of the poor story-craft. He is quite unceremoniously suppressed. Just a man of straw. "Pujari" is richly imaginative and full of purpose. Therein we get a fleeting glimpse of the creative faculty of the author.

The style is impeccable and refreshing, full of deft poetic touches which go a long way in relieving the boredom of the sentimental cob-webs.

KRISHNAMURTY KATHALU : *By Mr. Tata Krishnamurty. Copies can be had of Nammalwars, Madras. Pp. 137. Price annas six.*

These neat and refined sketches are delightfully out of the ordinary. The humorous ingredient is liberally sprinkled to evoke many a hearty chuckle. The author, endowed with a quick eye and a keen wit, gleans comic situations out of the otherwise drab every-day life. What more, he has the uncommon quality of making you laugh at your own precious self. Sketches 2, 4 and 5 need special mention. But the last two are idle talk. His style is racy and lucid and has the beauty of propriety about it. In short, the book is a work of delicate humour and excellent entertainment. It will certainly dispel one's blues.

A. K. ROW

GUJARATI

SAFAR NUN SAKHYA : *By Harischandra Bhatt and Murli Thakur. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. 1940. Thick cardboard. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1.*

Two rising writers of verses have jointly published them in one volume : the verses of one of them are headed *Safar* (Journey) and other poems : and of the other *Sakhya* (companionship) and other poems. They narrate the reaction in emotion of various scenes in nature and places, and also of certain situations in the world, in the approved modern way of such writers. They, by their very nature would not be able to reach the heart of any ordinary reader, as they would be above

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his head, and understanding. Such verses are written for the cultured few.

HINDUSTANI PRAVESHIKA : *By Parmeshlidas Jain and Vallabhdas Akkad. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 182. Second Edition. Price annas ten.*

Only a year ago was the first edition of this book published but so rapid has been its sale that the authors have had to bring out a new edition within a short time of the First one. It is a most useful publication for one who wants to study Hindustani, and almost every school-going child in Gujarat has to do it, as its study has been introduced in every aided school. The grammar part of it is tried to be rendered as easy as possible : besides that it contains several other useful sections, such as a list of Gujarati words in every day use with their Hindustani equivalents, and proverbs. On the whole as a pioneer effort in this direction it deserves a good welcome.

CHALANGADI : *By Gijubhai and Jugalram. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Paper cover. Pp. 44. Illustrated. Price anna one. Revised edition.*

The picture of a child and his go-cart on the cover explains the contents of this small book. Two experts in the art of teaching juveniles have written it and the forty-four "steps" which lead the child on from knowing almost nothing to realising his *Bal Mandir* stands for are very well thought-out and illustrated.

KUNVARBAI NEEN MEMERUN. *Edited by Maganbhai Parbhudas Desai. Printed at the Navjiban Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 112. Price annas six.*

Premananda the most popular poet of Gujarat has versified an auspicious occasion in the life of Narsinh Mehta's daughter, Kunvarbai, *viz.*, her first pregnancy. Certain presents have to be made from the side of the lady's parents and her father, though rich in his devotion to Krishna, was as poor as the proverbial church mouse, in worldly goods. How the lady was twitted by ladies of the Nagar Brahmin caste,on the indiference of his father, and how Lord Krishna appeared at the psychological moment and saved his devotee's prestige is described by the poet so well, that the poem has become a household word in Gujarat and learnt by heart and recited by ladies. Available MSS. have been collected and explanatory notes are given by Mr. Desai, which considerably facilitates the study of the text.

JAYANTI VYAKHYANO : *Edited by Navalram Jagannath Trivedi, M.A. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Card board cover. Pp. 308. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Addresses delivered by well known literary men of Gujarat on the death anniversaries of equally well known deceased Gujarati writers of prose and poetry have been edited by Mr. Trivedi, with care and judgment and he has supplemented the text with certain notes at the end, which either explain misstatements or illustrate statements in the text. The preface gives a sketch of the efforts of the sabha, in this direction, and the efforts and their accomplishment certainly do credit to the sabha's work.

Ten writers, Miranbai, Akho, Premananda, Dhiro, Dalpatram, Narmadaskankar, Manilal, "Bal," Gourdhanram and Kalapi are those selected and the addresses on their life and their work form a very treasure-house of information about them and criticism of their work. A useful publication in every way.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

KAVYA-KIRIT (A POEM ON THE CORONATION CELEBRATIONS IN APRIL, 1939 OF H. H. THE MAHARAJA PRATAPSINGH GAEWAD OF BARODA : *By the Poet Yeshwant (Mr. Y. D. Pendharkar). Published by V. P. Neve, B.A., Baroda, and printed at the Karnatak Press, Bombay. Size Crown 16qr. Pp. 163. Price Re. 1-8.*

Baroda witnessed a magnificent coronation-ceremony, happily after sixty-four years, which was certainly a very long period and the auspicious occasion not unnaturally stirred the imagination of the poet and he was inspired to invoke the muse of poetry to describe the occasion in a befitting poem. Yeshwant had acquired a fairly high status among present Maharashtriyan poets and the results of his endeavours is rich in many of the qualities of poetic compositions. Despite the fact that dry historical details and a catalogic enumeration of names and places hinders the flow of the poetic faculty, the poem, on the whole is a successful fulfilment of a self-appointed task. The descriptions of the various parts of the ceremony are beautiful and the happy lines in which the poet has dealt with the principle elements of the Vedic ceremony of coronation offer an intelligent exposition of the fundamental ideas of an ancient democratic civilization. The superb multi-colour cover and the exquisite printing of the book are its special attraction.

SHRUTI-GUNA-NATIKA (THE RADIO PLAY) : *By Mr. Shankar Balwant Talekar. Publishers Messrs. Godbole and Godbole, 265, Budhwar Peth, Poona City. Pp. 133. Price Rs. 2.*

The invention of the Radio offered opportunities to the world at large of listening to voices thousands of miles away and provided a new means of popular entertainment to them. This is now being availed of to present recitals of dramatic dialogues accompanied by an appropriate audible paraphernalia. The medium of visualness being naturally absent in this type of recreation, its wave had to be made up by a greater attention to the element of sound. A transformation in the old type of dramatic performances in which the actors could be observed in person had already been effected by the cinema-films and that led to a change in the technique of the dramatic art and from that it was only one step further to the radio-drama, which by its convenient brevity and easy accessibility is likely to be even more popular than its previous forms. The author has appended in his book a lengthy preface of 68 pages to his four radio dramas as illustrations of his conception of it. In the preface the author has very cleverly analyzed the chief ingredients of a drama and tried to show the difference of treatment which each successive type of it demands; and concluded with a laying down a set of rules for the latest type of it. The specimens offered in the four short pieces are also entertaining. The book covers a new field in Marathi literature and is likely to be welcomed by the reading public as opportune and appropriate.

D. N. APTE

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RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

I

The Bengal Library, Calcutta, publishes quarterly, as Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette*, a catalogue of books registered in the Presidency of Bengal. These quarterly reports will henceforth be published in *The Modern Review* from time to time.

The following is a list of Bengali books, culled from the catalogue of books for the quarter ending 30th June, 1939. We have excluded from it the names of text-books as also the number of issues of different periodicals, which number 133 and 137 respectively.

Art

Bhorer Pakhi. The Morning Bird. By Nirmal Chandra Baral. Collection of miscellaneous songs with their notations. Pp. 1+2+2+56. 20th May, 1939. 2nd edition.

Biography

Rashtrapati Subash Chandra. By Bisweswar Das, M.A. Pp. 182. 24th April, 1939.

Sri Sri Ma Anandamayi. Part II. By Gurupriya Devi. An account of the movements and teachings of a saintly lady called Anandamayi who has a large circle of admirers. Pp. 29+241+617+3. 3rd January, 1939.

Manabendra Nath Rayer Chintadhara Evam Sankshipta Jivani. Part I. By Hemanta Kumar Sarkar. The current of thoughts of Manabendra Nath Ray and a short biography. Pp. 38. 3rd April, 1939.

——— Part II. Ed. by Gunawardhane and Chuni Lall Tagore. Pp. 53. 24th April, 1939.

Swami Vivekananda. By Monoram Guha Thakurta. Pp. 1+200. 31st December, 1938. 3rd edition.

Mahatma Asvini Kumar. By Sarat Kumar Ray. Pp. 11+389. 25th March, 1939. 4th edition.

Jivani-Kosh. No. 14. By Sasibhushan Vidyalankar. Biographical dictionary. Pp. 897-992. 1st June, 1939.

Drama

Ravan Vadh Natak. By Aghor Chandra Ghosh. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939. 3rd edition.

Savitri-Satyavan Natak. By Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. Pp. 47. 11th April, 1939.

Durga-Sri Hari Natak. By Bhupendra Nath Banerji. Pp. 1+6+98. 28th March, 1939.

Rakta-Rekha. The Streak of Blood. By Bishnupada Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L. A Christian drama on the healing of the afflicted, the encharist, the betrayal by Judas and crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. Pp. 2+2+161. 20th December, 1938.

Lilavasan. The End of the Sport. By Brajendra Kumar De, M.A. A mythological drama. Pp. 1+198. 27th March, 1939.

Chand Sadagar Va Behula-Lakhindar Natak. The drama about the Merchant "Chand" or Behula and Lakhindar. Ed. by Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939.

Dronacharyya. Drona, the Instructor in Archery. By Charu Chandra Chatterjee. Pp. 2+1+62+3. 16th April, 1939.

Dhanuryajna Va Kansa Vadh Natak. The play about the bow sacrifice or the slaying of Kansa, maternal uncle of Krishna. Ed. by Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939.

Ram Vanabas Natak. By Gauranga Sundar Chaudhuri. Pp. 1+46. 13th April, 1939. 3rd edition.

Pancha-Chandra. The Five Moons. By Indubhusan Mukherji, M.A. A humorous one-act play containing imaginary conversations in the other world between five well-known authors, namely Bharat Chandra Ray, Iswar Chandra Gupta, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee each extolling his own services to Bengali literature. Pp. 5+9—32. 12th June. 1939.

Pashan-Pratima. The Image of Stone. By Jnanendra Nath Gupta. Pp. 4+74. 13th May, 1939.

Virpuja. Hero-worship. By Kanailal Sil. Pp. 4+238. 2nd April, 1939.

Budor Biye. The Marriage of an Old Man. By N. A. Khan. Pp. 1+42. 19th May, 1939.

Lakshmaner Saktisel Natak. Ed. by Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. The drama about Lakshmana being wounded by a javelin. Pp. 1+46. 11th April, 1939. Revised edition.

Sonar Bangla. Golden Bengal. By Mahendra Nath Gupta, M.A. Pp. 1+4+105+7. 10th June, 1939.

Nimai-Sannyas Va Jagai-Madhai Uddhar Natak. Ed. by Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. Pp. 1+46. 13th April, 1939. Revised ed.

Abhimanyu Vadh Natak. By Nitai Charan De. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939. 3rd ed.

Harischandra Natak. By Nitai Charan De. Pp. 1+46. 13th April, 1939. 3rd ed.

Man Bhanjan. Appeasing the jealousy (of Radha). By Nitai Charan De. Pp. 1+46. 13th April, 1939. 2nd ed.

Nauka Vilas Va Dana-Lila. The Boat Excursion or the sport concerning a levy. By Nitai Charan De. Pp. 1+46. 13th April, 1939. 2nd ed.

Sitar Vanavas Natak. The drama about the exile of Sita. By Nitai Charan De. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939. 3rd ed.

Sita-Haran Natak. The drama about the abduction of Sita. By Nitai Charan De. Pp. 1+46. 13th April, 1939. 3rd ed.

Nrisinha Avatar Va Prahlad Charita Natak. Ed. by Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. The drama about the Nrisinha incarnation of Vishnu or the character of Prahlad, a demon Prince noted in Hindu mythology for his devotion to Vishnu. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939. Revised ed.

Sat Ma Va Vijay Vasanta Natak. Ed. by Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. The step-mother or the drama entitled Vijay-Vasanta. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939. Revised ed.

Sati Va Daksha-Yajna Natak. Sati, the first wife of the God Siva or the drama about the sacrifice of Daksha. Ed. by Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. Pp. 1+46. 12th April, 1939. Revised ed.

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Adhunik Bangla Galpa. Modern Bengali stories. Ed. by Premendra Biswas. Pp. 20+338. 30th April, 1939.

Pickpocket. The Pick-pocket. A detective story. By Anan Ghoshal. Pp. 115. 15th May, 1939.

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Ranjan Ray. A detective story. By Anil Chandra Datta. Pp. 1+217. 13th May, 1939.

Nava Nava Rupe. By Asish Gupta. Contains a number of short stories. Pp. 151. 30th March, 1939.

Durer Yatri. The traveller bound for a distant destination. By Asutosh Bhattacharyya. Pp. 248. 8th May, 1939.

Brihattara Sambhavana. Contains twelve short stories. By Barendranath Basu. Pp. 2+118. 3rd April, 1939.

Aranyak. Sylvan. A novel. By Bibhuti Bhushan Banerjee. Pp. 5+333. 21st March, 1939.

Kinnara-Dal. A collection of short stories. By Bibhuti Bhusan Banerjee. Pp. 205. 2nd March, 1939.

Alakh Chora. A juvenile story. By Bijanbihari Bhattacharyya. Pp. 44. 4th May, 1939.

Ratna-Puri. Contains six short stories. By Bijanbihari Bhattacharyya. Pp. 1+108. 5th April, 1939.

Ogo Pushpadhanu! By Bidhayak Bhattacharyya. Pp. 226. 24th March, 1939.

Sap Ar Meye. Contains five short stories. By Biswanath Chaudhuri. Pp. 135. 18th May, 1939.

Rupantarita. By Byomkes Banerji. Pp. 211. 26th April, 1939.

Bubhuksha. Hunger. A Bengali translation of a novel of that name by the Norwegian novelist Knut Hamsun. Trs. by Pavitra Gangopadhyay. Pp. 1+4+289. 10th May, 1939. 2nd ed.

Adhunik Meye. The modern girl. By Dipika De. Pp. 1+132. 29th May, 1939.

Bibi Rahima. Story of the ideal chaste woman—Rahima, wife of Prophet Ayyub. By Shaikh Fazlul Karim. Pp. 6+191. 10th May, 1939. 3rd ed.

Alaukika. Supernatural one. Contains eight short stories. By Gopal Batabyal. Pp. 2+111. 6th April, 1939.

Srimati. By Hemendra Prasad Ghosh. Pp. 125. 2nd April, 1938. 2nd ed.

Eldorador Bandi. Prisoner of El Dorado. An adaptation of an English novel, containing a juvenile story of an adventure. By Himansu Prakas Ray. Pp. 1+156. 10th May, 1939.

Hindusthani Upakatha. Folk-tales of Hindusthan. Trs. by Santa Devi, B.A. and Sita Devi, B.A. Ed. Ramananda Chatterji. Pp. 4+134. 29th April, 1939. 5th ed.

Mani-Kundal. The Jewelled Ear-ring. Six short stories. By Hirendra Narayan Mukherji. Pp. 1+104. 13th April, 1939.

Badhu Amita. By Hirendra Nath Datta. Pp. 149. 20th April, 1939.

Ye Ghare holo-na Khela. The House where the Game was not played. By Ila Devi. Pp. 121. 13th May. 1939.

Kshaniker Muthi Dey Bhariya. Four short stories. By Ila Devi. Pp. 127. 2nd April, 1939.

Raja Vikramaditya. By Jnanendra Chandra Basu. Pp. 2+116. 10th January, 1939.

Robinson Kruso. Robinson Crusoe. By Joges Chandra Banerji. For juvenile readers. Pp. 89. 20th May, 1939. 3rd ed.

Raktachoshar Digvijay. The Blood-sucker's conquest of the quarters. By Joges Chandra Banerji. A story of supposed travels and experiences of a bug incidentally giving much interesting information regarding various countries. Pp. 1+1+168. 11th April, 1939. 2nd ed.

Vetal Panchavinsati. By Kalidas Gupta. Pp. 108. 11th April, 1939. Revised ed.

Satrajyer Galpa. Stories of the Seven Kingdoms. By Kartik Chandra Dasgupta, B.A. Short stories for children. Pp. 1+1+13+90. 5th April, 1939. 5th ed.

Aphrikar Jangale. In African Forest. By Khagendranath Mitra. A story of adventure intended for children. Pp. 1+101. 10th April, 1939. 6th ed.

Bhombol Sardar. Bhombol, the leader. By Khagendranath Mitra. Intended for children. Pp. 2+112. 1st April, 1939. 2nd ed.

Saibiriyar Pathe. On the way to Siberia. By Khagendranath Mitra. A story of adventure for juvenile reading. Pp. 174. 20th May, 1939.

Janmer Day. Calamity of birth. By Kshetramohan Purkayastha. Pp. 120. 5th May, 1939.

Pather Bojha. Burden of the journey. By Kshetramohan Purkayastha. Pp. 138. 2nd March, 1939.

Achin Dese. In an unknown country. By Kshitis Chandra Chatterjee. Animal story. Pp. 1+105. 7th May, 1939.

Ramdhanu. The Rainbow. By Lalitmohan Nandi M.A. A collection of short stories said to have been adapted from Tolstoi. Intended for children. Pp. 1+1+134. 3rd April, 1939. 3rd ed.

Amitabher Uchchhrinkhalata. Wild behaviour of Amitabna. By Lilamay De. Short stories. Pp. 106. 3rd May, 1939.

Jivaner Jayayatra. Triumphal March of Life. By Najrul Islam. Pp. 24+193. 7th May, 1939.

Yugal Milan. Meeting of the couple. By Narayan Bhattacharyya. Pp. 179. 1st June, 1939. 9th ed.

Mani-Dip. The Jewel Lamp. By Nasaru. Short stories. Pp. 3+67. 23rd April, 1937.

Kalo-bhramar. The Black Bumble-bee. By Niha Ranjan Gupta. Pp. 142. 18th May, 1939.

Ma. Mother. By Niranjan Ghosh Ray. Pp. 3+9 20th March, 1939.

Matir Putul. The Earthen Doll. By Nityanaraya Banerji. Short stories. Pp. 1+118. 12th May, 193

Durgam Pathe. On the impassable way. By Nr pendra Krishna Chatterjee. An account of the explorations of five explorers. Intended for juvenile readers Pp. 2+118. 28th May, 1939.

Hanumaner Svapna Ityadi Galpa. By Parasuram Short humorous stories. Pp. 1+1+140. 12th May 1939. 2nd ed.

Narir Duhkha. Woman's sorrow. By Parulbala Devi. Pp. 80. 4th April, 1939.

Chokher Jaler Pichhal Pathe. On the way (rendered) slippery by tears. By Prabhabati Devi. Short stories. Pp. 184. 21st March, 1939.

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Manik-Jod. A pair of jewels. By Prabhas Chandra Chaudhuri. Short stories. Pp. 2+58. 9th April 1939.

Rajar Chhele. The Prince. By Prabhat Kiran Basu. Intended for children. Pp. 1+76. 13th April 1939.

Arati. By Prabodh Ghosh. Short stories. Pp. 1+1+142. 15th April, 1939.

Pratham Prasna. The first question. By Raimohan Saha. Pp. 1+353. 26th May, 1939.

Raktapayi Sabuj Motar. Ed. by Nripendra Kumar Basu. A detective novel. Pp. 96. 13th March, 1939.

Romancha. 8th year. No. 13. Rajanir Abhijan 3. Ed. by Manindranath Barma. Pp. 65-96. 1st April 1939.

——— No. 14. Nocturnal expedition. 4. Pp. 9 120. 8th April, 1939.

——— No. 15. Dabagnir Alingan. The embrace of a forest fire. A detective story of Manihar Chatterji. 15th April, 1939. Pp. 1—32.

——— No. 16. Pp. 33-64. 22nd April, 1939.

——— No. 17. Pp. 65-96. 29th April, 1939.

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——— No. 18. Pp. 97-128. 6th May, 1939.
——— No. 19. Pp. 129-160. 13th May, 1939.
——— No. 20. Pp. 161-184. 20th May, 1939.
——— *Pralayer Alo.* No. 21. A detective story by Mrityunjay Chatterji. Ed. by Manindranath Barma. Pp. 1-32. 27th May, 1939.
——— No. 22. Pp. 33-64. 3rd June, 1939.
——— No. 23. Pp. 65-96. 10th June, 1939.

Devdas. By Sarat Chandra Chatterji. Pp. 143. 8th May, 1939. 6th ed.

Harilakshmi. By Sarat Chandra Chatterji. Three short stories. Pp. 92. 25th March, 1939. 3rd ed.

Pandit Masai. The School Master. By Sarat Chandra Chatterji. Pp. 130. 10th May, 1939.

Pather Davi. Right of way. By Sarat Chandra Chatterji. Pp. 1+426. 29th April, 1939.

Adhunik Samaj. Modern Society. By Sasadhar Datta. Pp. 405. 29th May, 1939.

Yuga-Parinita. A girl brought up on lines (befitting the fashion) of the era. By Sasadhar Datta. Pp. 1+200. 30th May, 1939.

Satirar Nava-Rup. Ed. by Dinendra Kumar Roy. A detective story. Pp. 278. 31st October, 1938.

Chanchal Nisithe. In a Restless Night. By Saurindra Mohan Mukherjee. Pp. 226. 5th April, 1939.

Nisitha-Dip. The Midnight Lamp. By Saurindra Mohan Mukherjee. Pp. 1+101. 3rd April, 1939.

Chhotader Bankim—Kapalkundala. By Sisir Kumar Neogi, M.A., B.L. Intended for children. Pp. 31. 28th February, 1939.

Alpana. Drawing with liquid rice paste. By Sunirmal Basu. Short juvenile stories in prose and verse. Pp. 1+49. 19th April, 1939.

Lalan Phakirer Bhite. The site of the house of Lalan Fakir. By Sunirmal Basu. Short stories. Intended for children. Pp. 1+74. 21st May, 1939. 2nd ed.

Ranga Mamar Bhanga Asar. By Sunirmal Basu. Short stories for children. Pp. 2+108. 24th May, 1939.

Milan-Mala. Garland of Union. By Tarakeswar Sen Sastri. Pp. 1+101. 22nd May, 1939. 2nd ed.

Hater Noya. By Tulsicharan Banerji. Pp. 103. 10th June, 1939. 3rd ed.

History (Including Geography)

Jagat Kon Pathe? Which Way the World? By Jogeschandra Bagal. Contains a brief account of the present day political conditions of the different countries of the world. Intended for juvenile readers. Pp. 4+190. 15th May, 1939.

Protestant-Dharmer Pratishthar Kahini. The story of the establishment of the Protestant faith. Pp. 6+62. 30th May, 1939.

Goalpara. Wall Map of Goalpara. By Sasibhushan Chatterji and Sons. 28th March, 1939.

Mahayuddher Pare Iurop. Europe after the Great War. By Susobhan Chandra Sarkar. Pp. 1+175+15+1 map. 30th March, 1939.

Language

Sami O Dipti. By Srimati Asalata Sinha. Contains discussions in the form of conversations between a well-educated and well-read couple, on different topics of literary interest. Pp. 118. 7th May, 1939.

Bangala Kavita Vishayak Prabandha. Essay on Bengali Poetry. Reprint of an old book by Rangalal Banerji, a famous poet of the 19th century, containing an essay read by him at the Beadon Society (in Calcutta) on the 13th May, 1852, in reply to an essay read at the same society by Harachandra Datta, on the 8th April, 1852, as well as the remarks of one Kailas Chandra Basu, both of whom dwelt on the various faults of Bengali poetry. With an introduction by Brajendranath Banerji. Being book No. 10 of the "Dushprapya Granthamala" Series. Pp. 4+31. 31st March, 1939.

Bangiya Mahakosh. Bengali Lexicon. Vol. II. No. 4. Ed. Amulyacharan Vidyabhushan. A Bengali Cyclopædia. Pp. 97-128.
——— No. 5. 1st June, 1939.
——— No. 6. 10th June, 1939.
——— No. 7. 20th June, 1939.

Tarunima (Cult of) Youthfulness. (Carried to morbid lengths). By Devaprasad Ghosh, M.A., B.L. A collection of three essays and three presidential addresses delivered by the author. Pp. 6+128. 3rd May, 1939.

Bangiya Sabda-Kosh. Bengali Lexicon. Vol. III. Part XI (No. 55). By Haricharan Banerji. A comprehensive Bengali dictionary. 13th March, 1939.
——— Part XII. (No. 56). 11th April, 1939.
——— Part XIII. (No. 57). 28th May, 1939.

Adhunik Sahitya. Modern Literature. By Rabindranath Togore. Contains a number of critical essays on some writers of note and some books. Pp. 1+161. 20th March, 1939.

Lok Sahitya. Popular Literature. By Rabindranath Tagore. Contains essays on popular literature including nursery rhymes some of which are quoted. Pp. 1+115. 15th March, 1939. 2nd ed.

Banga-Sahitye Upanyaser Dhara. The Trend of Fiction in Bengali Language. By Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Essays on the progress and characteristics of Bengali fiction (old and modern). Pp. 11+640+12. 5th May, 1939.

Law

Nutan Praja-Svatta-Ain. New Tenancy Act. By Binodranjan Mitra, B.A., B.L. Pp. 7. 30th March, 1939.

1938 Saler Bangiya Prajasvattva Vishayak (Sansodhan)Ain. The Bengal Tenancy (Amended) Act of 1938. Ed. by Nabir Uddin Taluqdar, B.A. Pp. 18. 1st October, 1938.

Rin Salisi Ain (Va Bangadeser Chashi Khatak Vishayak Ain). By Prafullakumar Gupta. Debt Settlement Act or Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act, with explanation and notes. Pp. 22+12. 15th May, 1939. 3rd ed.

Farayej Siksha. Instruction on inheritance. By Shamsul Huq. Explains the Muhammadan law of heritance. Pp. 2+47—2. 1st June, 1939.

Medicine

Jakshma O Tahar Pratikar. Tuberculosis and its remedy. By Bidhubhusan Pal. Pp. 92. 10th May, 1939.

Homiopyathek Aushadher Sakti O Matra. Potency and Doses of Homoeopathic Medicines. By Bijay Basu. Pp. 10+65. 24th June, 1939.

Sukra Pida Chikitasa. Treatment of Spermatorrhoea. By Dr. Joges Chandra Maitra, B.H.M.S. Pp. 2+4—164+6. 2nd March, 1939.

Homeopyathik Matirya Medikar Repartari. Repertory of the Homoeopathic Materia Medica. XII. By J. T. Kent M.D. and N. N. Ghosh. Pp. 837-916. 1st May, 1939.

Latapatar Gun. Properties of herbs. By Kunjabihari Sen Kaviraj Kavibhushan. Deals with medicinal properties of various indigenous plants. Pp. 2+44. 12th April, 1939.

Kshayrog Chikitsa. Treatment of comsumption. Mahes Chandra Bhattacharyya & Co. Pp. 2+44. 24th April, 1939.

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Pasu Chikitsa Sachitra. Treatment of Animals. Illustrated. Ed. by Kali Prasanna Vidyaratna. Pp. 4+64. 13th April, 1939. New ed.

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Krishak Prajar Mukti-Sangram. The peasant peoples' struggle for freedom. By M. Abdul Kader. Pp. 1+6. 2nd December, 1938.

Manab Dharma. Human Attributes. By Al-haj Abdul Wahed. Discusses the duties of men and women in the different stages and relations of life. Pp. 2+92. 17th May, 1939.

Navavarsher Ahvan. Call of the new year. First Vaisakh, 1346. By Ajay Krishna Acharyya, Prasanta Kumar Ghosh, Devaprasad Mitra and Amiya Kumar Sen. Suggests measures for the improvement of the Brahmo Samaj. Pp. 13. 15th April, 1939.

Akshay Press Nutan Panjika, San 1346 sal. Koyartar Panjika. The Akshay Press New Almanac. 1346 sal. Quarter Almanac. Pp. 48. 3rd April, 1939.

——— *Half Panjika.* The Half Almanac. Pp. 136. 3rd April, 1939.

——— *Full Panjika.* The Full Almanac. Pp. 320. 30th April, 1939.

Bairer Dak. The External Call. By M. K. Ali. Contains some dissertations of a moral and religious character. Pp. 32. 6th June, 1939.

Anusandhani. The Enquirer. By Amalendu Sen, M.A., B.L. A book of general knowledge. Pp. 3+5+365. 20th April, 1939.

Pushpodyan. The Flower Garden. By Amarnath Ray. Deals with the cultivation of various indigenous and foreign flower plants, including manuring, preparation of soil, etc. Pp. 6+344. 14th June, 1939.

Bangla Bhashar Rashtra-Bhasha haibar Dabi. The claim of the Bengali language to be the State language. Ed. by Jyotis Chandra Ghosh. Pp. 31. 15th April, 1939.

Deser Katha. Topics of the Country. By Bijay Kumar Das. Pp. 8. 17th February, 1939.

Maner Gabhire. In the deeps of the Mind. By Bijaylal Chatterji. Nine essays based on the depths of the soul by Dr. William Stekel. Pp. 1+95. 31st March, 1939.

Kalir Kanda. Occurrences in the Kali (*i.e.*, present Iron age). By Bisweswar Chowdhuri. A humorous criticism of the habits of "modern" Indian youths and girls. Pp. 8. 15th March, 1939.

Chheledar Khela. Children's Play. Compiled by Nripendra Nath Basu. Deals with 165 outdoor games for children. Pp. 6+4+115. 20th June, 1939. 2nd ed.

Banarbadi Upanyas. Story of monkeys acting as complainants. By A. K. Ghani Kalambi. Story of the murder of one Akram Ali of Brahmanbaria, in the district of Tippera, clue to the murderers being furnished by a pair of monkeys. Pp. 12. 5th January, 1939. 4th ed.

Hatya Lila O Satir Patibhakti. Sport of Murder and Devotion of a Chaste Woman to her Husband. By A. K. Ghani Kalambi. Story of the murder of a child by its step-mother. Pp. 7. 22nd April, 1939.

Dharmasutra. Principles of Religion. By Giris Chandra Chakravarti, B.A. Pp. 2+17+115. 16th June, 1939. 2nd ed.

Ma O Khuku. Mother and the child. By Hemendra Kumar Bhattacharyya. Intended for children. Pp. 45. 11th April, 1939.

Sonar Sikal. Gold chain. By Ibrahim Khan, M.A., B.L. Collection of essays on social and economic uplift of the Muhammadans, short character sketch of Alhaz Khwaja Kamaluddin and correspondence with the poet Kazi Nazrul Islam. Pp. 2+122. 8th April, 1939.

Premer Dala Va Nutan Yug. The Basket of Love or The New Era. By Jahir Uddin Ahmed. Narrates in verse the evil effects of unrestricted freedom allowed to women. Pp. 13. 13th March, 1939.

Mas-Phal. Effects (*i.e.*, Influence) of Months. By Jyoti Vachaspati. An astrological treatise. Pp. 1+1+9+120. 4th May, 1939. 4th ed.

Chattagramer Durdasagrastha Oyakf Sampatti. The distressed Wakf Estates of Chittagong. By Korban Ahmad Chaudhuri. Pp. 6. 17th December, 1939.

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Baharulla Panchali Va Narir Kautuk. Panchali poem on Baharullah or Fun of Women. By Md. Basiruddin Mandal. Story of the murder of a man with three wives of whom only one lamanted the loss, the others wishing for the event. Pp. 8. 1st August, 1938.

Danbir Raja Jagat Kisore. By Md. Gazi Mamud Sarkar (Haji). Pp. 12. 27th March, 1939.

Sohagi Bau. By Md. Saiduddin. Condemns the conducts of young women of the present day. Pp. 15. 5th July, 1938.

Karmaphal. Fruit of Action. By Muhammad Surat Ali. Describes the effects of one's deeds in the next world. Pp. 8. 6th June, 1939.

Desa-Gaurav Vir Subhasher Jay. The Victory of Subhas, the Pride of the Country. By Nagendra Nath Das. Pp. 7. 26th May, 1939.

Hindu Narir Vivaha-Vichchhed. Divorce of Hindu Women. By Nagendra Nath Das. Pp. 7. 28th May 1939.

Hatya Lila. Sport of Murder. By Nur Muhammad. Pp. 9. 20th April, 1939.

Kalpana. Imagination. By Rabidas Saha Ray. A booklet containing solutions of some cross-word puzzles. Pp. 8. 24th April, 1939.

Parasuram. (A great Puranic hero). By Sahaji. Pp. 56. 25th May, 1939.

Saral Pak-Pranali. Easy Cooking Method. Ed. by Gopal Chandra Chakravarti. Pp. 4+64. 16th April 1939.

Paschatya Pakpranali O Bekari-Darpan. Western cookery and the mirror of bakery. By Sarat Chandra Ghosh, B.A. Pp. 5+180. 28th February, 1939.

Sadgop-tattva. 2nd Khanda. Truths about the Sadgop caste. By Sarat Chandra Ghosh, B.L. Pp. 1+4+264. 28th April, 1939.

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Satarka Vani. Message of warning. Purports to point out on the authority of a Biblical passage, that a great calamity is sure to befall mankind, indications of which are already available, and which can be averted only by faith in God and Jesus Christ. Pp. 1+61. 6th April, 1939.

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THE WAR AND THE RUPEE

By Prof. BHABATOSH DATTA, M.A.

The series of currency ordinances issued during the last seven or eight months naturally encourage an enquiry into the extent to which the monetary structure of India has been modified on account of the war conditions. A mojor war cannot but produce changes and dislocations in all directions even in a country not directly implicated in it. In the case of India, however, there are special reasons for her currency system being affected by war conditions in England. Technically, India is a belligerent country, and the authorities guiding India's official course of action are actuated in their activities by considerations that are not solely Indian. It is unnecessary perhaps to mention instances of policies undertaken by the Government of India that have given less benefit to India than to Great Britain. The Government of India has often to equate the real isterests of Great Britain with what can be put forward as the interests of India.

At the end of about eighteen months of war we find ourselves in a complicated position. The rupee has been "off gold" since 1931, and by now of course we have become accustomed to it. In a similar way, though we realise the necessity of devaluation, we have been accustomed to the 18d. link for about a decade and a half. The war has, however, brought many new factors. We have passed through a period of acute scarcity of metallic money and then through one of a plethora of one-rupee notes. We have seen our token coins reduced in silver contents, and very recently, we have commenced using rupee coins with a smaller silver content than has been traditional and legal since 1835. We have had, besides, a fair volume of inflation of the ordinary paper currency and an inordinately large accumulation of sterling securities in the hands of the Reserve Bank of India.

During the last war also there had been changes. Silver two-anna, four-anna and eight-anna bits gave place to nickel ones and ultimately one-rupee and two-and-a-half-rupee notes were issued. There was also a huge inflation—mainly brought about by increasing the 'temporary' portion of the fiduciary limit. But it is noteworthy that the causes that led to the issue of one-rupee notes in 1917 were fundamentally different from the causes that led to the same result in 1940. In 1917, the fundamental causes were the increase in Indian exports, decline in her imports, huge goverment expenditure in India, rise in the sterling value of the rupee to uncontrollable heights, and the inordinate rise in the price of silver bullion. During the present war, exports increased at first (from Rs. 163 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 203 crores in 1939-40), but later declined on account of shipping difficulties. There has been no necessity as yet of de-linking the rupee-sterling ratio, and the price of silver bullion has ranged since the beginning of the war round-about 23d. per ounce, *i.e.*, about 10 annas per tola.

Extremely different circumstance, it thus appears, can bring about similar external effects. When the war of 1914-18 broke out, there was at first a good amount of panic in the Indian markets. People rushed to the Treasury for encashment of paper notes, and during the first eight months of the war, about 10 crores of silver rupees flowed out of the hands of the Government. The shock to confidence was also visible in other directions, for example, in the demand for withdrawal of postal savings banks deposits. The Government of India, however, successfully tided over the difficulties of the early months, and if no new difficulties had arisen, everything would have been easy and smooth.

Difficulties, however, soon came, and the first major symptom of these was a huge increase in the demand for rupees in India. The Government of India was spending large amounts on behalf of Great Britain for buying war materials in India, and the Indian sellers had to be paid in Indian money. Besides, the excessively favourable balance of trade that India was then having on account of the war demand for Indian goods made it necessary for the Secretary of State to sell large quantities of Council Bills in London. These Council Bills were purchased by the British buyers of Indian goods and were sent over to the Indian exporters who presented them at the Treasury and demanded rupees. The Government was thus faced with a two-fold increase in the demand for rupees—coming from those to whom the Government had to pay the price of materials purchased, and from those who received payment from London in Council Bills. It became unavoidable for the Government to put a large number of rupees into circulation,

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and, for this, it was necessary to coin new rupees.

And here came the most serious difficulty. The silver rupee since 1835 (and up till December, 1940) had the standard weight of 180 grains or one tola, and of this 165 grains (eleven-twelfths of one tola) represented pure silver. The monetary value of the rupee was raised above its bullion value by the closure of the mint to the public in 1893, and the value-definition of the rupee since then has been dependent on currency management. The form-definition of the rupee, however, remained unaltered, and the standards accepted in 1835 were confirmed by the Indian Coinage Act of 1906. The Government would not find any difficulty in coining new rupees so long as the rupee contained less than one-rupee (to be accurate, 14as. 8p.) worth of silver, and as normally the price of silver kept much below this rate, the Government could make a profit from the coinage of silver rupees—a profit that made possible the creation of the Gold Standard Reserve.

During the first half of the last war, the price of silver was about 27d. per ounce which was equivalent to the price of about 10 annas and 6 pies per tola. The price, however, commenced to rise after 1915, on account of the combined action of a number of causes, *viz.*, political difficulties in some of the important silver producing countries, rise in the cost of production of silver and conservation of silver resources in Europe and America. The price of silver rose from 27d. per oz. in 1915 to 37d. in 1916, and to 55d. in 1917. The price reached the unprecedented height of 89d. per oz. in 1920. The maximum price at which it was just practicable for the Government to use silver for making rupees was, at the rate of exchange current then, 43d. per oz., and when this limit was crossed the position of the Government came to a head. It was not possible for them to buy one tola of silver at a price higher than one rupee, and then, after converting it into a coin, to allow it to circulate at a value lower than the purchase price of the bullion contents. Private individual found it worthwhile to melt silver rupees and to sell the bullion in the market, leading to a further scarcity of the supply of money in the markets.

Drastic steps were taken by the Government. The rupee-sterling ratio was raised and sought to be maintained successively at different levels, all higher than the standard rate of 1s. 4d.; later, the exchange had to be de-controlled—allowing it to rise as far as the conditions of trade would carry it. Arrangements were made for the purchase of silver in America. The ordinary paper currency was inflated from Rs. 66 crores in 1914 to about 100 crores in 1918, and to 175 crores in 1920. Nickel tokens were issued to save silver. But all these measures proved inadequate either for stemming down the demand for rupees or for lowering the price of silver sufficiently—and, consequently, in 1917, one-rupee and 2½-rupee notes had to come. These notes of small denomination—however great their inconvenience to the masses and the cost of continual replacement to the Government—undoubtedly eased a situation that had become almost desperate.

The present war has also necessitated the issue of one-rupee notes and conservation and economy of silver. When the war commenced in September, 1939, the first incidence on the currency was not of any serious nature. A few days of panic were inevitable, but before long the nervousness was over, and India began to settle down to a wartime economic life. The Government did not meet any serious demand for encashment of note, and it seemed that the currency was safe. As compared with the situation in August, 1914, the first effects of the present war would appear relatively smooth. The exchange and the Bank Rate were unaffected, and the consumers' difficulties were not as great as they might have been: in 1939, India was less dependent on foreign supplies for her ordinary consumption-goods than she was in 1914.

Inflation, however, soon commenced. An increased demand for money arose on account of the Government's increased expenditure for improving the defence of India, and also on account of the increased activities of the war-stimulated industries. Within the first six months of the war, the note-circulation increased by 26 per cent from Rs. 180 crores in August, 1939, to Rs. 227 crores in February, 1940. The volume of credit expansion also showed a similar tendency and the amounts of loans and advances granted by the scheduled banks registered an increase of 44 per cent by the end of 1939. All this meant an expanded demand for rupee coins, and the Government first tried to meet this increased demand by offering supplies from the accumulated stocks.

The upward tendency in prices and activities did not, howevr, continue. Up till December, 1939, prices were rising, the general index on December 31, 1939, being 37 points higher than that on September 2, 1939. Taking September 2, 1939, as the base (100), the general price index was 137 in December, 1939, 130 in January, 1940, 126 in February and 121 in March. The index reached the low level of 114 in June and came down to 11 in August last.

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The rise in the price-level in September, 1939, was due to a number of causes, *e.g.*, diminution of foreign supplies, increased transport and insurance charges, holding back of stocks, speculation, etc. The fall in prices in the last winter was due mainly to nervous sales on account of the apprehension that Indian markets would have large surpluses which would not be exportable because of shipping difficulties.

The panic among the sellers was accentuated in the spring. A number of sellers had kept back stocks in the hope of selling these to belligerent countries at a high price. They came to realise that shipping and other difficulties would make it impossible for them to take advantage of the high prices abroad, and that they would consequently have to release their stocks in the Indian markets. The panic and nervousness increased when news came of German successes in Norway, and later in Holland and Belgium. The finishing touch to the situation was given by the collapse of France and the withdrawal of the British Expeditionary Force in June.

The scare in the commodity market developed into a currency scare. People grew extremely nervous and began to encash notes and hoard the silver coins thus received. It is difficult to estimate the exact amount that went into the hoards; some idea can be had from the fact that the silver rupees issued in June, 1940, alone amounted to 13 crores of rupees. As the result of this hoarding tendency, there developed in the markets of India an acute scarcity of silver coins, and people with ten-rupee and five-rupee notes found it extremely difficult to make small purchases. Cases of paper notes exchanging at a discount in terms of metallic money were reported and the hoarding scare went on at an increasing pace.

At first, the Government tried to bluff the situation away by declaring that they had enough silver rupees and more than enough stocks of silver bullion. When the demand for and hoarding of silver rupees showed themselves to be unceasing, the Government took the initial step of rationing the amount of rupees to be given to individuals in exchange of notes; the explanation given was that the Government's capacity of supplying rupees was limited by the capacity of the Government Silver Refinery and of the Mint. Prosecution under the Defence of India Act was also started in those cases where deliberate hoarding could be detected. Nothing, however, was of any avail, and the flow of silver coins from the Issue offices to the hoard continued to gather speed. Ultimately, when the situation had grown beyond the limits of control, was issued Ordinance IV of 1940 (dated the 24th June, 1940) providing for the issue of Government of India one-rupee notes to supplement the stock of silver rupees. The notes were to be legal tender all over British India and were to be considered as rupee coins in respect of the reserve requirements of the Reserve Bank notes.

It will be interesting to go a little behind the actual scenes to undertand the full story of the situation that necessitated the issue of one-rupee notes. After the phenomenal rise in the price of silver during the last war, followed a long period of very low prices—mainly due to the attempts of a number of countries to sell their surplus stocks of silver. The price of silver reached the rock-bottom level of 13·25d. per oz. (about 5 annas per tola) in 1931. In 1934, the countries interested in silver entered into a Four-Year Agreement under which the Indian Government promised to sell not more than 35 million oz. of silver per year, while the Governments of the U. S. A., Australia, Canada, Mexico and Peru promised to purchase an equivalent amount. The U. S. A. went a step further in 1935 : the Silver Purchase Act provided that the U. S. Government would go on buying silver until the silver stocks constituted 25 per cent of the metallic reserves and until the price of silver had risen up to the high level of 64d. per oz. (about Re. 1-8 as. per tola). The result of such a policy, if consistently followed, would have been dangerous for silver-using countries. The U.S.A. commenced operations immediately after the Act was passed, an in April, 1935, the price of silver rose to 36·25d per oz., making the bullion value of the rupee dangerously near its face value. As a direct result of this rise in the price of silver, China had to give up the silver standard, and the Indian Government, in order to forestall an emergency, printed a large quantity of one-rupee notes. The anticipated danger, however, did not materialise on account of the reversal of the silver purchase policy of the U. S. A. and the price of silver receded back to the low level of 20d. in 1936 and remained between 16d. and 19d. during 1936-39. The one-rupee notes that were printed by the Government in 1935 had not therefore to be put into circulation; it was these notes that came handy in July, 1940, and were issued to ease the situation created by the hoarding scare.

Silver stocks of the Government in September, 1939, were 160 million oz. (capable of being converted into 46·55 crores of rupees at 165 grains to the rupee), in addition to 76 crores of rupees with the Reserve Bank. The silver stock of India could have been much higher than this if the Government had not sold silver regularly from 1927 to 1935 and again after 1936.

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Whether these sales were conducted to dispose of what appeared to be an unnecessary surplus, or to give Great Britain the advantage of low prices, or to maintain the exchange, will remain an open question; but one can feel that scarcity of silver was a danger that the Government should have guarded against.

A still more questionable policy was adopted in September, 1939. With the commencement of the war, Great Britain tried to husband her dollar resources, and consequently, prohibited imports of silver from non-sterling countries. This naturally led to a rise in the price of silver in the London Market, and the Indian Government in its magnanimity began to sell silver at 23·5d. per oz. in the London market —in order to prevent a rise in the price of silver there. This certainly was not in the best interests of India; the Indian Government could not surely expect to gain by attempting to lower the price of a necessary commodity through a depletion of its own stocks. In India, the demand for silver was strong, but the Government of India (the Reserve Bank since December, 1939) sold silver *in London* to those Indian importers who paid sterling in London. Imports of silver from non-Empire countries were prohibited and there was consequently a rise in the price of silver in India. Later imports of silver from America were allowed on condition that the Reserve Bank would control the prices, and that a substantial share of the profits would go to the Reserve Bank.

In June, 1940, therefore, the stocks of silver had actually fallen low, and there was little force in the Government declaration that the Issue offices would be able to give rupees in exchange of paper notes upto any amount. The necessity of issuing one-rupee notes was the most effective criticism of the silver-dissipation policy that the Government had presistently followed for about thirteen years.

During the last six months silver economy measures have been adopted; these measures would have been unnecessary if silver stocks had not been frittered away before the war. An Act of the Indian Legislature had already reduced early in 1940 the silver contents of the quarter-rupee pieces from eleven-twelfths to one-half. The same 50 per cent silver ratio was adopted for eight-anna bits by Ordinance VI of 1940. By another Ordinance issued on the 11th of October, 1940, the Government has declared that Victoria rupees and half-rupees will cease to be legal tender after the 31st of March, 1941, but will sontinue to be accepted at the Treasuries and Post Offices till September 30, 1941, after that date, these coins will be received at the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank in Calcutta and Bombay. The result naturally would be to bring back into the hands of the currency authorities a large quantity of old silver rupees.

A revolutionary change has been brought about by the latest currency Ordinance issued on the 22nd of December, 1940. The rupee has been for the last 105 years defined in form as a coin 1 tola or 180 grains in weight, containing eleven-twelfths of a tola or 165 grains of pure silver. The new ordinance authorises the issue of silver rupees of the fineness of one-half silver and one-half alloy, *i.e.*, containing 90 grains of pure silver and 90 grains of other metals; these new rupees contain a "security edge device" which is 'considered to be a virtually absolute safeguard against counterfeiting.' Rupee coins of the old fineness will no longer be minted.

These new rupee coins are being issued to obviate the difficulty felt by the rural classes in respect of carrying and keeping small pieces of paper, and the difficulty of replacing these at a rapid rate. The announcement, however, makes no mention of stoping the issue of one-rupee note. Consequently, for some time at least, three different forms of one-rupee units will be in concurrent circulation: the old 22-carat silver rupees, the one-rupee notes, and the new 12-carat silver rupees. If there is no new cause for panic, these three types will smoothy circulate together. But if a new scare develops, the unavoidable conflict between 'good' money and 'bad' money will manifest itself and the old silver rupees will again disappear into the hoards from which they are now slowly coming out.

Before concluding, a word has to be said about the paper currency issued by the Reserve Bank of India. The total volume of Reserve Bank note now circulating stands at 255 crores (January 3, 1941), which is larger by about 41 per cent than the circulation in August, 1939. This is not surprising in view of the increasing demand for all forms of currency, generated particularly by the war expenditure of the Government and the increasing volume of business activities. During the last war the inflation of paper currency was brought about by changing the fiduciary limit. During this war, the Reserve Bank Act has not been amended, because the Act gives ample latitude to the Bank in respect of maintenance of reserves. The gold reserves now amount to Rs. 44·41 crores and the sterling securities to Rs. 131·50 crores. It should however be remembered that the gold stocks of the Reserve Bank are valued at Re. 1=8·47512 grains of gold, *i.e.*, at Rs. 21-3 as-5 p. per tola. If the gold stocks

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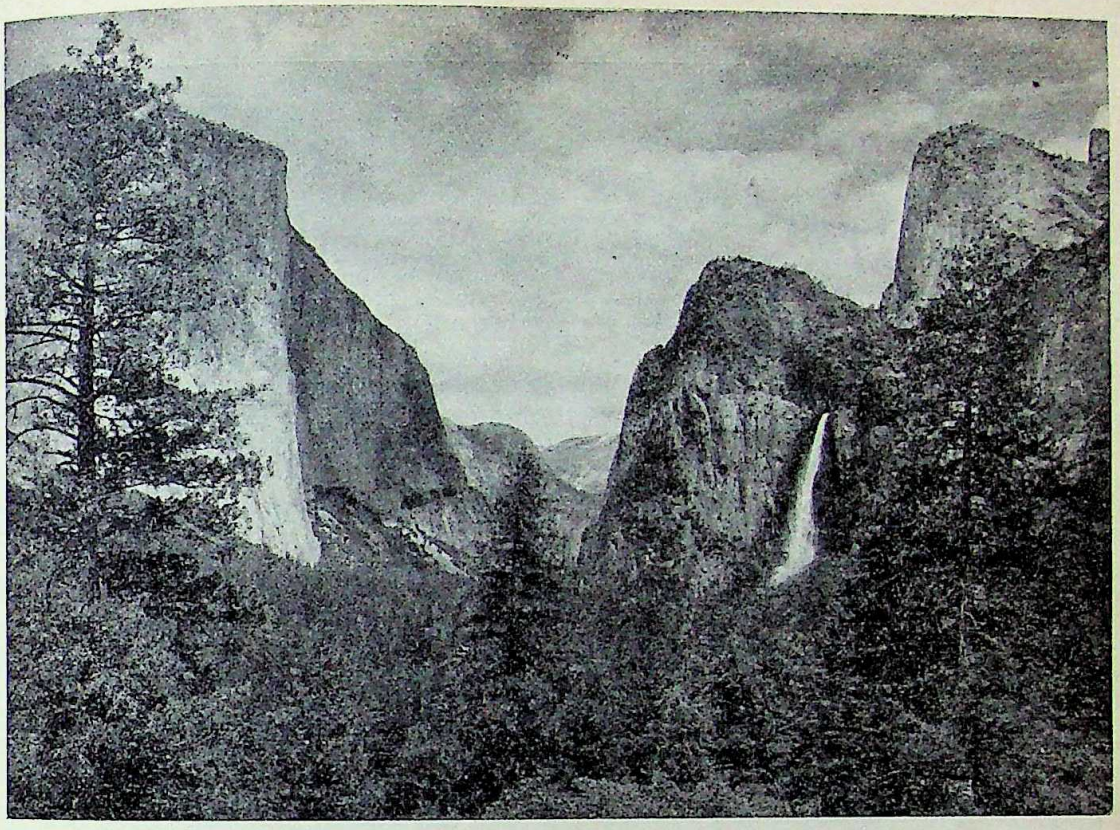

Yosemite Valley

Ranger Adams and party on the top of the glacier point of Yosemite

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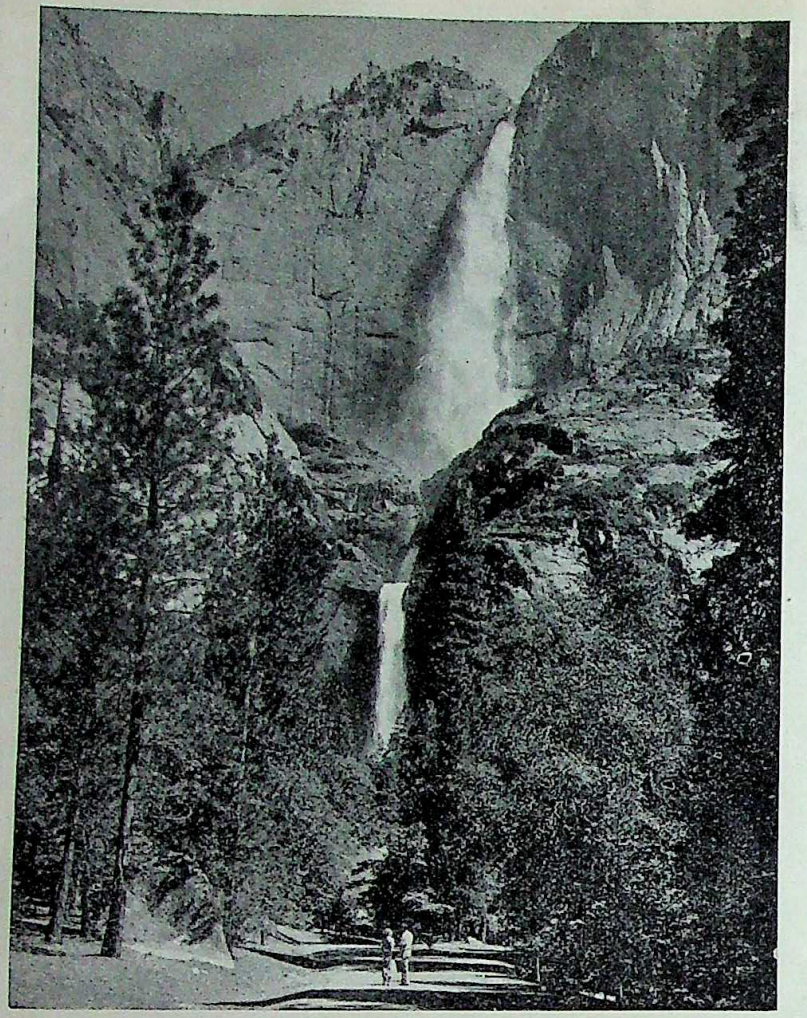
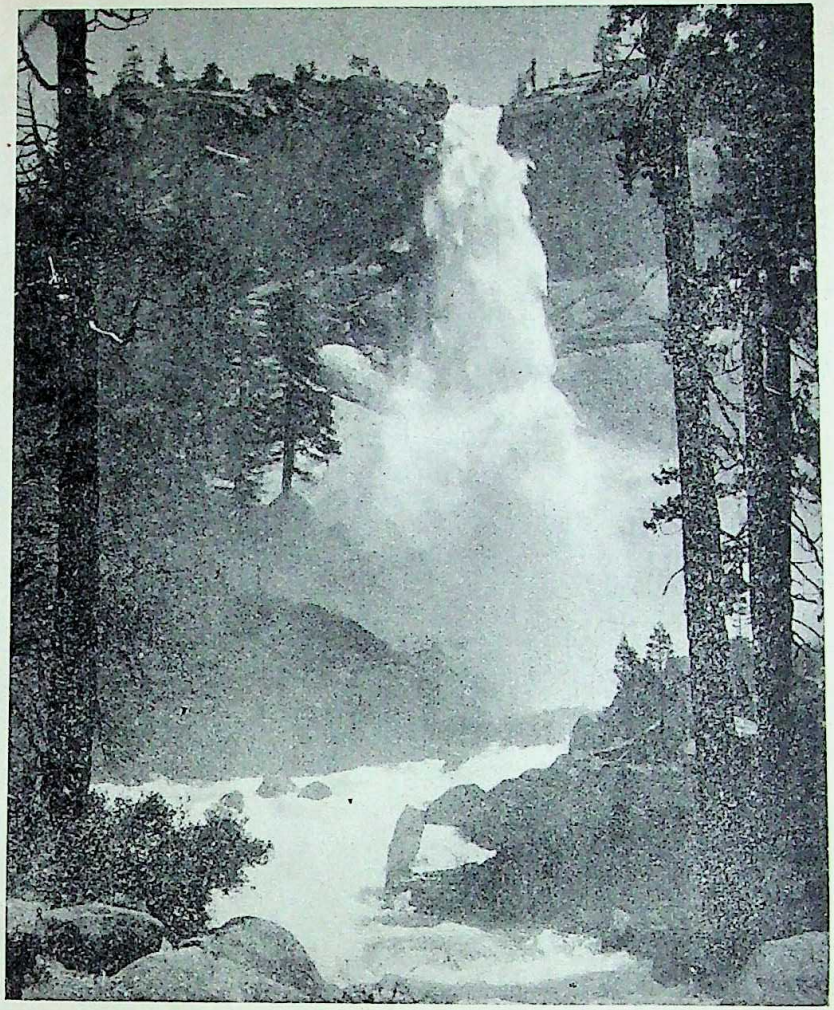


Yosemite Falls



Nevada Falls

The steep mountains, the murmur of the waters and the peeping sky all combined inspire wonder and awe

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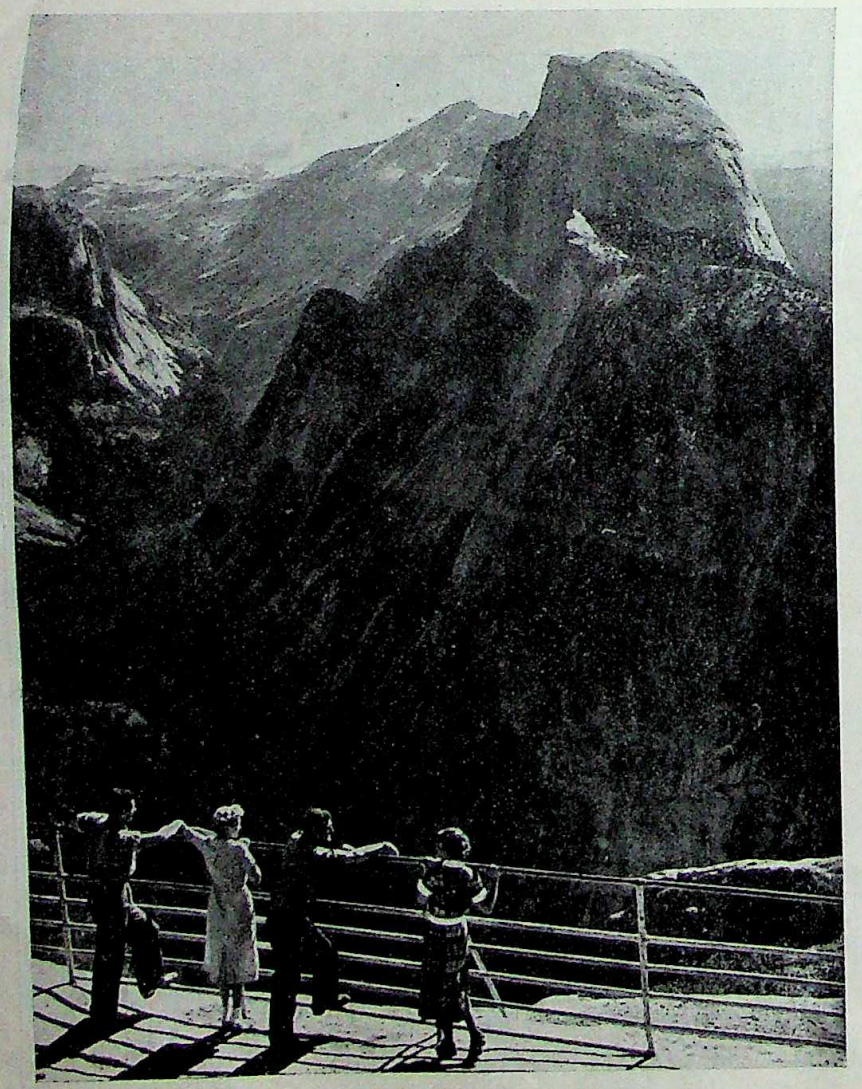
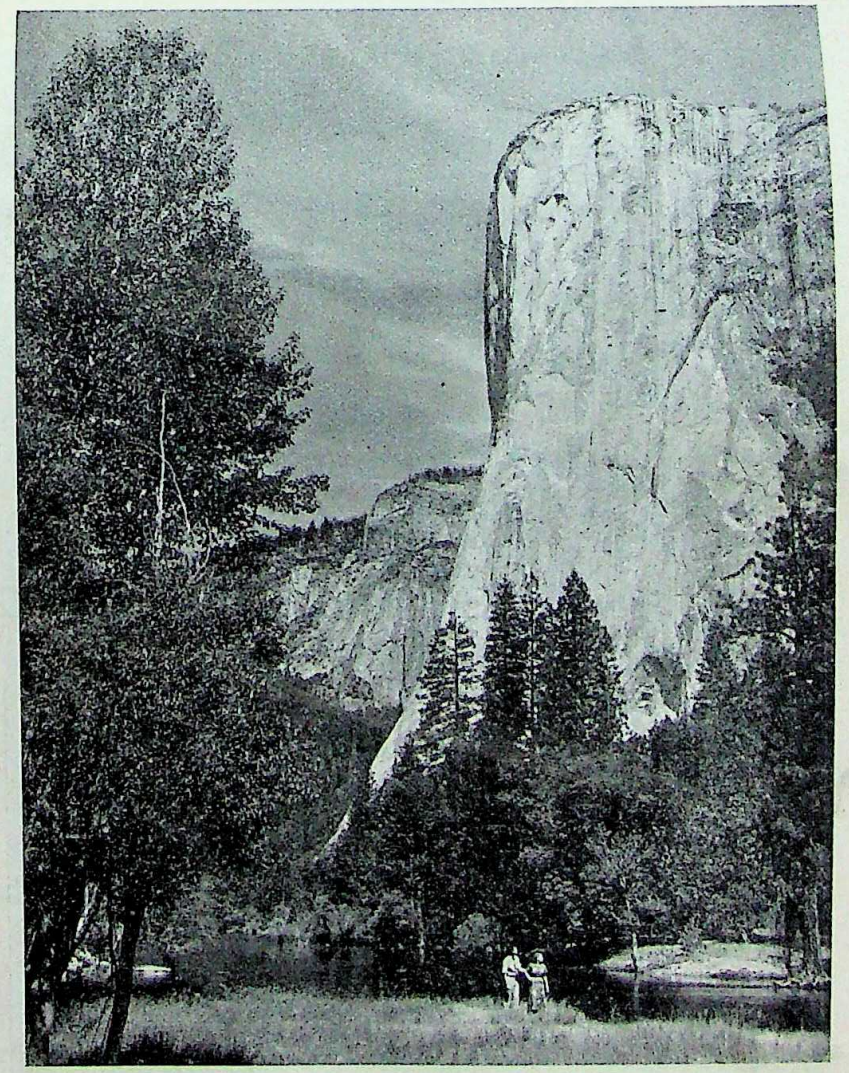


Half Dome from Glacier Point



Ed. Capitan

When the sun shines on the top of the snowclad peaks the reflecting sunbeams cast a magic spell and transforms the place into a fairy-land

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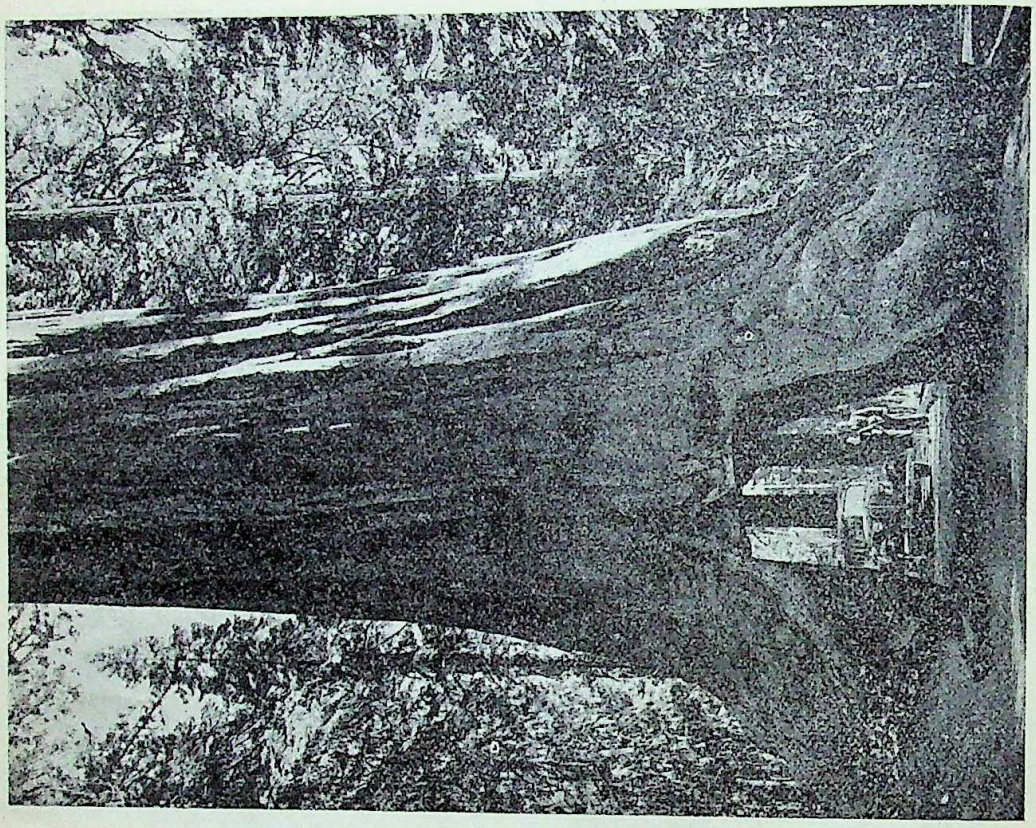
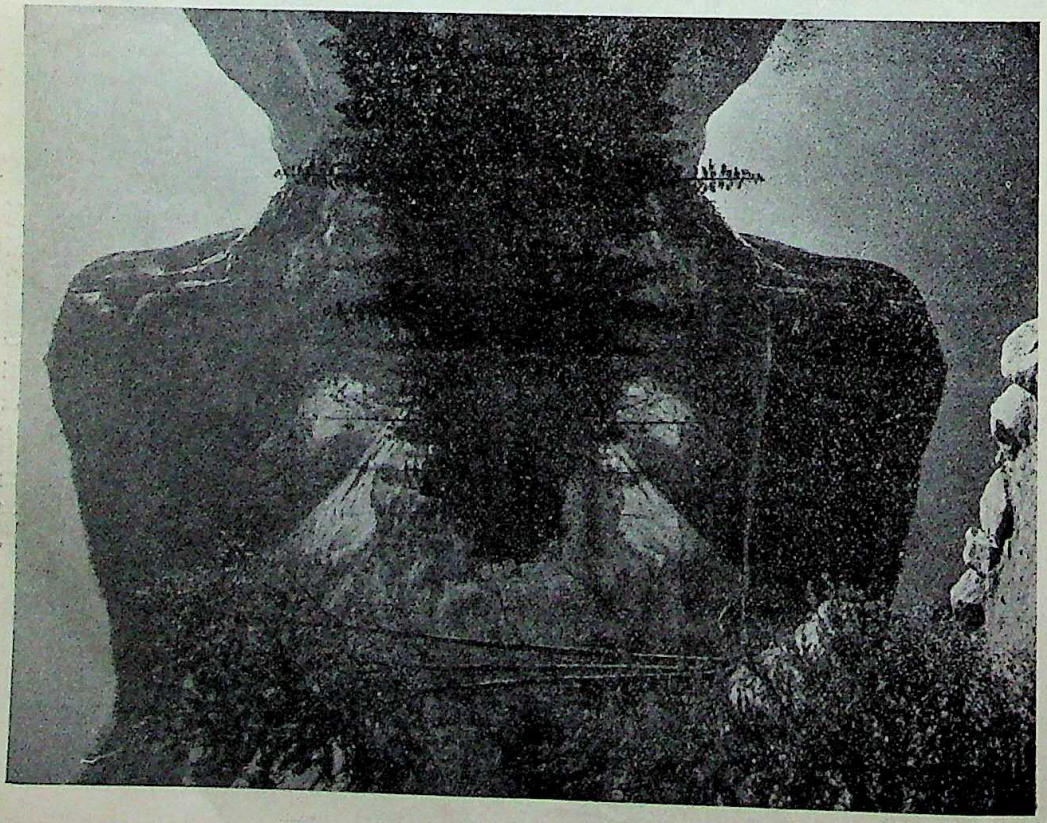


Wawona tunnel tree



Mirror Lake

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are re-valued at the current market price, they would amount to about Rs. 88 crores in value.

The most notable feature about the reserves is that more than half the total note-issue of the Reserve Bank is now backed by sterling securities. Even in a period of normal political and economic life this would have been undesirable, and it is many times more so when a major war is going on. It is doubtful wisdom for the central bank of any country to invest such a large part of its paper currency assets in securities of a belligerent country. The sterling assets in the banking department of the Reserve Bank have no doubt helped the Government in repartriating some sterling loans, but here again it may be asked whether the purpose behind this repatriation move is to make sterling available in England for re-investment in war bonds. In any case, the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank seem to have exceeded what it would be necessary, desirable and prudent to have.

No one knows how long the war will last and what will be the future course of our currency changes. Every war brings new experiences and this time in India we have already seen much. Innovations have been made in the currency system; the paper currency of the Reserve Bank has been inflated; dollar securities held by Indians are being liquidated in rupees by the Reserve Bank and husbanded for future use; and, sterling loans of the Government are being converted into rupee loans. In the midst of all these changes and fluctuations, the one thing that stands emphasized is that the dependence of the rupee on the sterling has been solidified to a greater extent than perhaps it ever was.

CALIFORNIA—AN ARTISTS' HAVEN

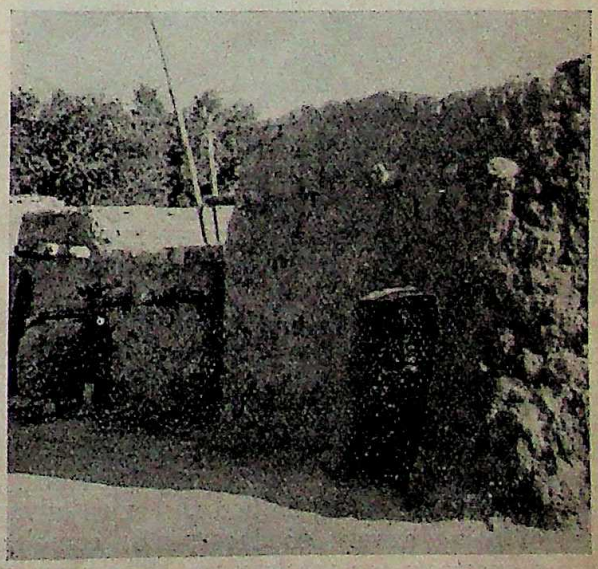
By NAGESH YAWALKAR

"Yosemite valley is a scenic wonder of the world. It's the wonder of Nature. Be sure you don't miss it." These were the oft-repeated words in praise by my artist colleagues during my stay in U.S.A. One of the well-known artist friends of mine insisted that I should visit this place if I wanted to make my trip to that country worth my while. I decided not to lose the opportunity of visiting this famous valley and having my own impression about the place.

I left Yellow Stone Park and reached San Francisco after three days' continuous drive. I proceeded from San Francisco after two days and was really fortunate to have the company of the Manager of the Hotel where I was staying at San Francisco. Thanks to the facility given to me of his trailer and other necessary equipments by the Manager and his uncle Mr. Charlie for expeditions to the surrounding mountains, Yosemite Park and Yosemite Valley, the trip proved to be one of the most instructive and thrilling experiences of my life.

A Typical Californian Farm

We left San Francisco in the morning and camped in the evening at the Farm of Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith was a typical representative of the able Californian farmers. Though a poor farmer—one among thousands—he had all the equipments which were his own creations for almost all comforts. He used to store sufficient electricity for cooking, lighting, etc., in a battery which he used to charge by means of a wind-charger. He had even the luxury of a Radio!



Dwelling of an American Red Indian in the neighbourhood of Yosemite

I could not but marvel at this humble farmer when he told me quietly but with deserving pride that he had listened to the lecture of Mahatma Gandhi delivered at London during the Round

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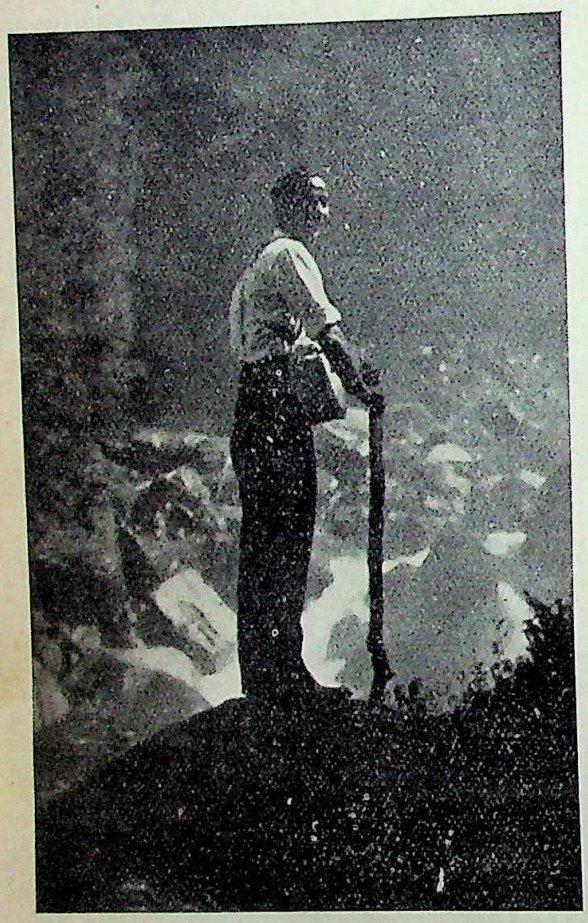
Table Conference through this improvised Radio of his. In view of the situation of the farm which was miles away from any city, having for surroundings nothing but the grim-featured Sierra

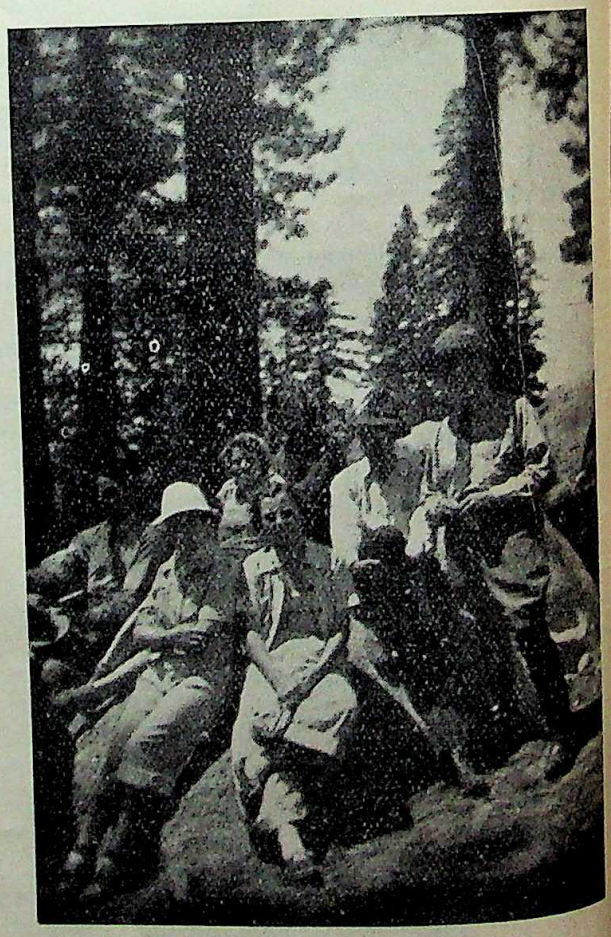


On the top of the mountains of Yosemite National Park in U. S. A.

Nevada mountains and the meagre resources he could fall to, I had to take off my hat to the ingenuity of this son of the soil. My readers may be surprised to know that Mr. Smith, though an ordinary farmer, had by dint of perseverance and efficiency had managed to be the proud possessor of a motor cycle, an automobile lorry and a private car with a trailer out of the meagre resources he had at his disposal. A perfect farmer himself, he had the extra advantage of being a very good carpenter combined with a fine taste for architecture. The beautiful furniture made by himself and a few select paintings and prints encased in frames of his own design displayed where they would catch the eye of the visitor, paid silent tributes to Mr. Smith's intellect and artistic temperament. From what I could gather, this Californian farmer had started with a barren piece of land and a few pieces of wood, but it seems that he did not fail to make the most of the opportunities which came his way. That is, I concluded, is the secret of Mr. Smith's success in life.

Yosemite Valley

Next morning we left the farm and a drive of 200 miles through the Sierra Nevada mountains brought us to the Yosemite Valley. The scenery of these mountains and its beauty are very difficult to describe because of the variety of strong colours especially of the stones and the sky. No sooner we entered the valley, we were caught in surprise by the majestic fall known as Yosemite Falls roaring down from the highest peak at a height of 1430 ft., and a side fall from the main one falling in between from an altitude of 300 ft. This world's largest fall is indeed unsurpassed. It is something out of the ordinary which can never be seen in any other part of the world. The picturesque mountains



The party on the mountain top

are like stooping granite walls having a heig of more than half a mile running in a continuo range for seven miles in this valley. There a

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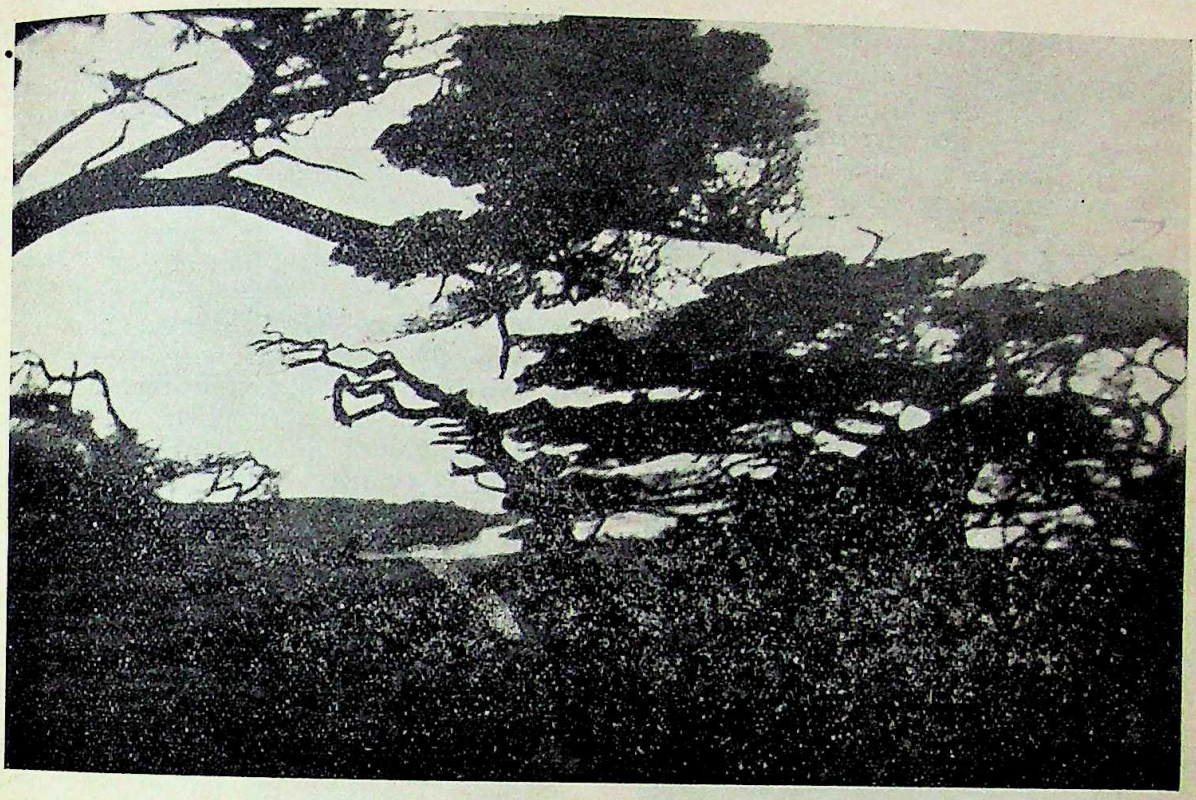

Cyprus trees at Carmel Calif

five falls singing and jumping from rock to rock in their ceaseless music in harmony with nature. The birth place of these five falls are covered by snow all the time and the peaks are under a perpetual veil of clouds of ever changing colour and hue. Among these, the Cloud Rest Mountain is the most famous for its height, veiled in clouds and peeping coyly at the world like a queen out of the harem through her silken veil.

The Mirror Lake

The next day before sunset, I hiked a distance of three miles form the valley to the Mirror Lake in the company of the Ranger, Mr. Pyne, who gave me a brief history of this unique place. Mr. Pyne told me that in that particular area a long time back mountains had changed into lakes and Mirror Lake is one of such transformations, an example of beauty and charm surrounded by snowy peaks of mountains and giant red wood and pine trees standing and reflecting their grim features in the Lake whose crystal-clear water justifies the name. These red wood trees have turned to great jungles in the surrounding area and it is extraordinary that in such a vast jungle one can travel without any fear of wild beasts. These trees are so big that an ordinary automobile can easily pass through them. I had the opportunity of seeing the Snow Creek four miles away from the Lake.

Fire Fall

Yosemite valley in particular, is indeed, a unique place and is the centre of activities of the American people and the world tourists during summer. I found to my surprise twenty-eight thousand visitors camping in the valley. The object of the travellers, as I see through Indian eyes, was nothing but to enjoy life in this heavenly place, far away from the trammels of earthly cares and miseries of life. Most of the credit is due to the American Government who afford great facilities and comforts to all and sundry, from the man in the street to the millionaire, and one cannot make out the poor man from the rich in that crowd as everybody is given equal facility. One of the extraordinary sight which impressed me was the Fire Fall. I almost forgot myself admiring the beauty of this fall which looked to me so natural, a continuous flow of fire from the top of the glacier point, that for the moment, I could not believe that this had been done through human agency. This spectacular scene is second to none and an exhibit of perfect specimen of natural fire fall. It is a great diversion to the thousands of visitors gathered in the dark nights in the valley.

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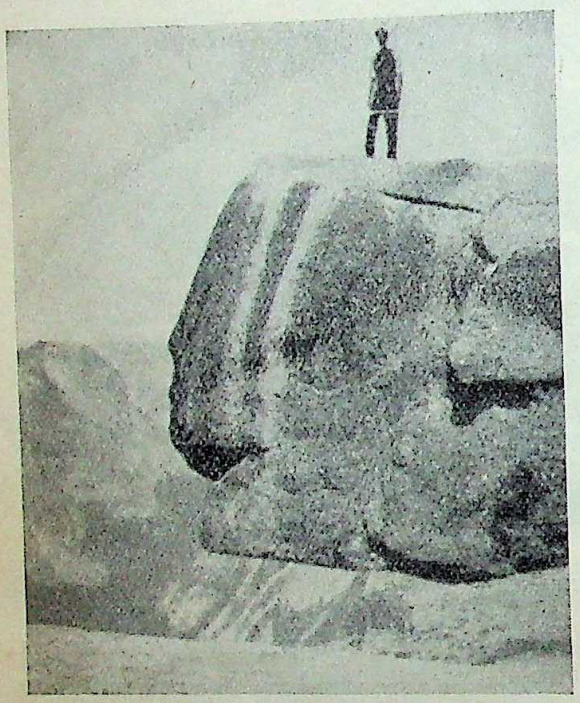
Some Diversions

On my return in the evening to my tent after my hike to the Mirror Lake, I was rather surprised to see my friend the hotel manager Mr. Kafelt and uncle Charlie in a quite different atmosphere. The cold was severe



The Valley of Yosemite is a mile straight down from this dangerous hanging rock

and everybody had a camp fire. Around the fire the dance was going on. Some were chatting and telling yarns and some of them were found singing songs in unison with the music of the natural falls around the valley. We were surrounded by the giant steep mountain walls standing straight that appeared to me as though they were touching the sky and standing guard on us. The stars twinkled and winked intermitently towards the spectators in the valley. Everybody was merry and enjoying, but in between there was an interruption by the sudden appearance of wild bears, of course, without our permission. I was given to understand afterwards that these animals generally come straight inside the tents and eat whatever they could get. They disturb the whole place. It was great fun to watch these wild bears entering into somebody's tent, but they were never harmful as they would have been if one came across them in the jungles.

A Thrilling Experience

On the fifth day of my stay in the valley, my companions left me because they went to "Hetch Hatchy" for fishing. So I decided to stay in the valley and paint some sketches on the life of American Indians and their colourful dances. On this day, Mr. Pyne the ranger had to go to some other place and I decided to go alone on the top of the Yosemite falls to see the origin of the same. It took me not less than three hours to reach its snowy peak. From the top of the mountain I was examining the scenery of the valley below and having a bird's eye view from different angles. The panorama that spread before me was most thrilling, but before I could enjoy this to my heart's content, the whole atmosphere changed into a horrible nightmare. Though it generally does not rain in summer, I found myself caught in one of the most dreadful storms I remember to have experienced and to crown all it began to rain very heavily. I felt just like a straw in a cyclone and even felt despair clutching at my heart of ever reaching the valley and once more feeling the welcome warmth of the camp fire. The storm was so terrible that I sometimes felt that I might be lifted off my feet and blown up like a kite. It was a very dreadful experience I had on the top of that mountain peak without any other soul to turn to for help or support and I do not think that I shall be ever

Author with Uncle Chabi, an youngman of seventy-four, driving his car on the slopes of Yosemite mountains thirteen thousand feet above sea level

able to forget that moment. After a few minutes of battling against the storm and rain, I was surprised to find the atmosphere clearing rapidly and the normal peace reigning in the p

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I could see the people in the valley just like ants crawling. Immediately, as if by magic, the multi-coloured rainbow, aptly described by some one as the bridge to heaven appeared in front of

A brave Red Indian with his eagle-feather headdress and striking costume

me and it was a scene worth seeing. I felt, that scene compensated the whole trouble. In spite of all these, I was feeling a bit lonely and depressed, but my depression disappeared soon when I found to my surprise two youngmen of my age behind me. They were also on the same journey as myself and it was with real pleasure that we introduced ourselves. By that time I was feeling very cold and I felt the marrow in my bones freezing. We all started descending so as to reach our camps before it was too late as otherwise it would have been impossible to find our way back in the night. When I reached the camp, I was in a very bad condition; what with the rain and the severe cold, I was wet through and through and in the tent there was no coal to warm myself. I had to take the hospitality of my neighbour, who, like every tourist in the valley, was very good and helpful. With all that, I spent the night miserably and I do not think that anybody in the valley could have passed that night comfortably as all the tents were wet and the cold was very severe. Naturally, people had not expected rains at that time of the year.

Glacier Point

Next day, we had a grand programme. Eighteen of us decided to climb up to the Glacier point. It was an odd crowd of eighteen. There were a few men and women of above 50 years and one or two ladies of 65 even. The most interesting thing to me was to find an old Canadian lady of 65 ready to accompany us

His deeds of valor are recorded in the feathers of his headgear. His little daughter prizes her dress adorned with milk teeth of the elk

without even a tinge of doubt about her ability to do so. We got to the point under the pioneer-ship of Ranger Adams, a jolly good young man who was the life of our batch. After a climb of seven hours we reached our destination.

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Red Indian mask dancers

Looking back now, I think that is another most wonderful and unique scene which will remain ever green in my memory. There was a hanging rock with a notice, "Dont risk your life," but I could not resist myself from looking into the chasm of 3254 ft. from the top of the rock. There were many stories, about the place, of visitors having often fainted while looking down at the valley. But it was a striking view all the same. I can never think about that scene without a shudder. You could see the Yosemite Falls drop like a long shinning ribbon of white directly across the valley and to the east both Nevada and Vernal Falls glisten in majestic beauty.

Vernal Fall, Nevada & Half Dome

On the sixth day in the valley, I went with Ranger Pyne to Vernal Falls, Nevada and Half Dome. We were a party of thirty-two that day, including young kids of eighteen and old men and women up to 68. It was an example of the American sporting spirit. We returned in safety after hiking twenty-seven miles that day.

Red Indian Dance

The day after, with the help of Mr. Adams, the ranger naturalist, I contrived to be admitted in the society of the Red Indians. I found much similarity in their 'Peacock Dance' to that of our 'Garuda Dance.' I was really amused to find that their 'Alap' was somewhat similar to that of our music, but had most of the influence from the Mexican music.

The days which I passed in these places have left an indelible impression on my mind and I can say without the least exaggeration that the sight of such a place for an artist is like a drop of dew fallen in the shell of an oyster which ultimately turns out into a mother of pearl. I had to admit, no doubt, that Yosemite Valley is the land of the scenic wonder of nature.

Hence no wonder that the idea of leaving Yosemite Valley was not appealing to me. However, I ultimately left that spectacular valley with high hopes of exploring equally artistic centres of California, the next one being *Carmel*.

Though I had left Yosemite Valley half-heartedly, for Carmel en route to Hollywood, I found to my satisfaction that this trip through Carmel was worthwhile. There were some exceptionally good scenes between Carmel and Monteray, a distance of 16 miles, generally known as the "sixteen miles drive." At Carmel I was stopping with Mr. Berg who was kind enough to show me several beauty spots in this area. He took me in the morning to a special point in his car and left me there as I told him that I would sketch a few scenes and come back home in the evening.

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A street scene in early Los Angeles

A Hold-Up

The area between Carmel and Monteray is spotted with beautiful sceneries and the cream of American aristocracy lives there. About 250 professional artists have their permenant residence in this place. Besides there is a colony of more than 450 artist students. There were a lot of things interesting to an artist's eye and I was able to sketch some of the world famous spots on the Pebble Beach. At sunset I sketched the Birds Rock. I was so engrossed in getting those brilliant colours of the sunset at Birds Rock that I became oblivious of the passing of time and when I went to the bus stand to return home, I found to my dismay that the bus had already left. I was sure that in case I started walking back home the same way I came, I would never reach it since I had no idea about the road. In the mean time, I was feeling very hungry and cold. So the next best thing was to go to Monteray which was nearer than Carmel from where I was. I took to the foot path and it was a tough job to plod on in darkness among the Cyprus trees. I was feeling a bit nervous when I remembered what my friends had told me about the numerous rattle-snakes in these parts. The roaring noise of the sea-lions and of the waves of the nearby sea heightened my nervousness and ultimately I took to singing Hindi songs. I would have surely looked a queer sight, with my two heavy bags of painting paraphernalia and completed and uncompleted sketches, singing in the dead of night in a quite unknown tongue, to a local man. What with the fourteen miles walk I did that day, the strenuous work put in between, and the severe cold and hunger, I was a very weary man by the time and it was with a heavy sigh of relief I saw a bright flash light a few paces away from me. At last, I thought, I was near the metalled road, as I took the flash light to be the head lamps of a car. In the next instant the light fell full in my face and a voice behind the light was asking me in a harsh tone with a pistol pointed at my head, "Hold up your hands sonny." For the first few moments, I did not realise what this rigmarole was and I did not comply with the order. Then I remembered that picture "Chicago Fire" I had seen some time back. So this was the most often heard of 'Hold Up' of America. In the meantime, the man with the flash lamp and pistol was calling somebody by the name of Joe to come up. Joe came up and repeated the same command to hold my hands up and ultimately I did so. Joe proved to be an expert in flicking the purses of people and by the time I could say 'Jack Robinson,' my purse was in his hands. The total contents of my purse was only nine dollars and 55 cents. He kept the nine dollars and was kind enough to give me back the 55 cents. He thanked me for the nine dollars and I thanked him for the 55 cents. What an irony of fate! I continued my journey to Monteray much more

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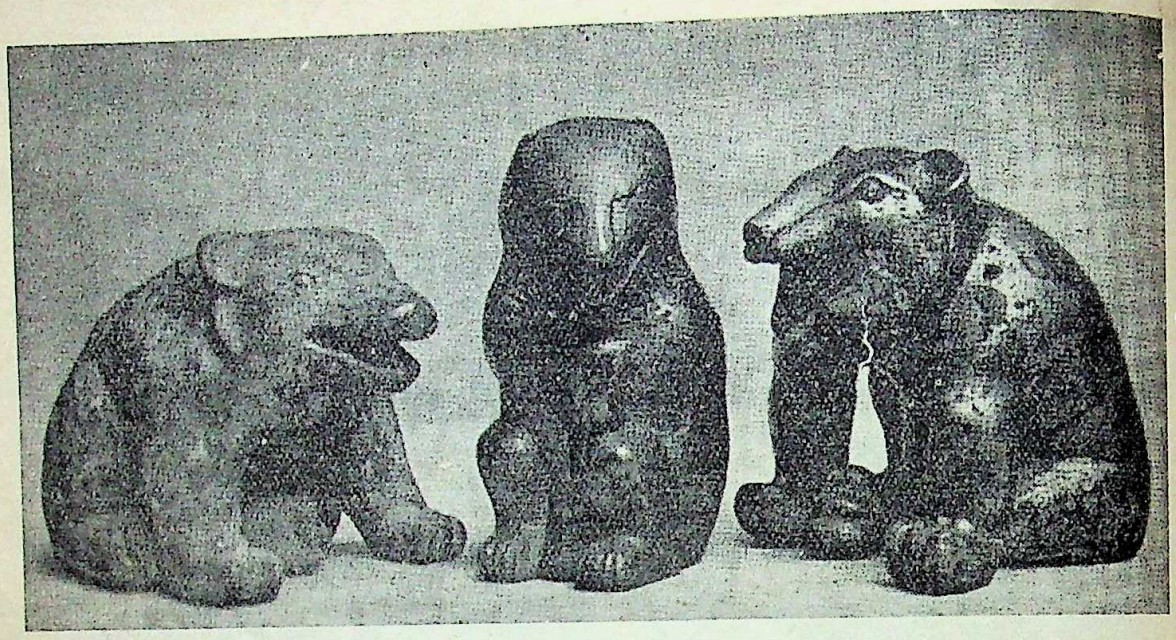
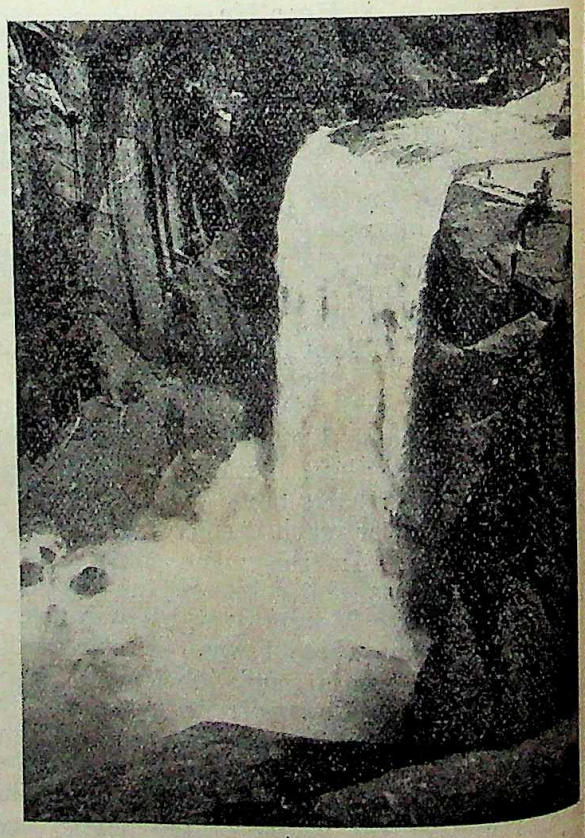


Gilt bronze bears (Han Dynasty)

relieved of worries as well as of funds and some how or other managed to reach there by 10 o'clock at night.

A Midnight Introduction

I had some food thanks to the bandit who was good enough to leave me 55cents at least and I decided to go back to Carmel the same night as I had an important interview the next morning. This time, I did not want to take any more risk by taking a short cut and hence started by the metalled road. It was inky black and the Cyprus trees on both sides of the road made it darker. The chilly wind was biting me through and through, but I set my teeth and proceeded. I came to a spot where the road branched to two different places, but I could not make out anything from the Pointer as it was very dark. So I waited for a car or some other fellow traveller like myself from whom I could enquire the route. I tried several times to stop a car, but the owners did not feel inclined to stop their car on such a dark and chilly night. I began to curse and swear at the cars, the owners and the world in general and as if Providence took pity on me, a big car came along and I waved my hands frantically, of course, with grave doubts about the possibility of the owner stopping the same, but I found with the pleasantest feeling the car stopping. I mumbled something about my precarious position in reply to the query from the owner as to how I came to be stuck at such a lonely spot and such odd time of night, and enquired of the occupant of the car about the route to Carmel. To my great surprise, I found that I was talking to a young lady whose outline I could see faintly in the dash board light. She was a lady who did not believe



Vernal Fall

surprise, I found that I was talking to a you and asked me to step in and her tone seemed

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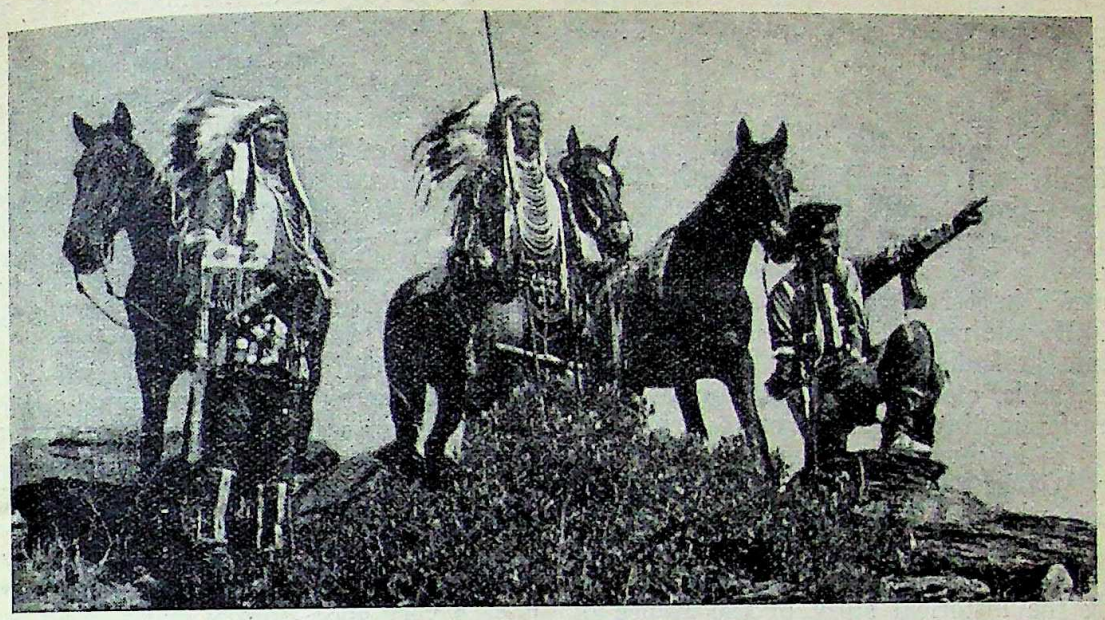

Look ho !
Sturdy Red Indians with their steeds

tell me, "Young man, don't waste your time in explanation. This is not the time and place for it." Well, I complied with alacrity and thankfulness and I tried to express my feelings of gratitude which she gently cut short. From our conversation on the way, she told me that her father had been in Kashmir for a number of years and that he would be very pleased to see me. She insisted on my accompanying her to her house and though I pointed out to her the untimely hour for such an interview, she simply laughed and told me not to worry. Accordingly, she took me to her house and found her parents, a sturdy old pair, sitting and smoking beside the hearth. I was duly introduced to them and the old man was very pleased. He thanked his daughter for being helpful to me and made me promise to come for tea next day. I thanked them from the bottom of my heart, wished them good night and left for my place which was nearby. I could not but appreciate the courage and freedom of American ladies in general and this young lady in particular. This accidental meeting in the dead of night at an out of the way place with a lady proved very useful to me afterwards, for during my stay at Carmel, the father and daughter showed me a lot of wonderful beauty spots and gave me every assistance possible.

In Carmel, one day, I had a really good meal of *chappaties* in one of the Mexican restaurants! They call these *chappaties* "Turtias" in the Mexican language.

A Carmel Laundry

Another incident I remember was when I went to a laundry in Carmel and asked the laundryman, how much he would charge me for washing a shirt. He told me that the charge was 36 cents for washing a cotton shirt. When I told him that I had paid for the shirt only 36 cents at the time I bought it new in India, he told me that the rates were fixed in Carmel by their "Union" and that in India there was no such "Union." I got annoyed and told him that he was fleecing outright, but the laundryman imperturbably shrugged his shoulders and told me, "My dear sir, in India the charge may be a cent or two for a shirt and the laundryman may be starving, but that does not mean that we also should do so. In case I was charging two cents for a shirt, I would not be able to live well and own a motor car and the thousands of dollars worth of the latest of machinery you find in the Works. I had been twice round the world, and I would not have been able to do so if I had been following your Indian laundrymen. Here we workers are not prepared to starve and we generally get the worth of our work because our Unions see to it." Of course, this was a sort of an eye-opener to me and I had to hand it over to that Carmel laundryman.

In Carmel, which is one of the most ancient Mexican towns, I had the opportunity of painting a number of sketches of Mexican people and their houses. These people are more artistic than the Americans. I also painted their

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dances which are similar to our old traditional dancing. I also visited Santa Barbara a typical Mexican town in that area.

In Hollywood at Last

I finally arrived in Hollywood—the Great Hollywood—the haven of the Film World. The very first day I reached there I saw Gitterbug dancing.

I met Director Hans Drier of Paramount Picture. He told me, "There is a lot of interesting points in Indian Pictures. Music, dance, costumes, stills, etc., from an artistic point of view, are fascinating, but the pictures scientifically need to be much more improved."

Mr. Garicfort, one of the Hollywood journalists who had visited India told me that there is really a great chance to attract audience for an Indian Picture in Western countries depicting the historical story of the Ranee of Jhansi. His last words were, "These are the kinds of pictures that sell."

Since mostly my interest was in art I paid particular attention to the settings of a Morroco City which were used in a picture in the Studio of the Twentieth Century Fox.

I was invited to the house of Mr. Kirk, the Asst. Director of the Twentieth Century Fox. His house was situated in the vicinity of the famous Beverly Hills Hotel. When we approached the house, it was all in darkness, but immediately the bonnet of the car touched a certain point in the gate, the gates opened automatically and an unseen switch operated and the whole place was illuminated with a number of brilliant lights. The gates closed automatically. The house had a big garden. Immediately we sat down in front of a round table, another switch operated a Radiogram and sweet music floated in the scented atmosphere. Mr. Kirk pressed a third switch and a drawer sprung up from the table in which cocktails and all sorts of other drinks were kept ready. The place had all the luxuries of life and almost all things were done automatically. Very few things were to be done by human hands. There was a dancing hall, a swimming pool, a very good library and a small museum of paintings. There is no question about the fact that America is far more advanced than any other country in almost all respects, but as far as luxuries are concerned, Hollywood will give points to any other part of the world and still beat it easily !

THE ORIGIN OF THE TATA WORKS AT JAMSHEDPUR

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Sir Stanley Reed writes in his Introduction to *Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata : A Chronicle of His Life* by F. R. Harris, that when Mr. J. N. Tata surveyed the almost untilled industrial field of India with the knowledge won from a hard industrial struggle, and the power accruing from the wealth success had brought him, he "came to three main conclusions." The first was, that "no country could become industrially great which did not manufacture iron and steel." So he determined to establish Works for the manufacture of iron and steel. With that object in view he obtained prospecting licences from the Government. Mr. Weld was one of the prospectors employed by Mr. Tata. The prospecting was done first in the Central Provinces. It is not necessary to give here a detailed account of all the iron and steel investigations in that region. Suffice it to say that, at one stage,

General Mahon had suggested that Lohara hill was probably an outcrop and that the deposits in Peepulgaon and other places were part and parcel of the same ore-field. Mr. Weld had some trenching work carried out all round the hill to find out if the ore extended any distance beyond the hill. The result of the inquiry proved that the various deposits situated at some distance from each other were not continuous but mere "pockets," and that there was not enough ore in Lohara hill to justify starting iron works.

So reluctantly they had to come to the conclusion that the Chanda project must be given up, and they asked Mr. Tata to inform Government that it was not possible to start an iron and steel industry in India. Mr. Weld then went alone on a final tour, inspecting various new coal-fields which had been found, and examining all the rivers in the Central Provinces in the hope of finding a place where, by damming, a cheap water supply could be provided. He came back unsuccessful, and in the ensuing despondency all the prospecting licences held by Mr. Tata were subsequently surrendered, except the one relating to Lohara.

At this stage one of those chance incidents which make or mar all great enterprises stirred their energies afresh. Sir Dorab Tata went to Nagpur to see Sir Benjamin Robertson, then the Chief Secretary of the Central Provinces Administration, to inform him about the conclusion they had arrived at. The Chief Secretary happened to be out, so he drifted rather aimlessly into the museum opposite the Secretariat to await his return

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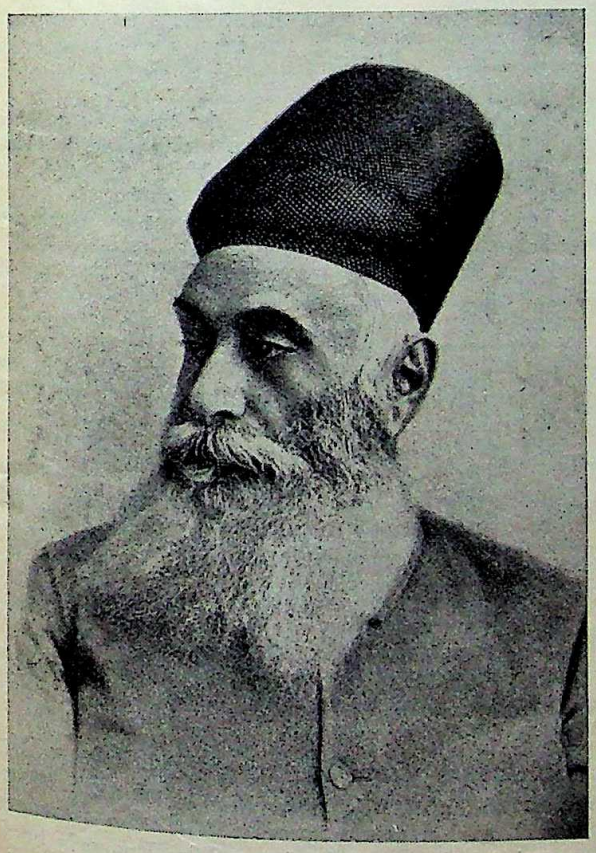
There he came across a geological map of the Central Provinces, printed in colours. He noticed that the Drug District, near Raipur, about 140 miles from the Chanda area, was coloured very darkly, in a hue which was meant to indicate large deposits of iron. He called Mr. Weld, who had accompanied him, to look at the map. Mr. Weld recollected that he had seen some mention of the district in the reports of the Geological Survey. In a case in the museum they found a specimen of very good iron ore from the Drug area. Let no one say after this that museums in India serve no useful purpose.

When Sir Benjamin Robertson reached his office, Sir Dorab reluctantly told him that it would be impossible to work the Chanda ore unless cokeable coal could be obtained near at hand. He went on to ask about Drug and told him what he had seen in the museum. Sir Benjamin produced the records of the Geological Survey, and it was found that fifteen years earlier Mr. P. N. Bose, a Bengali, employed as a Survey Officer, had gone through the district looking for iron. In a report published in 1887, he had mentioned that the neighbourhood was rich in iron ore, but his investigations seemed to have been cursory, and his report had long been forgotten. Had Mr. Bose pushed his inquiries a little



J. N. Tata

farther, he would have stumbled upon one of the richest deposits of iron ore in the world. One wonders, after the revelation which was about to be unfolded to the Tatas, how many other stores of minerals still lie hidden in India, awaiting chance discovery.—*Iron and Steel in India*, by Lovat Fraser, page 34.

Another stage of the investigations which it is necessary to refer to here relates to the Padampur project, in which Mr. B. J. Padshah, Mr. Tata's chosen lieutenant, had unflagging faith.

But the Padampur project was never destined to be begun in earnest. Although no one realized it, *in crossing the boundary* **into** *Bengal*, the Tatas had at last drawn near to the final goal of their endeavours.

One morning, the Tata firm received a letter from Mr. P. N. Bose, whose name was already familiar to them by reason of his report upon the iron deposits in the Drug district. Mr. Bose explained that he had retired from his post in the Geological Survey, and was now in the employment of the Maharajah of Mourbhanj. The State of Mourbhanj is one of the Tributary States of Orissa, and was then included in the province of Bengal but is now under the control of Behar. The Maharajah is subject to British suzerainty, but exercises larger independent powers than any of the other independent chiefs in Orissa. He wanted to develop his territories, and had engaged Mr. Bose to report upon the mineral resources they contained. Mr. Bose, with the concurrence of the Maharajah, informed Messrs. Tata Sons and Co. that he had found very rich deposits of iron, and invited them to send representatives to inspect the ore-fields. His statements were on the whole below the mark. **In the story of the industrial development of India, Mr. Bose is assured of permanent mention. His inquiries were the prelude to the discoveries of Mr. Weld in the Drug area, and he now pointed the way to still more promising results. His work is one more refutation of the current criticism of Bengalis on the supposed ground that they are not practical men.**

The Tata partners were perplexed by the letter of Mr. Bose. They thought no deposits of iron in India could equal those they had discovered at Dhalli and Rajhara. At the same time, the statements of Mr. Bose were disturbing. It was clear that he had found important ore-fields. They were also well aware that more iron was being traced in the adjacent British Districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Dhalbhum. All these districts were far closer to the Bengal coal-fields than Sambalpur, and even the state of Mourbhanj was not more than 150 miles eastward of their projected works. Supposing some rival firm stepped in, and reaped all the advantage of the shorter railway haulage? The Tatas hoped eventually to make pig iron for export far more cheaply than anyone had ever yet done in India, but where would they be if others were able to make it cheaper still? The success of their scheme depended on the cost of transport of their products to the coast, and still more upon the cost of assemblage of iron ore, coal, and limestone at their works. After some hasty statistical investigations regarding the relative cost of production, they realised that they must look at Mourbhanj without delay. In their wanderings they continually drifted farther east.—*Iron and Steel in India*, page 41.

What further His Highness the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj and Mr. P. N. Bose did for the Sakchi (now Jamshedpur) project is stated below.

More than one appeal was received from the Maharajah before the first actual visit; but at last Sir Dorab Tata, Mr. Perin, Mr. Weld, and Mr. Saklatwala went to the Mourbhanj Territory. They had to journey to Midnapur and thence down the East Coast to Rupsa junction, whence a little narrow-gauge line took them to Baripada, the capital of the State, 32 miles away.

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Baripada is a quiet place with 6,000 inhabitants, and the usual high schools, courts, public offices, and dispensary invariably found nowadays in the chief town of a well-conducted protected state. The party was met by Mr. Bose, and afterwards received by the Maharajah, who welcomed them very cordially. Mr. Bose, expounded the promising results of his survey of the States resources, and Mr. Weld, began afresh his interminable inquiries.

After the preliminary discussions with the Maharajah, Sir Dorab Tata left for Calcutta. Mr.

P. N. Bose

Perin, and Mr. Weld accompanied by Mr. Bose, plunged into the trackless hills in the direction of the ore-fields, which are situated in the north-west districts of the State. They were carried in Dhoolies, and had numerous exciting and uncomfortable experiences. At length, in the Bananghati Sub-division, their frequent meetings with native iron smelters working with crude apparatus showed them that they were reaching the end of their long quest. In the lofty Gurumaishini Hill, which rises to a height of 3,000 feet, they found enormous deposits of iron ore, nearly as extensive as those at Dhalli and Rajhara, not so compact and not quite so rich, but more favourably situated. They further found hundred of acres of rich "ore-float,"—ore lying loose on the surface, which required no mining, and simply had to be picked up by unskilled labour. The explorers were in the presence of a treasure-house far more potentially valuable than most gold mines. The merest superficial examination indicated that the supply of ore was very extensive. Mr. William Selkirk, mining engineer, of London, reported at a later date that when fifteen million tons of ore had been won the property would still be far from exhausted. For many years the "Float" ore alone would be sufficient to supply the furnaces. Mr. A. Sahlin afterwards said that the ore-beds consist of "intensely metamorphosed ancient surface flows. The ore, here as in Brazil, forms a solid cap on the tops of the mountains, and covers the slopes in the form of larger and smaller stones and float. The cost of mining is therefore very low indeed."—*Iron and Steel in India*, page 44.

It is necessary to refer here to the morally wrong kind of exploitation of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal by which many Bombay industrialists amassed wealth, in order to contrast it with the perfectly unexceptionable utilization of the same agitation, which had spread from Bengal to other parts of India, by means of which the Tatas were able to secure enough capital for their works, which they could not get in England or India otherwise.

We read in Mahatma Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, pp. 605-606:

The mill-owner opened the conversation.

"You know that there has been Swadeshi agitation before now?"

"Yes, I do," I replied.

"You are also aware that in the days of the Partition we, the mill-owners, fully exploited the Swadeshi movement. When it was at its height, we raised the prices of cloth, and did even worse things."

"Yes, I have heard something about it, and it has grieved me."

"I can understand your grief, but I can see no ground for it. We are not conducting our business out of philanthropy. We do it for profit, we have got to satisfy the shareholders. The price of an article is governed by the demand for it. Who can check the law of demand and supply? The Bengalis should have known that their agitation was bound to send up the price of Swadeshi cloth by stimulating the demand for it."

I interrupted: "The Bengalis like me were trustful in their nature. They believed, in the fulness of their faith, that the mill-owners would not be so utterly selfish and unpatriotic as to betray their country in the hour of its need, and even to go the length, as they did, of fraudulently passing off foreign cloth as Swadeshi."

"I knew your believing nature," he rejoined; that is why I put you to the trouble of coming to me, so that I might warn you against falling into the same error as these simple-hearted Bengalis."

Below are given further extracts from Mr. Lovat Fraser's book, relating to the final stage of the Jamshedpur project. All the passages extracted in this article from Mr. Fraser's book are to be found also in the life of Mr. J. N. Tata by Mr. Harris.

At this stage, which was reached in the spring and summer of 1906, the project flagged again. A preliminary prospectus was prepared and submitted to various financial interests in London, but unforeseen difficulties were encountered. There were differences about the degree of control which was to be entrusted to the representatives of English investors. A disposition seemed to be manifested to sweep the Tata firm aside. For

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more disconcerting was the lack of interest shown by the London Money Market, which is always ready to pour capital into China, or Patagonia, or Timbuctoo, but shows a traditional unwillingness to invest in new enterprises in India. Sir Dorab and Mr. Padshah, acting for the Tatas, had, moreover, come into touch with London during one of its periodical phases of depression. Money was very "tight" and all fresh projects were looked at askance. The sum asked for was very large. It would have met with a doubtful reception at that moment had the works been projected for England; being for India, people buttoned up their pockets. Eventually, there was one exciting period when about four-fifths of the required capital was actually promised; but the Syndicate fell through, and the enterprise again seemed doomed, and Sir Dorab returned to India.

For more than a year the negotiations were continued in England, but never with more than partial success. By the summer of 1907, however, new situation had been created in India. The "Swadeshi" movement, which on its more praiseworthy side meant the cultivation of the doctrine that the resources and the industries of India ought to be developed by the Indians themselves, had reached its height. All India was talking "Swadeshi" and was eager to invest in "Swadeshi" enterprises. Sir Dorab and Mr. Padshah, who had spent weary months in the City of London without avail, after their return, conceived in conjunction with Mr. Billimoria, the bold idea of appealing to the people of India for the capital needed. The decision was a risky one, and many predicted failure, but it was amply justified by the result. They issued a circular, which was practically an appeal to Indians. It was followed by the publication of a prospectus, which bears the date August 27, 1907. Mr. Axel Sahlin, in a lecture delivered to the Staffordshire Iron and Steel Institute in 1912, has described the instant response. He says:

"From early morning till late at night, the Tata Offices in Bombay were besieged by an eager crowd of native investors. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women they came, offering their mites and at the end of three weeks, the entire capital required for the construction requirements £1,630,000 was secured, every penny contributed by some 8,000 native Indians. And when, later, an issue of Debentures was decided upon to provide working capital, the entire issue, £400,000 was subscribed for by one Indian Magnate, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior."—*Iron and Steel in India*, page 51.

The Tatas found it easy to raise capital from the propertied classes in Bombay by appealing to their Swadeshism, because many persons belonging to those classes there had been convinced by their exploitation of Bengal's Swadeshism, referred to in Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography, that there was money in that cult.

H. H. Sri Ramchandra Bhanj Deo, the late Maharajah of Mayurbhanj

It has been shown above that Bengal has had something to do, directly and indirectly, with the starting of the Tata Works at Jamshedpur. It continues to do its bit for these Works. We understand from Mr. N. N. Rakshit's address as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Prabāsi Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan at Jamshedpur that Bengal takes more of the goods manufactured at Jamshedpur than any other region of India.

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NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

NAGENDRANATH GUPTA, whose death has been announced at Bandra (Bombay), was a journalist of great reputation. His father, the late Babu Mathura Nath Gupta, was a Sub-Judge in Bihar.

Nagendranath was educated at the General Assembly's Institution (now known as the Scottish Church College), Calcutta. Among his classfellows was Swami Vivekananda, with whom he stood on terms of friendship. That friendship between the two continued till the death of the latter. When Swami Vivekananda came to Lahore in the year 1898-99, he stayed with Nagendra Babu, who was then a neighbour of Lala Lajpat Rai, of whom, too, he was a friend.

His knowledge of English literature was extensive. Though he did not take any degree from any University, he had once to take the M.A. class in English in a college at Lahore.

In his early days he was fond of shooting and took keen interest in physical culture, especially Indian wrestling, which he practised himself and about which he knew much. His interest in wrestling continued even when he was old. It was owing to his interest in wrestling that he developed friendship with the well-known Indian wrestlers Ghulam, Kikar Singh and Gama and this friendship continued up to the end. He used to invite these gentlemen to his house very often.

When he grew old the only exercise he used to take was brisk walking. He was so much interested in foot-ball and hockey that while in Calcutta he seldom missed watching any match in these sports.

He commenced his journalistic career in Karachi, where he owned and edited an English weekly, the *Phoenix*. As editor of the *Phoenix* he was once sentenced to a term of imprisonment, because he would not divulge the name of a correspondent whose letter had given rise to a lawsuit. He had intimate friends among distinguished Sindhis. He loved Sindh. Even late in life he visited that province once a year. From Karachi he came to Lahore, where he took up the editorship of the *Tribune* in 1892 from Mr. Shitalākānta Chatterjee. The *Tribune* was then a semi-weekly. Before he gave up its editorship in 1899 the paper was being published thrice a week. Nagendra Babu went back to his home province and in Calcutta started a Bengali weekly called the *Suprabhāt*. In Calcutta he conducted for some time a monthly called *The Twentieth Century* with his friend Brahmabāndhaba Upādhyāya.

In 1905 he shifted to Allahabad and took up the editorship of a weekly, the *Indian People*, started by Mr. (now Dr.) S. Sinha, which later on was incorporated with the *Leader*, of which he and Mr. (now Dr. Sir) C. Y. Chintamani became joint editors. In Allahabad he came into contact with the late Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sunder Lal, Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya, Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee, and other distinguished citizens.

From Allahabad Nagendra Babu came to Lahore and because of his personal friendship with the late Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, the illustrious founder of the *Tribune*, he once again became its editor in 1909 and left in 1912.

He worked as editor of the *Punjabee* of Lahore in 1913.

As a journalist he had the good fortune of coming into intimate contact with Dadabhoi Naorojee, Messrs. Hume, Ranade and Gokhale, and Lala Lajpat Rai.

He wrote a number of Bengali novels, three of which were contributed to *Prabāsi*. He translated Tagore's poems, many of which were published in book form in America. His translation of Tagore's *Urvashi* possesses considerable merit. It appeared in *The Modern Review* for July, 1927.

He contributed numerous articles to *The Modern Review* and an English novel or romance, *A Planet and a Star*, in which the reader is taken beyond the limits of the Earth and its atmosphere to a star. It appeared in *The Modern Review* from September 1932 to April 1934. To the Bengali monthly *Prabāsi* also he contributed many short stories and articles, besides three novels, as mentioned above. Occasionally he contributed articles to the *Hindustan Review* also.

In 1913 he gave up journalism as a profession and became Private Secretary to the Maharaja Monindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar. From there he went to Bandra to live with some of his sons. He worked with the Tatas also for some time.

At the time of his death he was leading a retired life.

At Bandra, Bombay, where Nagendranath died, he was a neighbour of Mr. K. Natarajan and his son Mr. S. Natarajan. The latter writes in *The Indian Social Reformer* from personal knowledge :

"The late Mr. Nagendranath Gupta : The death which took place last Saturday morning of Mr. Nagendranath Gupta, a prominent figure in Indian journalism

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in the early years of the century, a distinguished author in English and Bengalee, a man of varied information and wide culture, has passed almost unnoticed in the Indian Press. Mr. Gupta was attracted from journalism to a business career thirty years ago and has for some ten or twelve years past been living a retired life in Bandra. His broad human interests made him a favourite with his neighbours without distinction of race or creed. . . . His death, it is no exaggeration to say, has left a void in the circles where he had been almost an institution for many years. Our deep sympathy goes out to the family."

The Leader, edited by Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Nagendranath's former colleague, pays the following tribute to his memory :—

We deeply regret the death announced in Sunday morning's *Leader*, of Mr. Nagendranath Gupta at the age of 78 at a nursing home in Bombay. Mr. Gupta was a distinguished journalist. He first came to be known to the public as editor of the *Phœnix* of Karachi. But he rose to fame later as editor of the *Tribune* of Lahore, whose proprietor, the late Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, gave him his full confidence. The *Tribune* became so influential under Mr. Gupta's editorship that once the local Anglo-Indian paper, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, asked whether the province was being governed by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick or by the editor of the *Tribune*! . . . . In the autumn of 1905, he was brought over to Allahabad by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha to edit the *Indian People*. He did so for four years, after which that paper was incorporated with the *Leader*. Of this paper he was the first editor with Mr. Chintamani, but he severed his connection with it after seven months. . . . Mr. Gupta had command of a fine literary style and wrote still better on literary topics than on political. He was also a story-writer, poet and artist. Altogether he was one of the most cultured of men and always lived a peaceful life.

It is no common tribute to Mr. Gupta's journalistic ability and courage which is contained in the statement of *The Leader* that "*The Tribune* became so influential under Mr. Gupta's editorship that once the local Anglo-Indian paper, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, asked whether the province was being governed by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick or by the editor of *The Tribune*."

The Tribune itself has come out with a fine editorial eulogy on the most famous of its former editors, which runs, in part, as follows :—

By the death of Mr. Nagendranath Gupta, familiarly known as Mr. N. Gupta, India has lost one of the most eminent journalists of a generation that has all but passed away. He had at different times been connected with some of the leading newspapers of India, notably the *Tribune* and the *Panjabee* in this province, the *Leader* of Allahabad and the *Bengalee* of Calcutta. But it was his editorship of the *Tribune*, which he raised to the pinnacle of glory and made one of the first papers in India in his time, that brought him conspicuous fame. He wielded a powerful and facile pen, wrote English with the ease of a consummate master, had a charming literary style and a commanding grasp of political and social problems. He told the present writer that Mr. A. O. Hume, the founder of the Congress, paid to the *Tribune* as edited by him the compliment of having the best-written editorials in India. To the younger generation of Punjabis he is probably no better than a name, but in his own time he was a power in the province and the *Tribune*, as edited by him, then practically the only Indian newspaper in this part of India,

Nagendranath Gupta

commanded an influence and authority which few newspapers can equal and none surpass in these days when there are so many powerful competitors in the field. . . .

Again :

But it is not merely as a journalist and a writer of chaste and idiomatic English that Mr. Gupta made his mark, though it is in these capacities that he is best known outside his own province. In his own province, as to the Bengali-speaking population in the rest of India, he is also known for his valuable contributions to Bengali literature. As a novelist, a writer of short stories, and an annotator of some of the classical Bengali poets Mr. Gupta earned a reputation simultaneously with his distinction as a journalist, and he maintained this reputation to the closing days of his life. Indeed, Mr. Gupta was so active with his pen and had such a variety of interests that until a short time before his death there had hardly been a month in which some newspaper or periodical or other did not contain an article from him. His taste was literary, and his journalistic work itself, unlike that of so many others, bore unmistakable marks of this taste.

The death of such a man is, indeed, a great loss both to journalism and to literature.

With his passing disappears one of the few remaining links between a former generation of litterateurs and journalists and the present one.

Mr. Gupta's fine literary style. referred to

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by both *The Leader* and *The Tribune*, was referred to by Prof. Amaranātha Jhā in his presidential address at the recent first English Conference at Lucknow, when he spoke of "Nagendranath Gupta, who has retained a fine literary finish even in his most hasty compositions."

The literature of his province has been enriched by his novels, short stories and articles and by his scholarly edition of the *Padāvalis* of Vidyapati, claimed as their own by both Bengal and Mithila, which have had almost the same script for centuries. He undertook to prepare this edition at the suggestion of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad. He also edited the *Padāvali* of Govindadas.

Nagendranath had intimate experience of six provinces—Bihar, Bengal, Sindh, the Panjab, United Provinces and Bombay, and enjoyed the friendship of some of the most eminent sons of India. No journalist or litterateur of his generation or of the present possessed or possesses such wide experience. The autobiographical reminiscences of such a man must be very interesting and instructive. If he has left any his sons will render a service to the country by publishing them.

We are indebted to *The Tribune* for some of the biographical details given above.

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By SHIBA SANKER DUTTA

At the recent twenty-eighth session of the Indian Science Congress held in January, 1941, at Benares several Indian ladies presented papers on different subjects. Some of them are noted below. One Indian lady, Mrs. Chameli Bose, read a paper on Statistics and Anthropometry at the fourth session of the Indian Statistical Conference held at the same place. While it is gratifying to learn that Indian ladies are coming forward in Science, it is a matter of regret that our Muhammadan sisters are not coming forward to take their share in Indian Science.

In the Section of *Botany* :

1. Life-history of *Euphorbia helioscopia* Linn. By Miss Vimala Bhalla, Lahore.
2. The biological spectra of Matheran and Mahabaleswar. By F. R. Barucha and Miss D. B. Ferreira, Bombay.
3. The biological spectrum of Madras. By F. R. Barucha and Miss D. B. Ferreira, Bombay.

In the Section of *Zoology* :

1. The spermatogenesis of *Chiloscyllium griseum* (Muller and Henle). By Miss C. K. Rathnavatty, Madras.
2. Coprus luteum in the sea-snake *Hydrophis cyanocinatus*, Dandin. By Miss M. Samuel and R. Gopala Aiyar, Madras.

In the Section of *Anthropology* :

1. Anthropometric measurements of Sukla-Yajurvediya Madhyandina Brahmins. By Mrs. Irawati Karve, Poona.
2. The eternal triangle in some Marathi folk-songs. By Mrs. Irawati Karve, Poona.
3. Kinship system and kinship usages in Maharastra. By Mrs. Irawati Karve, Poona.

In the Section of *Medical* and *Veterinary Research* :

1. Effect of sulfaniamide group of drugs on blood. By Miss S. Chaudhiri, New Delhi.

In the Section of *Psychology* and *Educational Science* :

1. Study of school marks. By Miss Shanti Agarwal, Lucknow.
2. How spontaneous drawings of children can reveal the nature of their complexes—a short communication. By Miss Dhaman Badhwar, Lahore.

In the Section of *Chemistry* :

1. Dispersion of dielectric constants of binary mixtures. By Miss Nagamani Shama Rao and S. K. K. Jatkar, Bangalore.
2. Absorption from the binary system benzene-acetic acid. By Miss Nagamani Shama Rao and S. K. K. Jatkar, Bangalore.
3. Absorption from the binary system benzene-ethyl-alcohol. By Miss Nagamani Shama Rao and S. K. K. Jatkar, Bangalore.
4. Synthesis of aldehydo-hydroxy-benzoic and -napthoic acids. By Miss K. S. Radha, R. D. Desai and R. G. Shah, Bombay.
5. Synthesis of β-β-dissubstituted acrylic acids. By R. D. Desai and Miss K. S. Radha, Bombay.
6. Studies in the Friedel-Craft's reaction. Part VII. Condensation of polyhydroxyl phenols with acid anhydrides. By R. D. Desai, H. Figueredo and Miss V. M. Vakil, Bombay.
7. Influence of a trace of pyridine on the condensations of m- and p-chlorobenzaldehydes and m-bromobenzaldehyde. By K. C. Pandya and Miss Rashami Bala Pandya, Agra.
8. Reactivity of 5-substituted resorcinol derivatives. Part I. The condensation of resorcyclic acid and its ethyl ester with ethyl acetoacetate and malic acid. By Miss K. D. Gavankar and R. C. Shah, Bombay.
9. Heterocyclic compounds. Part XVIII. Coumarins from 4-ethyl-2-acetylresorcinol and 5-methyl-2-acetylresorcinol. By R. D. Desai, C. K. Mavani and Miss V. M. Vakil, Bombay.
10. Preparation of activated charcoal for gas masks. By Miss Nagamani Shama Rao, B. S. Kulkarni, L. Gopal Rao and S. K. K. Jatkar, Bangalore.

It is thus evident that women scientists of our country are very advanced in the matter of researches. If encouragement in the forms of scholarships, fellowships, lecturerships, etc. are offered to them, they will come forward in large numbers and compete with their more fortunate sisters in other parts of the world.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

On the Roof

The following is an extract from "My Boyhood Days" by Rabindranath Tagore, published serially in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

My chief holiday resort was the unfenced roof of the outer apartments. From my earliest childhood till I was grown up, many varied days were spent on that roof in many moods and thoughts. When my father was at home his room was on the third floor. How often I watched him at a distance, from my hiding place at the head of the staircase. The sun had not yet risen, and he sat on the roof silent as an image of white stone, his hands folded in his lap. From time to time he would leave home for long periods in the mountains, and then the journey to the roof held for me the joy of a voyage through the seven seas. Sitting on the familiar first floor verandah I had daily watched through the railings the people going about the street. But to climb to that roof was to be raised beyond the swarming habitations of men. When I went on to the roof my mind stepped proudly over prostrate Calcutta to where the last blue of the sky mingled with the last green of the earth; my eye fell on the roof of countless houses, of all shapes and sizes, high and low, with the shaggy tops of trees between.

I would go up secretly to this roof, usually at midday. The midday hours have always held a fascination for me. They are like the night of the daytime, the time when the *Sannyasi* spirit in every boy makes him long to quit his familiar surroundings. I put my hand through the lattice and drew the bolt of the door. Right opposite the door was a sofa, and I sat there in perfect bliss of solitude. The servants who were in charge of me had eaten their meal and become drowsy, and yawning and stretching had betaken themselves to sleep on their mats. The afternoon sunlight deepened into gold, and the kite rose screaming into the sky. The bangle-seller went crying his wares down the opposite lane. By and by his cry would penetrate to where the house-wife lay with her loosened hair falling over her pillow, a maid-servant would bring him in, and the old bangle-seller dexterously kneaded the tender fingers as he sitted on the glass bangles that took their fancy. The hushed pause of that old-world midday is now no more, and the hawkers of the silent time are heard no longer. The girl who in those days had married status, nowadays has still not attained it, she is learning her lessons in the second class. Perhaps the bangle-seller runs, pulling a rickshaw, down that very lane.

The roof was like what I imagined the deserts of my books to be, blazing hot everywhere. A hot wind then panting across it whirling up the dust, the blue of the sky paled above it. Moreover, in this roof desert I had discovered an oasis. Nowadays the pipe water does not reach the upper floors, but then it ran even up to the third floor rooms. Like some young Living-one of Bengal, alone and unaided, I secretly sought and found a new Nigara, the private bathroom. I would turn on the tap, and the water would run all over my body. I then took a sheet from the bed and dried myself, looking the picture of innocence.

Gradually the holiday drew towards its close, and four struck on the gateway clock. The face of the sky on Sunday evenings was always very ill-favoured. There fell across it already the shadow of the coming Monday's gaping jaws, open wide to swallow it in dark eclipse. Below at last a search had been instituted for the boy who had given his guards the slip, for now it was tiffin time. This part of the day was a red-letter time for Brajeswar. He was in charge of buying the tiffin. In those days the shop-keepers did not make thirty or forty per cent profit on the price of *ghee*, and in odour and flavour the tiffin was still unpoisoned. When we got them, we lost no time eating up our *kochuri, singara*, or even *alu dom*. But such treats were rare. When the time came round and Brajeswar, with his crooked neck still further twisted, called to us, "Look *babu*, what I have brought you today," what was usually to be found in his cone of paper was merely a handful of fried groundnuts. It was not that I did not like this, but its attractiveness lay in its price. I never made the least objection, not even on the days when only sesamum *goja* came out of the palm-leaf wrapper.

The light of day begins to grow murky. Once more, with a gloomy spirit, I make the round of the roof. I gaze down at the scene below, where a procession of geese has climbed out of the tank. People have begun to come and go again on the steps of the *ghat*, the shadow of the banyan tree lengthens across half the tank, the driver of a carriage and pair is yelling at the pedestrians in the street.

Rules of War

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

Throughout the long course of human history wars have been fought. The Gods fought the Titans. Lucifer led a revolt against the Eternal King of Heaven. Sri Ramachandra, the Man-god, routed Ravana, the mighty scion of the race of Asuras. The war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas was an extremely fratricidal strife in which many Kshatriya families of Ancient India were wiped out. The Greeks of antiquity led an expedition against the Trojans. All the great epic poems of the world have war for their theme. *Arma virumque cano*, 'Arms and the man I sing,' are the opening words of Virgil's immortal epic. Homer invokes the Muse saying,

> Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring,
> Of woes unnumber'd, heavenly goddess sing.

We teach the epics to our children, we glorify the soldier, taking care, of course, to show the bright side of the picture. How can we hope to make the young less war-minded?

So long as human nature is what it is, with its loves and hates, its ambitions and rivalries, conflicts

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are bound to be. But then there are the rules of the game. If these are strictly followed, the outcome is bound to be honourable to both the victor and the vanquished. A war fought according to well defined rules may not leave any bitterness behind. The bitterness of the vanquished is dangerous for the victor as is evidenced by contemporary events. We, the men and women living in the world today, are the unfortunate witnesses to a terrible conflict unprecedented in the annals of the human race, and it is more than probable that there will be wars in the future for a very long time to come.

For aught we know, the pacifist's vision of perpetual peace may be nothing but a pleasing mirage.

If war is unavoidable, humanity to save itself from total extinction would do well to ask the war-lords to define the rules of the game. World-opinion ought to be mobilized in that direction. There are armament-makers and war-makers all over the world and the gambling for the command of the greater resources of the world is as prevalent among the ruling classes of the world, as the gambling for lesser stakes is among the poor. There is a psychological necessity for war. War fought according to well defined rules will be certainly more exciting for the combatants than an international football match or a pugilistic contest between two boxers competing for world-championship. While providing the necessary excitement for the men actually engaged in the contest, it will save them from the unsoldierly and cowardly business of killing women and children. The ancient Kshatriyas of this country, with their noble traditions of true valour would never have tolerated tank warfare and aerial bombing which rain death indiscriminately on helpless women and children.

The Individual and the War

Individuals suddenly discover that they are wanted; while during the last ten years the world had no meaning for them. But then what is to happen to them when the war ends? In an article in *The Aryan Path* Claude Houghton shows that the war has given men and women a purpose, and the unemployed employment.

All we know at present—after one year of war—is that we are moving fast and changing rapidly. Our destination is an unknown X, and the only method by which we can measure the extent to which we have altered is to contrast our present selves with those of a year ago.

It is probably a fact that the most dramatic change in us during the last year is the slow emergence of a new self—a self to which the fearful has become the familiar.

We have had to face such issues—such possibilities—such catastrophic vistas—that madness was the only alternative to the emergence of a self which, if dire occasion arose, could look unmoved "on that which might appal the devil." There is psychic self-preservation as well as physical, and this new self is derived from the former. It is a response from the depths to the demands of a world which, to an ever-increasing extent, resembles an armed Bedlam.

From the overrunning of Norway to the collapse of France—with the consequent threat of invasion—lifetimes of experience have been compressed into the palpitating space of a few weeks. What now is normal would have seemed delirium a year ago; with the result that, today, even the dullest would be slow to set a limit to fantastic possibility. It is inevitable, therefore, that we live in terms of intensity—not in terms of time.

This wave of unprecedented experience has been so tidal that its ultimate effect must be pure conjecture, but possibly it will necessitate a revaluation of long-established standards.

To hazard one guess: It may be that those books which have long held eminent place in our hierarchy will no longer be satisfying. At the risk of seeming paradoxical—though only the paradoxical is relevant today—it may be that we shall be unable to read *Alice in Wonderland*, because it depicts a too-well-ordered and too sane world compared with the one we know.

Recently, and for the grimmest of reasons, it has become popular to emphasise the difference between this war and the last, but possibly one of the chief distinctions has been overlooked which is, that whereas the 1914 war had a definite clearly defined *start*, the beginning of the present conflict seems vague and shadowy.

It is suggested that no one, old enough to remember the 1914 war, feels about September 3rd, 1939 as he does about 4th August, 1914. The latter date recalls the swift descent of disaster out of he blue: the former the emergence of disaster out of a mist. It follows that during the 1914 war, it was possible to dream that the world would return to 1913, whereas, today, no destination of any kind is described on the dark horizons. To which year—precisely—would we wish to return? 1938? 1937? 1936? To the pre-Hitler years? To the "crisis" of 1931? To doles, unemployment and Appeasement? To the General Strike of 1926?

The simple and the devastating fact is that, during the last ten years, the world has become meaningless for many individuals.

Now, men cannot live without a myth, or a faith to which all their experience can be referred—and related to some principle of order. Men can face suffering—they can face ruin, bereavement, death—provided that these disasters can be fitted into a pattern which *as a whole*, has meaning. But not otherwise.

The economic warfare of those years eventually precipitated armed conflict, which was an inevitable development and which, actually, represented little more than an intensification of the economic struggle. There would have been no war if there had been no unemployment. The essential tragedy of the whole situation is that it would not be difficult to make a case for the advantages of modern war over modern "peace."

Despite its horrors, this war does provide a clear-cut objective—Victory.

It provides, therefore, meaning and purpose. Individuals suddenly discover that they *are* wanted—that they are no longer regarded as scrap. This war provides a focal point for national activities. It provides employment.

Most unfortunately, however, there are other advantages which can be adduced in favour of war. War and it alone, provides comradeship and leadership. Communal life ceases to be theory and approaches fact.

All the creative faculties in man which are thwarted

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in "peace" find negative—destructive—expression in war.

It is said that self-preservation is the deepest instinct in men. It is a lie, of course. What men seek endlessly is something for which to sacrifice themselves. And, in the modern world, war and only war provides opportunity for big-scale sacrifice in common.

One of the most remarkable psychological facts in the present situation is that national hatred, after one year of war, is less intense than it was in August 1915.

Individuals find that they are divided into two conflicting selves: An armoured self, which confronts a Macbethean world unmoved; and a naked self, remote from the ever-deepening reverberations of the hour.

This naked self realises that, if the world is to survive, it must be transformed, and that only a new myth, a new faith, can transform it—by creating new values, new objectives, and a new enduring purpose.

Balance-sheet

The New Review remarks:

The year closes on a horizon red with arson and bloodshed; in that lurid light, the war balance-sheet reads decidedly in favour of Germany, however much the last quarter of the year was messed by her junior partner. Nazi Germany is more formidable than ever and towers over Europe like a gigantic statue *a la* Nebuchadnezzar. Brave men look without blinking at the statue and at the balance-sheet.

Nazi economic gains are huge. Europe's heavy industries are crowded along the coal and iron fields which spread arc-like from the Scottish Lowlands to Upper Silesia: along or close to the arc lie the Midlands, Wales, Northern France, the Low Countries, the Saar, the Ruhr, and Middle-Germany, what are called the rich districts of capitalism and the black areas of labour: Vulcan's smithy working for Mars. A large segment of the arc lies within pre-war Germany which produced one-fifth of Europe's manufactures, the main centre being the Ruhr with four-fifths of the German industrial concerns. She had enough lead, zinc and magnesium, but she had to import two-thirds of her iron ore and close to ninety per cent of her copper; she had hardly any bauxite (aluminium ore), antimony, tin, molybdenum, tungsten, chrome, nickel.

Conquests have greatly increased her resources; Austria and Czechoslovakia supply iron ore, and were industry bombed out of the Ruhr, Graz and Prague would prove of vital importance. Poland brought in zinc, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg new foundries, Norway molybdenum, chrome, aluminium, copper, nickel and also Swedish high grade ore. Occupied France (with 19% of the world's iron ore and 6% of its steel production) greatly added to Nazi affluence; and unoccupied France will be bled of her bauxite, textiles and rubber products. In short Germany actually commands about two-thirds of the heavy industries and three-fourths of the manufacturing capacity of Europe.

Yet in case of protracted hostilities, could Germany do without sea-borne imports of raw materials, especially of cotton and rubber?

Motor-fuel is a weak point but Dr. A. J. V. Underwood in *The Industrial Chemist* (Nov. 1930) was of opinion that Germany would never be forced to sue

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Unexpected Death

Death overtakes one as soon as one's heart fails to beat. Nobody can say when one will be a prey to death even if one's lethargic mind be over-whelmed with the news of least sorrow and anxiety; or in case of a man whose heart begins to pulpitate vigorously even after slightest labour. The unnatural and untimely call of death makes one such inactive and morbid that one cannot listen to any word, cannot meet with a friend nor can fulfil any desire. Little children, young or old men and women all are doomed to die as soon as their beating of heart is stopped.

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for peace owing to petrol shortage. Shortage in fats and meat is undeniable, though the resources of the conquered countries have put off the day of crisis. By some sort of poetical justice, conquest has endangered Germany's position in plugging several leaks in the British blockade: Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway; only Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Russia remain; the leak most difficult to plug is Vladivostock. Moreover, we must note England's economic losses; access to Swedish ore, Norway's processed metals, Belgian steel, French bauxite (?), Scandinavian timber and dairy produce from Holland and Denmark. Trade-routes have had to be altered and supply reorganised; hence the severe strain on shipping.

On the other hand, there remains the fact that England's resources are ample (about 20% of the world's coal, 10% of the world's steel production). Who would dream of bombing her into industrial inactivity? Moreover with her command of the sea, she can draw from the inexhaustible stocks of the U. S. A. and of the British, French, Belgian and Dutch Empires.

The Tower Of London

By the River Thames in London stands one of the oldest fortresses in the world. It is the Tower of London and within its walls many of the most vivid incidents in British history have been enacted. We make the following extracts from an article by Oliver Moore as reproduced by the *Readers' Digest* from the *Sunday Chronicle*:

The Tower of London, recently hit by a Germ bomb, stands by the River Thames in Britain's Capi the very heart of England. Its great muscular walls fifteen feet thick and ninety feet high. Its foundati root to depths unknown. It is the oldest fortress the world. More, it is the only fortress in the wo that has never been conquered.

Somewhere in its foundations is the still older fo ress built by Julius Cæsar, but it was the Tower beg by William the Conqueror 900 years ago which was become the heart of Britain. It is worth noting th both these military geniuses chose the same spot mark and seal their conquest; they meet near the m entrance where a part of Cæsar's wall may still be s in the south-east corner of William's White Tower.

King after king now added walls and t wers within the central keep.

Henry III completed the fortress as it stands to Richard Cœur de Lion deepened and widened the m Edward I on his return from the Holy Land comp the outer defences.

Here in its first centuries lived the Kings of Eng with State Departments for themselves and their fo and barracks for the soldiery in the ramparts. I was stored ammunition and food and stores and and jewels so that while remaining a royal palace could also withstand siege if need be.

With law and layers grafted on the nation Tower became the scene of great political trials as had not been seen before or since. With these prisons where Queens and Nobles were housed executed. Here in its Palace, Kings feasted and revelry and set out for their Coronations at West

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ter. Here was the ancient home of the Knights of the Bath and the Courts of Judicature before which even Queens were tried. Here was the Royal Mint for the coin of the realm, the treasure, the regalia. Here were the State prisons with dungeons beneath the moat with their dark cold sweating walls; the torture chambers; the chapel to which the condemned were led for their last prayer before being beheaded on Tower Green.

So within the turreted walls which are the cradle of the British race, their first history played itself out, confined and domestic.

It was with Queen Elizabeth that the Tower ceased for ever to be a Royal palace.

Poor Elizabeth had spent her early days there as a prisoner, and refused, as Sovereign, to live in a spot where she had spent months in hideous suspense, between life and death.

But what was the England's growing greatness was to be the Tower's decline. Now it became little more than a prison and a torture-house.

It was not till another Queen ascended the throne that the Tower was restored to its former stateliness and beauty, if not to its Royal glory.

During Queen Victoria's reign, the Tower was swept clean of these two centuries of rubbish and extraneous growth; the towers and ramparts repaired, and the whole place reconstructed as far as possible with the old plans which were still in existence.

It is hard, in an age where Londoners pay their shillings to take provincial aunts and nephews to see their foremost monument and pass in neat file behind the Beefeaters in their Elizabethan fuffs and doublet and hose, to remember that once they flocked here free, to gloat and cheer at a popular execution, or riot at an unpopular one.

Two of the most horrible were that in 1685 of the handsome James, Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II, "the Uncrowned King" and that of the Countess of Salisbury in 1541. The valiant old Countess who was 71, refused to lay her head on the block saying she had Plantagenet blood in her veins and would kneel to none and had to be chased by the executioners around the scaffold and hacked to pieces standing.

The Duke of Monmouth chatted with the executioner; felt the edge of axe and bade him do his work well and cleanly. He gave the man six guineas and told his servant to give him six more if he did his work well, then with great composure fitted his own neck to the block. A dreadful scene followed; three strokes were made but failed to sever the head, throwing down his axe the executioner offered forty guineas to anyone who would complete the work.

It is not in stone and mortar alone that the Tower is the monument of England. All her youth and growth is within its walls; all those highlights of a nation's experience which afterwards men call history.

The Mad Press World

A clear sign that English opinion has definitely climbed back from its June trough can be had from the saner and cooler attitude of the press towards allies and neutrals on the continent, even if the colonial press is lagging as usual. *The New Review* comments editorially :

The wonder of wonders in the recent history of journalism is that Franco is given some sort of kindly

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recognition. General Franco is no more the valet of Adolf or the boots of Benito; he is a soldier, he is even a Spaniard, and a good Spaniard at that. He prefers Spain's welfare to Nazi or Fascist glory; he is not a blood-thirsty tyrant but a broad-shouldered patriot; he is even said to have so heavy a task at home that he has little time and little taste for questionable foreign adventures. All that is being said in London in the journalists' big world, and it took only four years to unearth that bit of news. Calcutta and Bombay papers have not yet stressed this belated information; but of late editors were away on their holidays and possibly they have not yet recovered from their well-earned vacation. Fancy, less than four years to discover the great secret that General Franco is a good Spaniard! After all, my masters, the world is not so very mad. Of course, even good Spaniards can do the wrong thing; but it is best to know with whom we deal.

Nazi Education

It is a universal axiom that the nature of the state determines the character of education. Writing about Nazi education Krishna Kumar observes in *The Twentieth Century*:

Plato stated that "if young men have been and are well brought up, then all things go swimmingly" in the State.

The same principles were emphasised in the National State when it was laid down: "As is the state, so is the school" and "Whoever controls the child controls the future."

Hitler has taken a leaf from these ancient masters and has applied it thoroughly to his National Socialist Germany. The Nazi State is an educative State par excellence. German education is the product of the Nazi view of life as Spartan education was the product of the Spartan view of life. It is meant to be a conserving and conservative force in the State. Its main social purpose is to conserve, and to transmit the Nazi philosophy, to the coming generations.

There are three main points in the Nazi philosophy:

Firstly, it places the community before the individual very distinctly and decidedly.

There is always the idea of sacrifice present in the community under a dictatorship.

The second thing which we ought to remember regarding the Nazi philosophy is their conception of community. The Communists also place the community first, but their conception of it is different.

In the new Germany community—Volk is made up of all those of the same blood. It is a racial stock.

Thus the supereme object of the German is national exclusiveness and therefore there are to be "no more human beings in Germany, only Germans."

The third main characteristic of the national socialist philosophy is its belief in a planned leadership, not based on the democratic idea of leadership, which has a suggestion of the survival of the fittest in its nobler sense, but on a selection of special individuals, who will then be trained in special surroundings to take their place at the top of the future society. Hitler remarks: "I must also differentiate in estimating the worth of the individual within his own race. The principle that one people is not the same as another, applies also to the individual members of a national community."

Thus the present-day Germany believes in the ideals of communal and racial determinism.

The whole German nation suffers from the race-cum-leadership mania. Nazi philosophy is a new credo, not a new ideology.

The whole superstructure of Nazi education has been raised upon the three-fold bases of subordination of the individual to the community, of the concept of the racial bonds and of a planned leadership in society.

It, therefore, lays stress upon the reproduction of the type, and not the individual. The essential method of education is, therefore, that of indoctrination.

According to Hitler, the main purpose of Nazi education is to create the political soldier, the only difference between him and the active soldier being that he is specially trained.

All possible things, symbols and slogans, cries and credoes, are commandeered in the service of the Nazi schools.

Hero-worship is likewise an integral part of Nazi education. First among heroes stands Der Fuehrer.

After hearing Hitler speak at Nurenberg, Wilhelm Kube felt as if there spoke in Hitler the revelation of a Higher One.

Hans Frank goes further and declares: "Hitler is lonely; so is God. Hitler is like God." In this craze of hero-worship the lesser leaders also have their own place. The Great God, the Fuehrer, must be surrounded and served by the lesser gods the "Leiter." Goering, Goebbels, Hess, Frick and Rosenberg are the great leaders of Germany who have the privilege of being worshipped along with Hitler.

Hitler has, therefore, given a new content and colour to the subjects taught in German Schools.

He wants education to be confined to general ideas in a large perspective which ought to be deeply engraven by constant repetition if necessary, on the memories and feelings of the people, so that it could be turned to practical account when the opportune moment comes. This education must inculcate in the individual a knowledge of the cultural and economic and, above all, the political greatness of his own country so that he could love, respect, and fight for it. This is the spriit which runs through all the educational institutions of Germany from the Kindergarten to the University.

The aim of the German education cannot be summed up better than in Hitler's own words: "I want the German boy to be weather-proof, quick as a grey hound, tough as leather, hard as Krupp steel. We must educate a new species of man, lest our people succumb to the degenerative tendencies of the age."

ERRATUM

In this issue of *The Modern Review* (p. 232) an illustration of gilt bronze bears has been inadvertently inserted in Mr. Nagesh Yawalkar's article, "California—an Artists' Haven."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Question of India

R. G. M. writes in *The Commonweal* :

The question of India is important today on account of the rights of the Indian people and on account of the standing of the British people as exponents and champions of democracy. British rule in India is now 180 years old; India claims independence, but gets only some shadowy political concessions, with no real power either political or economic. How did this state of things develop, and why is it maintained ?

Company rule in Bengal began with a period of bare plunder, which became a scandal the English Government was forced to take heed of. In 1770 came a famine, which killed ten million Bengalese, and in 1789 Lord Cornwallis, sent out as Governor-General, reported : "I may safely assert that one-third of the company's territory in Hindustan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts."

This plunder of India launched the Industrial Revolution in England by furnishing the capital needed for large-scale manufacturing enterprise, but hitherto lacking. The new class of rich people that came with this revolution soon began to question the trading monopoly of the company. India then was a manufacturing country whose goods had a high standing in the world, and the company had the monopoly of trade in these; the British manufacturers wanted India however, as a market for their goods, and as a source of raw materials. They prevailed at last, and the company's monopoly was abolished in 1813.

This led to the flooding of India with British manufacturers. A sort of one-way free trade was established; British goods to India met almost no tariff, Indian goods to England met a high one. Indian manufacturers could not stand against British machine-made goods so favoured, and rapidly dwindled. Prosperous cities fell away to small towns, and by 1834 the Governor-General of India could write :—"The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The population of the manufacturing towns was thrown on the villages to crowd the agricultural industry. . . . .

The destruction of manufactures crowded them [the people] on to it [land] while high rents and increasingly small holdings forced them again, to become landless labourers. In 1840 there were reckoned to be no landless agricultural labourers; the 1881 census numbered them at 7½ millions, the 1921 census at 21 and the 1931 census at 33 millions, or one-third of the total of agricultural workers. Today they are estimated at near a half.

All this has meant increasing poverty, well indicated by the famine death-rate throughout the 19th century. Famine deaths for the four quarters of that century are estimated as follows :

First quarter—One million.
Second quarter—Half a million.
Third quarter—Five millions.
Fourth quarter—Fifteen millions.

Along with this growth of poverty has gone the decay of schools. In the old India each village had its school, no doubt often a poor one, but in 1835 Governor Munro reckoned that in Madras Province one child in three learned to read, write and cipher—a higher rate than in Europe at that time. There were also 80,000 village schools in Bengal, but these vanished along with the village system. Today two-thirds of the 700,000 villages of India have no schools, while less than 5 per cent. of the population go to school at all. The illiteracy rate is 92 per cent., as against 94 per cent. in 1911. In a similar period Soviet Russia reduced its illiteracy rate from 78 per cent. to 8 per cent.

How Hitler Has Copied Moscow

The following extract is reproduced from *Public Opinion*.

The Communist dictatorship of Moscow is the prototype of all totalitarian dictatorships, and upon it in greater or lesser extent all subsequent totalitarian regimes, but particularly that of the Nazis, have been modelled. One of the most remarkable things about Adolf Hitler is that he has produced little or nothing that is truly original. Besides the Gestapo, an exact replica of the Cheka-Ogpu, the Press and propaganda apparatus of both regimes is indentical in character. . . . Under both regimes education is run on similar principles. It is calculated primarily to prevent the youthful mind from imbibing any but official doctrines. Essential subjects, such as history, literature and geography, are all given a strong political basis. Dissident teachers and professors are ruthlessly persecuted, and instruction and 'culture' are made to serve first and foremost Party ends. . . . The Reichstag and the Soviet Union Council are merely audiences convened occasionally to listen to and 'ratify' the decisions already taken and acted upon by Hitler and Stalin. These bodies are not even endowed with consultative powers. . . . The attitude of both dictators toward religion is similar. Hitler's hatred of Christianity derives from the race of its founder, Stalin's from the militant-atheist nature of Marxist doctrine. By different paths they arrived on common ground. . . . They may, even though jealously watching each other's moves travel far together in their common hatred of democracy and Christendom.

Our College Students

These comments on American College students, made by M. J. Adler in *Harper's*, seem so true, unfortunately, about a large section of Indian students.

The real trouble is that our college students and recent graduates do not take *any* moral issues seriously, whether about their personal affairs or the economic and political problems of the nation. Their only principle is that there are no moral principles at all, their only slogan that all statements of policy, all appeals to standards, are nothing but slogans, and hence frauds and deceptions. They are sophists in the most invidious sense of that term which connotes an unqualified

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skepticism about all moral judgments. Such skepticism leads naturally to *realpolitik;* in the game of power politics—and there is no other—only force and propaganda count. The issue between fascism and democracy cannot be argued as if there were a right and wrong to it. Whoever wins is right; whatever works is good. Our college students today, like Thrasymachus of old, regard justice as nothing but the will of the stronger; but unlike the ancient sophist, they cannot make the point as clearly or defend it as well.

The Scholar's Reward

The lot of the scholars seems to be the same everywhere, as Douglas Bush's observations in *The Atlantic Monthly* show.

The world expects scholars to get their reward in the discovery of truth, and it may be hoped the world is right, since they get nothing else. They toil for years, they scorn delights and live laborious days, and when they have written a book they are lucky if they can get it published. If they do they usually have to pay for it, though the professorial salary does not allow for subsidies to publishers. Sometimes a scholar has the superlative good fortune to get a book published for nothing. Sometimes the work of many years cannot get published at all. It is by no means a sufficient explanation to say that scholars can't write; many a scholar writes well, but if he objects to the cheaper arts of salesmanship the world will have none of him. The popular middleman, however, spends a few months in a public library, dashes off a book in time for the Christmas lists, and receives handsome royalties. The scholar meekly accepts the way of the world, but he does wonder now and then why the swift-footed gentlemen of letters do not more often pause to take account of scholars's findings.

A General Surveys Modern Turkey

Brigadier General Sir Wyndham Deeds, who gained his experience of the Old Turkey as Military Attaché in Constantinople, observes, writing in *Daily Telegraph* (quoted in *The Living Age*), that of all the revolutions which have taken place since the end of the Great War, nor one has accomplished what this one in Turkey has, and broken so few heads in the process.

Casting my mind back twenty-five years, I think of epidemics. I never travelled upcountry without encountering cholera, smallpox or typhus. I remember sleeping one night in a wayside *Hans*, the principal guest-room of which seemed to be unusually well swept and garnished. When I commented on this to mine host in the morning, he said: "Oh, yes. The room in which you slept is being used as the cholera mortuary. But when we heard your Excellency was coming we emptied it and gave it a special clean-up!" Today cholera has been stamped out; typhus and smallpox are very rare; and a vigorous campaign is being waged against other scourages.

Again, consider the country's communications. Never shall I forget the old Turkish roads. In the summer of 1913 I disembarked at Samsun and engaged a *yayili* (a light spring wagon) in order to carry out an inspection in the five contiguous provinces, a journey which promised to last three months. The first day out the horses fell through a hole in the road, the pole snapped, and we had to fashion a new one from the neighboring forest. That—and much more—was travel in those days. The other day, I visited these same provinces, and did the journey in great comfort by road and rail and took only ten days.

Among the visible changes to be noted are the large number of well-built schools —elementary in the villages and central and *lycees* in the larger towns; town-planning of old towns and the rapid building of new—of which Ankara, a village when I last saw it, is, of course, the most notable example; and the large number of new factories established. I visited a sugar factory at Turkal where the provision of social amenities for the work people was as good as you could wish. Hospitals—one or two which I saw—were, as regards planning and equipment, better than anything I have seen in this country. Day nurseries, infant welfare centers and village clinics have been established at which a great deal of instruction in hygiene is given.

There can be little doubt that women are not a little responsible for all this social activity; the women who today are to be met in every sphere of human activity—thirteen of them in Parliament. Gone are the black-veiled phantoms of old days, the heroines of Pierre Loti's novels.

In the administration, apathy, inertia and slovenly out-of-date methods have gone. Officials are keen and —governors of provinces, at any rate—are relatively young. And there is no corruption.

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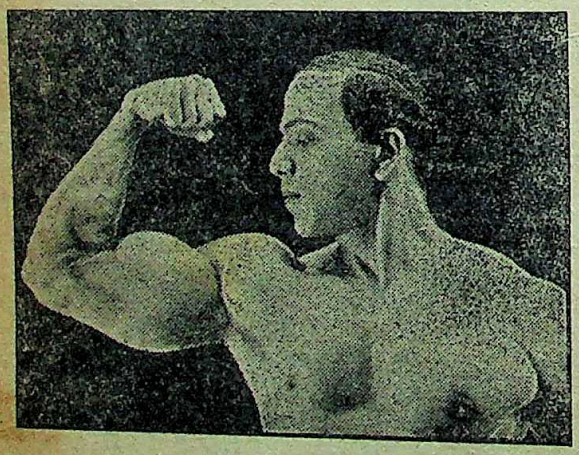

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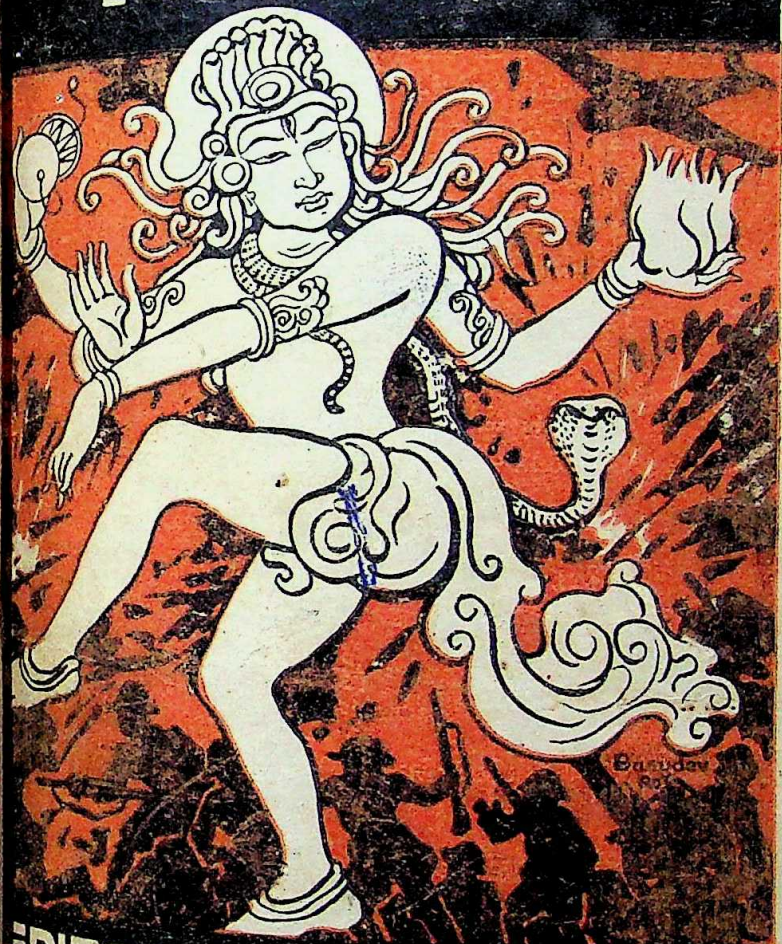

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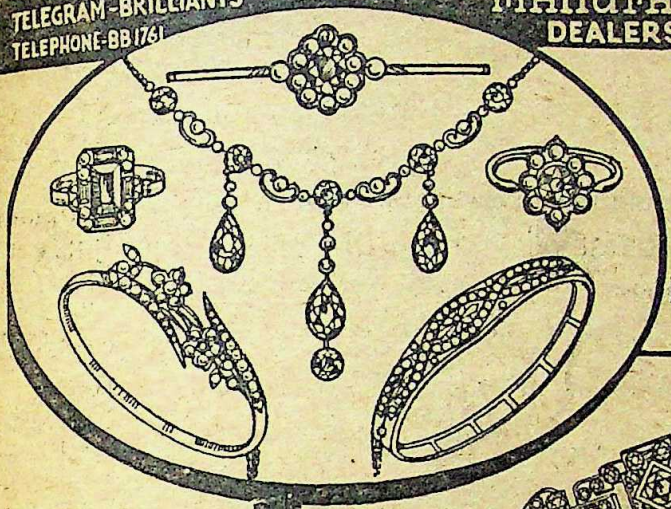

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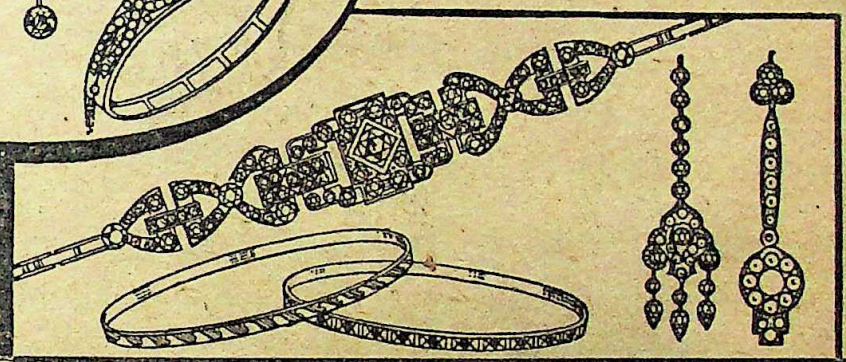

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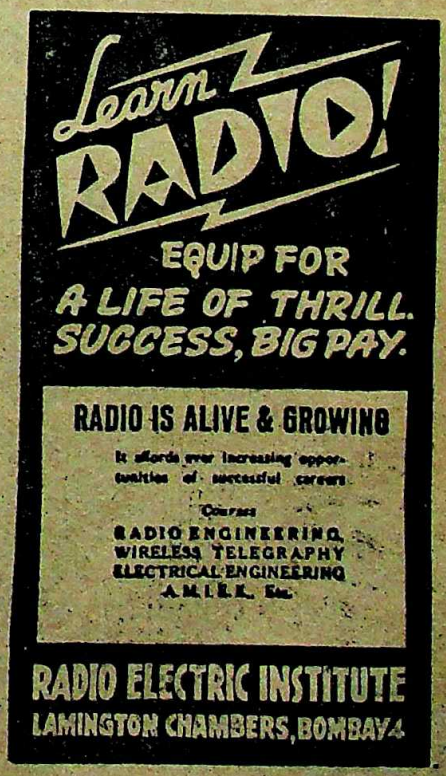

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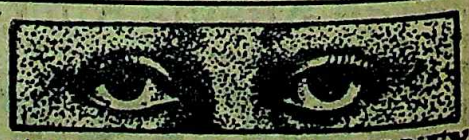

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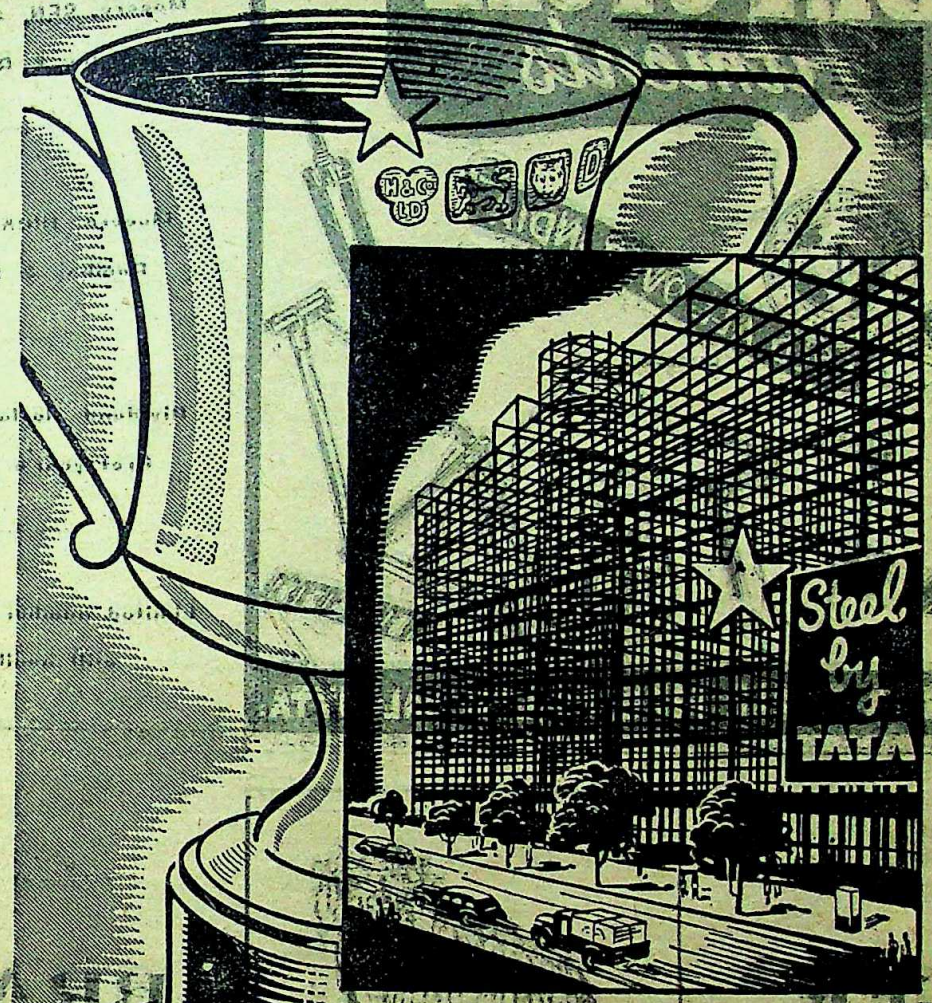

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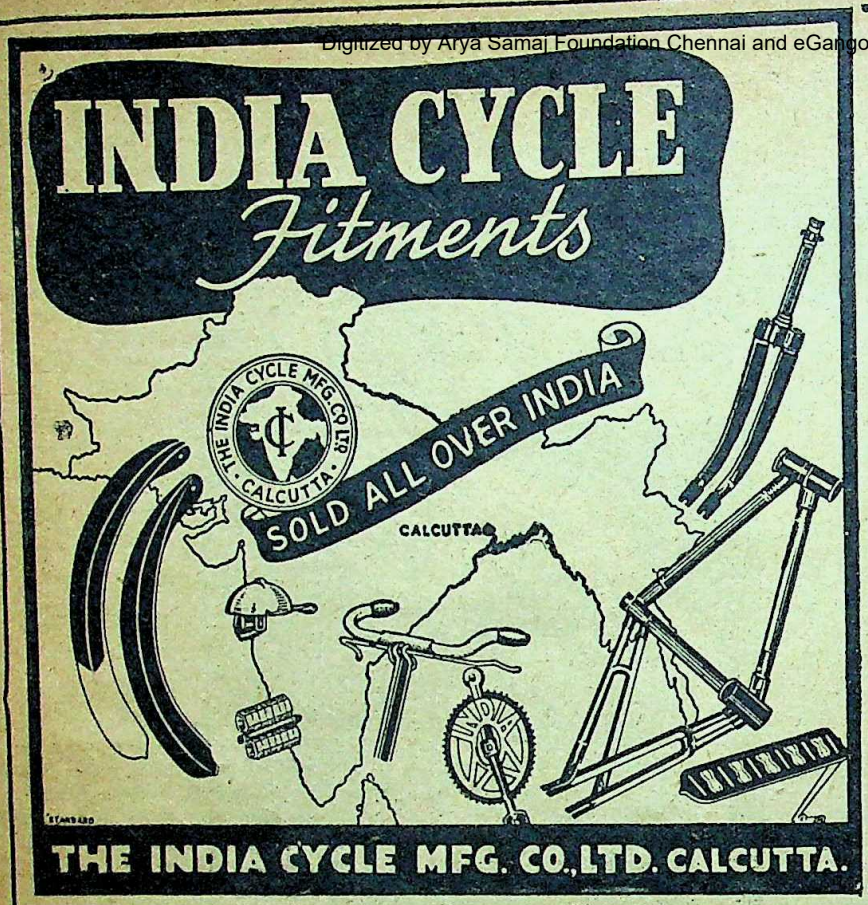

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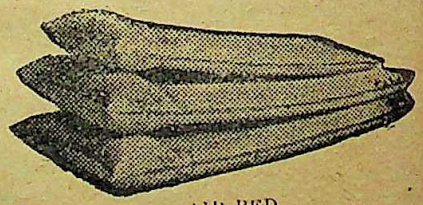

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DEVOTEE
By D. P. Roy Chaudhuri

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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THE GREAT SYMPHONY

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

How little I know of this mighty world.
Myriad deeds of men, cities, countries,
rivers, mountains, seas and desert wastes,
so many unknown forms and trees
have remained beyond my range of awareness.
Great is life in this wide Earth
and small the corner where my mind dwells.
Deprived thus, I read of travels;
and, gathering glimpses from words and pictures,
fill my empty realms of experience
with wealth gleaned in unquenchable eagerness.

A poet of the world am I,
its varied voices and tunes
find response in my flute.
Wherever the call had come but failed,
that void I have tried to fulfil with my dreams and imagining
as I listened to the great harmony
of the immense world
surging through the silent hours
into the recesses of my heart.

Inaccessible snow ranges
which stand at the fringe of the blue horizon
have called to me again and again
with their music unheard.

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The unknown star on the south pole
sailing through the lonely night
has touched my sleepless eyes
with heavenly light.
The mighty waterfall sweeping in the distance
has sent its reverberations to my heart.
As I have listened to that one vast song of Nature
with which poets of all ages and lands
have mingled their rhymes,
I have become one with the great symphony,
sharing the eternal joy of being
and the mead of universal kinship.

Farthest stands Man,
hidden away in the mystery of his being;
time and space cannot encompass him.
Truly to know him is to commune with his heart
and love him.
Not everywhere have I won access,
my ways of life have intervened
and kept me outside.
The tiller at the plough,
the weaver at the loom,
the fisherman plying his net,
these and the rest toil and sustain the world
with their world-wide varied labour.
I have known them from a corner,
banished to a high pedestal of society
reared by renown.

Only the outer fringe have I approached,
not being able to enter
the intimate precincts.
I know that the basket of songs
becomes burdened with trinkets
when link is lacking
between life and life.
And I know I have failed
wherever my song has been left incomplete,
wherever having traversed diverse ways
it has yet missed reaching the all.

So here I am waiting for the message
from the Poet of the earth,
of the peasant, the comrade
whose words and deeds have achieved true concurrence.
May his word reveal kinship,
may he conceal not, nor hoodwink,

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nor his verse tempt the eye alone.
May he give what I lack.
May he save himself from luxury
of mimic sympathy for the labouring people,
which professes what is not its own,
trying to thieve that
whose price is dearly paid.

Come, Poet of the unknown multitudes,
sing the songs of the obscure man,
reveal to light his unspoken soul.
Soothe his humiliated heart,
restore life and joy and song
to this dry and desolate land,
bereft of music.
Resusciate the dormant springs
where they lie hidden
deep in the heart of our humanity.
May your voice reflect the joys and sorrows
of those that stand with bowed heads
unable to look the world in the face.
Let the meanest minstrel with his one-stringed lyre
add his tune
to the resounding anthem
at the great court of the Muse.
Come, Poet,
lead me close to their hearts
who are so far away in their nearness.
May they win renown through your fame
and even remain your kindred.
To you I offer my salutation.

Translated from the original Bengali by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty and Kshitish Roy.

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NOTES

" The Great Symphony "

At eighty the heart of the great knower and lover of the universe and humanity hungers for greater understanding love of the All. So did Newton say that he was gathering pebbles on the shore of the vast ocean of knowledge.

Mr. Amery Earns His Salary

Though the Viceroy and Governor-General of India has to think hard and work hard as a diplomat, it must not be thought for that reason that the post of his official superior, the Secretary of State for India, is a sinecure. He, too, has to earn and does earn his salary.

It would seem that there were arrangements to see that every now and then some newspaper man or some news agency interviewed him and got from him his opinions on Indian questions. Similarly, arrangements would seem to exist to furnish him with *in*appropriate occasions to make pronouncements on Indian problems. Perhaps, too, questions on the Indian situation are asked in the House of Commons according to schedule, in order to give the Secretary of State opportunities to refer again and again to the momentous and epoch-making statements made in August and November last and to tell Indians that the most generous offer made therein still holds the field—that " the door is still open, and that the initiative must now come from India—Britain having done all she should and could do ! "

No utterance of any description relating to India, falling from the lips of Mr. Amery, is perhaps considered by him complete without a reference to India's diversity, with the conclusion that Britain can do nothing for the constitutional progress of India until and unless all parties in India forget their differences and become united.

The vocal efforts which the Secretary of State is thus called upon to make, together with the mental exertion lying at their back, are undoubtedly worth the salary which he draws. And he does some other work also. Whether all this labour is of any use to India from our point of view is immaterial. If British interests are safeguarded thereby, that is all that really matters.

Mr. Amery's Unity of India

In some of Mr. Amery's utterances he has referred in some passages to and dwelt on the unity of India. Those among us who like to discover in the utterances of prominent British politicians a recognition of the fact of India being one indivisible country and of Indians being one people—which is an essential part of the political creed of Indian nationalists, have thought that these passages in Mr. Amery's speeches show that his views on Indian unity are the same as those of Indian nationalists.

If that be so, it may be asked, why does Mr. Amery, why does Lord Linlithgow, refuse to rule out the Pakistan proposal, as the Hindu Mahasabha and other Indian nationalist bodies have urged them to do. It may be surmised, therefore, that what British politicians mean and understand by the word unity as used with reference to India, is different from the sense in which that word is understood by Indian nationalists. It is understood that the different Pakistan proposals elaborated by separatist Muslims have had this common feature that Pakistani and non-Pakistani India are to owe allegiance to the British Government. And it is reported that of the latest Pakistan scheme, too, namely, that formulated by the Muslim League Constitution Sub-Committee, British sovereignty over Pakistani and non-Pakistani India is an essential part.

The Indian National Congress demands complete independence of India. The Hindu Mahasabha is also in favour of the ultimate complete independence of India, though it is prepared to accept Dominion Status as a half-way house. There are some other political bodies who hold similar views. So the British Government and British imperialists can never like the Indian National Congress and the other bodies referred to above.

Under these circumstances, if any Indian political organization formulates a constitutional scheme of which permanent British sovereignty over India is an essential feature, the British Government and British imperialists cannot but hug that organization to their bosoms. The Muslim League appears to be that organization, for, though once upon a time it competitively declared independence to be its political goal in a spirit of rivalry with the Indian National Congress, it has never seriously worked for that goal. So British imperialists cannot displease the Muslim League by ruling out Pakistan.

It may be concluded, then, that the core of the connotation of Indian unity, according to

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the British imperialists' dictionary, is that both Pakistani and non-Pakistani India is to be under British sovereignty and that all Indians, whatever their other differences and whether they live in Pakistan or outside, are to resemble one another in their common subjection to Britain.

"Agreement Among Indians" A "Pre-requisite" to Constitutional Improvement

LONDON, Jan. 30.

"The British Government have clearly set out their policy for constitutional advance in India and that policy still holds the field," declared Mr. Amery in reply to a question by Mr. Cary, who asked, whether in view of the cessation of discussions between the Viceroy and Indian leaders he would state the immediate practical steps which would be taken to improve the political situation in India.

Mr. Amery added : "I do not think that immediate practical steps can be taken as far as His Majesty's Government are concerned to secure basis of agreement among Indians which will enable effect to be given to it."

Mr. Cary : Will you consider the desirability of sending a goodwill mission from this country in the hope of achieving some improvement ?

Mr. Amery replied : I doubt whether any mission could create that goodwill among Indians which is pre-requisite."

Asked by Mr. Sorensen whether he had any further statement to make respecting the political conditions in India, Mr. Amery said that he had nothing to add to the reply given to two similar questions on January 21.—*Reuter.*

Mr. Amery was right in doubting whether any [British] goodwill mission by itself could create goodwill among Indians. If practical steps were taken to prove that Britain sincerely wanted communal and provincial harmony and agreement and was really ready to part with power, then a British goodwill mission could be effective.

It would be interesting to speculate what answers Mr. Amery would have given if he had been asked questions like the following :

"Would he state the immediate practical steps which could be taken to see that the political situation in India further deteriorated ?

"What immediate practical steps can be taken to secure the basis of further disagreement among Indians which would stand in the way of constitutional advance ?"

Or, some one might ask :

"Whether any immediate practical steps can be taken to undermine and remove the bases of disagreement among Indians so far as they are a direct or indirect result of British policy in India ?"

"If the reply be in the affirmative, when will such steps be taken ?"

"Location of Industries in India"

LONDON, Jan. 30.

Sir George Schuster asked Mr. Amery whether in view of the great expansion in the Indian Manufacturing Industry which is likely to take place during the War and the desirability of ensuring a location of industries in India, which will, as far as possible, avoid the creation of unwieldy urban concentrations and permit industrial workers continuing to live in rural areas, he will request the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to give special attention to the location of the new factories in consultation with unofficial Indian representatives. Mr. Amery replied that he would gladly ask the authorities in India to consider this important suggestion.

Sir Stanley Reed asked whether Mr. Amery did not agree that the rapid diffusion of electrical energy in the Madras area and Western India generally offered a magnificent opportunity for the location of these new industrial populations under sub-tropical conditions. Mr. Amery entirely agreed.—*Reuter.*

We confess we are inclined to scent danger when some spokesman or other of British industrialists and capitalists turn philanthropists.

Most of the large-scale modern industries in India are in British hands. They, and some large-scale industrial concerns of Indians too, have created "unwieldy urban concentrations." If such concentrations are undesirable, will the Government be asked to break them up ? We do not think that that is a practicable proposition. What is practicable is the prevention of such concentrations in future. Rules relating to the location of industries can be made of such a character as might achieve that object. But in India, which is ruled in British interests, such rules can be worked in such a differential and discriminatory manner as may facilitate the starting of British-owned and British-managed industries and hamper the growth of concerns owned and managed by Indians. Danger to Indian-managed industries lies that way.

Consultation with "unofficial Indian representatives," to be chosen by the Government, is not necessarily a preventive. Subservient unofficial "representatives" can be found in plenty.

We are as anxious as anybody that our village people should live in rural areas *made far more healthy than they are at present.* But no effective steps are being taken to make them healthier. Hence the condemnation of "unwieldy urban concentrations" without any simultaneous condemnation of the extremely unhealthy conditions of villages and the advocacy of serious efforts to improve them, cannot but rouse suspicion.

What does Sir Stanley Reed's question foreshadow ? Discouragement of the expansion

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of large-scale industries by Indians? Or, the capture of village industries by British capitalists? Or both?

The capture of village industries in India by British or other European capitalists should not be considered unthinkable. The Batas, after capturing the shoe manufacturing industry, have taken to cobbling also, ruining and displacing numerous cobblers.

"A More Positive Policy For India"

LONDON, Feb. 6.

A more positive policy for India was sought by Mr. R. A. Cary in questions to Mr. Amery in the House of Commons. Mr. Cary asked if it was to be accepted as the Government policy that not until Indian leaders had arrived at an agreement among themselves was any forward step to be taken for constitutional reform, further that the form of agreement must have the approval of His Majesty's Government.

Mr. Amery: "I do not feel that I can do more than refer Mr. Cary to the statement of policy made by the Government on August 8 and November 20."

Mr. Cary: "Is India to continue indefinitely in the present political status? Surely India deserves a more positive policy."

Mr. Amery: "No. The policy which I referred to is a very positive policy marking very great advance."

Mr. Sorensen: "I take it that he does not repudiate the principle of at least sympathetic consideration and implementing of majority decision of any democratic elected body?"

Mr. Amery: "That depends on the area over which the election takes place and the amount of consent therein. Naturally, our whole sympathy is for the establishment of Self-Government in India."

Mr. T. E. Harvey: "Is he prepared at all times to use his good offices to promote understanding among the people of India?"

Mr. Amery: "My good offices will always be available."—*Reuter.*

In order to realize what kind of positive policy Mr. Cary wanted, one should understand the meaning of 'positive.' 'Positive' in this context has the following meanings of the word given in Webster's Dictionary:

"Unqualifiedly expressed"; "admitting of no condition, qualification, or discretion"; "independent of changing circumstances or relations."

According to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, etc., the prerequisite to any constitutional reform or improvement in India is agreement and goodwill among Indians, *i.e.*, the absence of any communal, provincial or class differences and conflicts. These British statesmen say to Indians, *if* you can agree among yourselves, then we can do something for you. Mr. Cary does not want any such conditional or qualified promise. He wants Britain to do her duty, to act justly, whatever Indians may or may not do, may or may not be. Moreover, the policy is to be positive in the sense of admitting of no discretion, it is to be independent of changing circumstances. The policy of progressive realization of responsible government step by step, the British Government being the sole judge of the time and extent of each step forward, was laid down more than twenty years ago. A positive policy would mean that the British Government was not to have any such discretion, it was not to have any power to cry halt or to order a backward march. Obviously, no imperialist government can lay down and bind itself to carry out any such positive policy. It cannot but lay down the prerequisite of agreement among Indians. We do not ask the British imperialists to promote goodwill and harmony among ourselves—that is clearly our business. But taking them to be sincere in their declared intention of making India self-governing, may we not expect them to do away with all the conditions making for disagreement which are the result of British policy and to refrain in future from doing anything which may produce further disagreement?

When a bureaucrat wants to avoid giving any useful answer, he generally refers the questioner to some previous statement of his. But the questioners are not fools. Had the previous statements contained the information sought, they would not have wasted their time and energy by putting fresh questions.

It serves no useful purpose for anybody to make the absurd remark that the statement referred to by Mr. Amery indicated a very positive policy marking very great advance. Surely *all* Indians are not such fools that no party among them could discern anything positive in those statements and any advance acceptable to them! British imperialists are such incomprehensible seraphim and cherubim.

It is not clear what body Mr. Sorensen meant and Mr. Amery understood by "any democratic elected body." And the words, "the area over which the election takes place and the amount of consent therein," appear rather cryptic for that reason. We are not inclined to speculate as to what the two gentlemen meant.

The fine words, "**Naturally**, our whole sympathy is for the establishment of self-government in India," will undoubtedly butter all the parsnips in India and give Indians a foretaste of the heaven of Purna Swaraj.

Mr. T. E. Harvey's question might well have been followed by some one else's supplementary question to the following effect:

"Is Mr. Amery prepared at all times to use his good offices to prevent the promotion of mutual misunderstanding among the people of India?"

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India's Share in African Victories

LONDON, Feb. 9.

Reference by Mr. Amery to the remarkable steadiness of Indian troops in the Middle East under modern artillery and air bombardments drew warm applause from a large company of British and Allied Officers on leave at "the India Day" function this (Sunday) evening at the Officer's Sunday Club in London. Indian army officers and high officials were guests of the club as "a special mark of appreciation of and thanks to those sustaining India's honour in the field and factory." The Secretary of State said that the Indian troops taking part in General Wavell's amazing campaign had been given the credit for their part in the lightning attack on Sidi Barrani, for their leading part in the operations in Gallabat ending with the headlong flight of the enemy, for pushing out the Italians from Kassala and for scaling the heights of Agordat. Mr. Amery added that the Middle East army was mainly equipped and supplied by resources from outside Britain, particularly from India, which was now busily engaged in speeding up and enlarging the scope of the munitions supply. The soul and purpose of India as a true partner of the British Nation in the war was now being expressed in the battlefield and factory.

Indian nautch dancers provided a cabaret entertainment.—*Reuter.*

If instead of "warm applause" and "credit" the Indian troops in the field were given equal pay and allowances with the British and other white troops, of whom they were at least equals as fighters, that would be something substantial.

A former Secretary of State for India once upon a time waxed eloquent over India's "Dominion status in action." This was a bit too 'previous.' Similarly our present Secretary of State has acclaimed India as already a "true partner of the British nation." What more is wanted ?

All "the soul and purpose of India" is to be found in the battlefield and factory. All Indians found elsewhere are soulless automata.

As India has already become a true partner of Britain, which was the goal of her ambition, it is no longer necessary to carry on conversation or correspondence with anybody with a view to constitutional advance, for advance beyond the goal is meaningless. Moreover, India's political leaders being soulless, how can conversation or correspondence be carried on with entities without souls ?

"Pledged to Help the Peoples of India to . . ."

LONDON, Feb. 12.

At a luncheon meeting of the Rotarian Club, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, referring to war aims said that he was content at this stage to submit the following: Preservation of the wonderful fabric which the free co-operation of our predecessors have built up and the further development of the path of political and social progress.

"Think of India, alone a continent comparable to Europe not only in its extent and population but the diversity of its elements. We are pledged to help the peoples of India to build upon the foundations of internal peace and political and economic unity which we have laid, the superstructure of a system of free Government which will alike enable the various elements in India to co-operate harmoniously for their own welfare and security enabling India as a whole to fulfil her destiny as an equal partner in the brotherhood of free nations called the British Empire. No nobler mission has ever been set before itself by any nation. It is not a light task. There is no specious formula, no ready-to-measure specious formula, of western solution will solve India's complex problems. They will call for all the statesmanship we and India can bring to bear upon them.—*Reuter.*

There is nothing in the views expressed above upon which we have not commented before repeatedly.

Mr. Amery has not forgotten to harp upon the diversity of India's elements. There is very great racial, linguistic, religious and cultural diversity in Soviet Russia—whether greater than or equal to that of India, we do not want to say offhand. In spite of such diversity Soviet Russia is one independent state.

There is also great racial, linguistic, religious and cultural diversity in the United States of America and Canada. We are too apt to forget the languages, cults and cultures of the autochthonous American 'Indians' who still survive, and the peoples of various European, Asiatic and African extraction who live in U. S. A. and Canada.

A system of *free* government in India *under* British suzerainty cannot be built up. It is a contradiction in terms.

The British *Empire* is not a *brotherhood*, it is not a brotherhood of *free* nations. The British *Commonwealth* of Nations, comprising only Great Britain and the Dominions, is a brotherhood of free nations.

That India's problems are at present complex, is not a little due to British policy. That policy is responsible also for the *growing* complexity of her problems.

It is true no *specious* formula *of Western origin* can solve India's problems. But it is also true, perhaps truer, that British policy stands in the way of any Indian solution of India's problems.

"Panjab Has Self-Government"

LONDON, Feb. 20.

At question time in the House of Commons, Mr. Amery circulated a list of the number of volunteers from each Indian Province up to the end of last September.

Sir Alfred Knox asked: Don't these figures show the outstanding loyalty and patriotism of the inhabitants of the Punjab ?

Mr. Amery said that they do show a remarkable

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willingness of the population of the Punjab to come forward and serve the throne.

Asked if that was not a good reason to give them self-government. Mr. Amery replied : Punjab has self-government.—*Reuter.*

Panjabis should, therefore, cease to agitate for Swaraj.

French Officials Discharged For Refusal To Ally With Free France

CHANDERNAGORE, Feb. 13.

By three orders of His Excellency, M. Louis Bouvin, Governor-in-Council, all dated the 29th January, 1941, three officials in Pondicherry have been relieved of their functions and ordered to proceed to France (*via* Singapore and Indo-China by the next available passage).

The reason for this measure, as given in the Orders-in-Council, is their refusal to ally themselves with the cause of free France. M. Louis Bouvin has been nominated as the Governor of free France in the French establishments in India.—*A. P.*

Free France holds a part of India and several other foreign countries in subjection, as *free* Britain also does. People who value their own freedom, do not value the freedom of others.

Jawaharlal's Imprisonment "A Deep Humiliation," According to A Notable British Weekly

The Inquirer of London, established in 1842, about a century ago, is the "Organ of Unitarian Christianity and Free Religious Fellowship." It is noted for its enlightened opinions on many subjects—particularly those of an ethical and spiritual character. We are glad to read in it the following paragraphs with the sideheading **India**, in its issue of November 16 just to hand :

"The imprisonment of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian leader, must come as a deep humiliation to those who see in the present war a fight for principle as well as one for national survival. Although apparently Mr. Nehru has broken the law in India no one doubts his reason for breaking it. The problem of independence and self-government for India is difficult and complex, certainly not to be decided off-hand by those who are far-away from the scene; but certain facts are quite clear. What is usually undertsood as Imperialism is quite dead in Britain, no one wants to fight for it or shed a single drop of blood for it. Sooner or later India will be governed by Indians; all that remains in doubt is how and when the transference of government shall take place. That transference is not merely a British problem it is an Indian one also, and, like most problems of principle, hedged about with many historic and temperamental difficulties. But even so, it seems that a great deal more could be done by Britain towards the solution of difficulties. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* suggests that a declaration conceding the principle of national government would enable the Viceroy to resume negotiations again with Congress leaders. Sooner or later that declaration will be made. It is to be hoped that it will not be made at a time when all its power to enable India to be a sister nation with our own has gone by.

"The strength of Britain at the moment lies in the principle of freedom. It is not too much to say that there would be no Briton in this struggle without that principle. The true solution of political difficulties at the moment is the extension of liberty. There is danger in going forward; there is greater danger in standing still—or trying to do so."

Motion For Better Treatment of Detenus Ends in Non-official Moral Victory

In the Central Assembly Mr. N. M. Joshi moved a resolution for the appointment of a committee to examine the condition of Indian detenus. The motion could have been carried if the Congress members had taken part in the proceedings and voted upon it. But though it was lost owing to their not taking part in the proceedings, the non-officials scored a moral victory, as of all the elected members who voted only one walked into the Government lobby.

The insolent speech of Sir Reginald Maxwell, the home member, containing false aspersions on the character of the detenus, was extremely offensive.

NEW DELHI, Feb. 13.

The Government of this country hold the German and Italian prisoners in greater regard than Indian detenus (the vast majority of whom are without trial)—this is the amazing substance of a brazenfaced statement made by Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member on the floor of the Central Legislative Assembly yesterday. The provocation of this outrageously frank statement was provided by a motion for the appointment of a Committee to examine the conditions of Indian detenus. The mover Mr. N. M. Joshi, a nominated labour member in the course of a forceful speech advanced the plea that Indian detenus should be treated at least in the same manner as the Italian and German prisoners to which Sir Reginald Maxwell's retort was that if preference were to be given he would accord preferential treatment to Italian and German prisoners, whose only fault was their allegiance to their Governments, as against Indian detenus whom he described as "paid agitators," "treacherous," "worthless," and "men who would turn traitors."

Refuting the detenus' claim for allowances, the Home Member said that "as they are paid agitators let them go to their masters who paid them for their subversive activities." The Home Member's statement caused a storm of protest, Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya calling on Sir Reginald to withdraw. Infuriated and pained, Mr. Joshi hit back at the Home Member with crushing effect. All the speakers on the motion pointed out that these persons had not been convicted of any offence and if as the Government said they were treated well, they asked why did then the Government oppose the motion for the appointment of an Enquiry Committee? The motion being put to division, which is the first division of the session, revealed the Government in a sorry plight as members of both the Muslim League and the Congress Nationalist Party combined forces in support of Mr. Joshi while the only elected Indian member who walked into the Government lobby was Sir A. H. Ghuznavi. Though the motion was lost owing to official majority

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gained through the absence of the Congres Party, the non-officials claim moral victory as practically the entire body of Indian elected members voted for the motion.

Perhaps Sir Reginald does not know or chose to ignore the fact that even the poorest among the detenus are not paid agitators as he is a paid denouncer of them and that some of them or their guardians are rich enough to have employees as highly paid as he, and all gentlemanly, too.

Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee Opens Geographical Exhibition

Interesting maps, charts and pictures, including rare ones, were the features of the Geographical Exhibition which was opened at the Darbhanga Hall, Calcutta University, on the 18th February last. The Exhibition, which was held under the auspices of the Geographical Society, was opened by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, in doing which he laid stress on the importance of the study of geography.

Dr. Mookherjee in opening the exhibition recalled that the study of geography, which was somewhat neglected in this University during the last 30 years, had been recently properly revived. It had not only found a place in the syllabus of the Matriculation examination but emphasis had been given on the study of the subject in the higher examinations including B.A. Recently a proposal had been mooted for its inclusion in the M.A. course also. They had already made elabarate provision for it in the Teachers' Training Department.

Simultaneously with the development of the study of Geography there had grown the Calcutta Geography Society which had attracted workers working in the common field. He was glad to find that after so many years they had at last realised the great progress which had been made in the study of geography in the west. They now realised the importance of the subject not only in its physical aspect, but also with regard to social and economic development.

Dr. Mookherjee hoped that workers working in this field would co-operate with one another. He was glad that the exhibition had got the support of the Geological Survey Department of the Government of India which was being properly represented by the Director-General. He extended his welcome to him.

Although the exhibition is the first of its kind organised in this part of India, the organisers have no stone left unturned in making it a comprehensive one in character, the contributors being the Geological Survey of India, the Imperial Library, the Meteorological Society of India, Consul-General of Belgium, the Geography Department of the University besides other important individuals.

The exhibits are of varied types. There are for instance the fish and the eggs of the duck of the sacred Manosarowar in Tibet on the one hand and the observation balloon which is sent up by the Meteorological Department into the sky to study temperature. on the other. Of the important and interesting exhibits are the photographs and illustrations of the expeditions carried out in the Himalayas and Trans-Himalayas by the Geological Survey.

A two thousand year old tree trunk excavated from the Dhakuria Lakes was also on show. The original plant belonged to the genus *Heritiera* or *Sunderi* from which came the name of *Sunderban*.

Gandhiji's Reply to Critics of Satyagraha

"The Times of India" had recently criticized Gandhiji's Satyagraha movement. The following reply of the Mahatma to its criticism has been published:

Sir,—Your word to me written so earnestly in your issue of February 17 demands a reply.

In spite of your disbelief I must adhere to my faith in the possibility of most debased human nature to respond to non-violence. It is the essence of non-violence that it conquers all opposition. That I may not express myself that measure of non-violence and the rest may express less is highly probable. But, I will not belittle the power of non-violence or distrust the Fuhrer's capacity to respond to true non-violence.

The illustrations you have cited in support of your disbelief are all unhappy because wholly inapplicable. A man is not necessarily non-violent because he lays down arms. The Czechs, the Danes, the Austrians, and the Poles may have all acted most wisely but certainly not non-violently. If they could put up successful armed resistence they would have done so and would have deserved well of their countrymen. Nor is it for me to blame them for submission when resistance became

If Hitler Invades India

It was, however, in order to meet such contingencies and in order to enable even the physically weakest persons not to feel powerless against physically strong persons fully armed with modern weapons of destruction that Satyagraha was discovered and applied in South Africa in 1907. And it has since been successfully applied under varying and even baffling circumstances.

You will please excuse me for refusing to draw a distinction in kind between the forces I have had to cope with hitherto and what I may have to cope with if the Fuhrer attacked India. The prospect of his killing every Satyagrahi causes neither terror nor despair.

If India has to go through such a purgatory and if a fair number of Satyagrahis face the Fuhrer's army and die without malice in their breasts, it would be a new experience for him. Whether he responds or not, I am quite clear that these Satyagrahis facing the army will go down to history as heroes and heroines at least equal to those of whom we learn in fables or old history.

Poona Resolution

You are, however, on less weak ground when you doubt the honesty or non-violence of my companions. You are entitled to throw the Poona resolution in my face. I have already confessed that the Poona resolution would not have been passed but for my momentary weakness. As to the want of honesty or defective non-violence, I can only say that the future alone will show whether Satyagrahis were only so-called or as honest and true as human beings can be. I can only assert every care has been taken in making the section to ensure a fair standard of non-violence. I admit, however, that hypocrites have undoubtedly crept in. But I entertain the belief that the vast majority will be found to be true.

The Congress President has been frank enough to define the limitations of his non-violence. But so far as I know his mind—and nobody does if I do not—his

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non-violence will be proof against any temptation within limits defined by him. I should undertake to engage in non-violent resistance to the Fuhrer if I had companions with the Maulana Saheb's circumscribed belief. Whether such non-violence can stand the test or not, is a moot question. I have achieved success till now with such material.

You are incorrect in attributing to me a demand for unfettered liberty of the press or speech. What I have said is that there should be unfettered liberty provided that it is not inconsistent with non-violence. I am not aware that Congress Ministers' restrictive action went beyond the proviso. If it did, it was certainly against the declared Congress policy and can be no guide or criterion for me.

Unkindest Cut

The unkindest cut is contained in the insinuation that my demand for free speech, subject to the proviso mentioned, was "a device for squeezing political concessions from the British." There would be nothing politically wrong if political concessions were demanded even at the point of civil disobedience.

But it is a matter of public knowledge that the Poona resolution has lapsed. And in so far as I am concerned, it remains lapsed so long as the war lasts. Civil disobedience would certainly be withdrawn if free speech is genuinely recognised and the *status quo* restored.

I have never stated during previous movements that they were likely to be long drawn out. But I have done so this time because I believe that there can be no settlement with the Congress, short of complete independence during the pendency of the war, for the simple reason that the Congress cannot commit itself to active help in war with men and money.

That would mean a reversal of the policy of non-violence which the Congress has pursued for the last twenty years. And independence cannot come through any settlement while the war lasts. Therefore, so far as I know, the Congress will be satisfied with the fullest freedom to grow in non-violence. The Congress demand concerns all persons and parties.

Undying Faith

"You ask me in the face of all these facts whether it is fair or morally right to pursue his (my) present campaign." You have answered the question yourself in the negative. But I may not accept your answer. In the first place, as shown above, I do not subscribe to your facts. Secondly, to accept your answer will be to declare my utter insolvency. I would be untrue to the faith I have unwaveringly held now for nearly half a century in the efficacy of non-violence. I may seemingly fail, but even at the risk of being completely misunderstood I must live and act according to my faith and believe that I am serving India, Britain and humanity.

I do not wish well to India at the expense of Britain as I do not wish well to Britain at the expense of Germany.

Hitlers will come and go. Those who believe that when the Fuhrer dies or is defeated his spirit will die, err grievously. What matters is how we react to such a spirit—violently or non-violently. If we react violently, we feed that evil spirit. If we act non-violently we sterilise it.

You ask me to devote myself to internal unity. Well my passion for it is as old as that for non-violence. Indeed, my first non-violent experiment outside the domestic circle was to promote that unity. And I had considerable success. I ask you, therefore, to believe me that my effort for unity is not suspended but intensified by the present movement. The great beauty of non-violent effort lies in the fact that its failure can only harm those who are in it, while its success is sure to promote all-round good."

M. K. GANDHI,

Sevagram, Wardha, February 10.

The Times of India's rejoinder has been thus summarized by the Associated Press of India :

BOMBAY, Feb. 17.

Replying to Mr. Gandhi's letter of February 15th the *Times of India* says : "A solution such as Mr. Gandhi envisages is another form of suicide. What is the use of Satyagrahis going down in history as heroes if they are all brutally murdered ? Surely we want heroes to live and to do good—to solve humanity's problem by more practical methods than Mr. Gandhi suggests. It is asking too much of the people of India or of any other country to invite them to go through purgatory and die without malice in their breasts."

"Mr. Gandhi himself may have risen to such transcendental heights but mankind in general certainly has not and we must take humanity as we find it—and not as we think it should be."

Cult of Non-violence

Referring to Mahatma Gandhi's contention that non-violence conquers all opposition, the paper asks, "Would Mr. Gandhi have us adopt non-violence towards murderers and other criminals."

The paper asserts that no form of civil disobedience can be regarded as non-violent, as in its opinion non-violent civil disobedience is a form of coercion and no coercion, whatever form it takes, can genuinely be described as non-violent.

The paper continues, Mr. Gandhi unfortunately mixes up pure spirituality and exercises spiritual power with the application of pressure to gain political ends.

Congress and War Efforts

The paper in conclusion calls attention to Mahatma Gandhi's statement that the Poona resolution stands lapsed for the duration of the war and says : "This point should be noted by those who maintain that the Congress would help Britain's war efforts, if its conditions were fulfilled; clearly Mr. Gandhi is determined that it shall do no such thing. We can only reiterate that the independent, non-violent India envisaged by Mr. Gandhi stripped of its power to protect itself by arms against foreign aggression would prove disastrous to the Indian people. It would forge on them fetters of abject slavery from which they could never free themselves.—*A. P.*

As on the Poona resolution Mahatma Gandhi has written what he has done, we do not feel called upon to make any comment on the other parts of his reply to "The Times of India."

The paper calls attention to Mahatma Gandhi's statement that the Poona resolution stands lapsed for the duration of the war and says :

"This point should be noted by those who maintain that the Congress would help Britain's war efforts if its conditions were fulfilled. Clearly Mr. Gandhi is determined that it shall do no such thing."

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It is true that according to the Poona resolution the Congress would have been bound to help and *would have* helped Britain's war efforts if the conditions of the resolution had been fulfilled. But as at that time Government did not fulfill the conditions, the Congress stood and stands absolved from its conditional obligation to help Britain's war efforts. The Congress never said that it would help Britain's war efforts if the Government, after rejecting its terms at the time when the conditional offer of help was made, afterwards at any future time accepted and fulfilled those conditions. That is an interpretation of the Poona resolution by others, not by the Congress. As for Mahatma Gandhi, he was not a party of the Poona resolution.

Men like Mahatma Gandhi have greater faith in the possibilities of human nature than those who consider themselves 'realists.' The latter take their stand on human nature on an average lower level as they find it. But in all ages and all countries human character has, at least in the case of some persons, reached a higher level because of the higher standards placed before men by idealists and the confidence reposed in human nature and the demands made on it by the latter. Such confidence and such demands have never been proved totally unjustifiable.

"The Times of India" bases one of its arguments on the assumed brutal murder of *all* satyagrahis and says: "Surely we want heroes to live and to do good,"..... As on the battlefield, too, many heroes die, one should advise them not to go to fight; for if they died in battle, they could not live to do good! That line of argument and conduct would suit D. L. Roy's imaginary Nanda Lal. But reasonable men are expected to recognize that, just as the examples of heroes who are killed in battle inspire survivors and non-combatants, so may the examples of brutally murdered satyagrahis benefit others not so murdered.

Indian Liberals' Politics

The following telegram, published in the *Bharat Jyoti* of February 9 last, shows that all Indian Liberals do not think that India should not look forward to ultimate independence:

MADRAS, Feb. 7.

"While **I agree that complete independence ought to be our goal,** I want that Dominion Status of the Westminster variety should be accepted as a first step in that direction and every moral influence ought to be brought to bear on Britain and on world opinion to see that Britain concedes Dominion Status and later on independence," observed Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, a former President of the National Liberal Federation, addressing the students of the Madras Christian College at Saidapet under the auspices of the College Union Society.

Mr. Sastri said it was possible to get the demand for Dominion Status conceded if moral pressure were brought to bear on Britain.

The political opinions of Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, the present president of the National Liberal Federation of India, will be found briefly stated in the following paragraphs:—

MADRAS, Feb. 9.

The solution of the Indo-British problem should be a condition precedent to the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, said Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, President of the National Liberal Federation of India, at a public meeting held under the Presidentship of Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at Ranade Hall this evening.

Mr. Chandavarkar said that

the Liberal Party stood for two things, namely, India's continuance of the British connection on terms of equality and the unity of the country. The Liberal Party was of opinion that "separatism" should find no place in the proper functioning of democracy and it would not tolerate "separatism" or communalism in any shape or form. Those who looked forward to and hoped to have either independence or Dominion Status could not establish a proper democratic form of Government with the mental reservation of there being two separate nationalities.

Mr. Chandavarkar added that

the fortunes of India were mixed up with those of Britain, and India would have no future without a British victory. "As far as the war is concerned," said Mr. Chandavarkar, "the attitude of the National Liberal Federation is one of the wholehearted support to the British Government."

Criticising Mr. Amery's recent statements on the subject of India, Mr. Chandavarkar said

he could not say Mr. Amery was dishonest, but he could not criticise those who said that Mr. Amery was not honest. Mr. Chandavarkar repeated his suggestion for the appointment of a British Goodwill Mission to India in an attempt to clear the atmosphere.

In the course of a previous note we have expressed our agreement with Mr. Amery's view that under present circumstances a British goodwill mission will not serve any useful purpose.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri speaking on Dominion Status said that

they ought to take care that the Dominion Status which they asked for was the Dominion Status not necessarily of the 1926 Westminster variety but that future Dominion Status to which all people were looking forward. that future stage of Dominionhood which Canada, South Africa and Eire might evolve.

Mr. Sastri added:

"We ought to express our clear determination that if we find at the end of the war that what is now described as Dominion Status is overstepped and a further stage in evolution is reached, it must be open to us to demand this further stage provided we are persuaded that it is advantageous to us. But some things may be advantageous to some Dominions and to some others

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not. Not everything that is included in the words "Dominion Status" is accepted by all the Dominions. *We must have the privilege of going forward beyond the Dominions.*"

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, while thanking Mr. Chandavarkar for his address, observed that

the ultimate destiny of this country was not to end in Dominion Status; and while independence as the ultimate goal was accepted by every party, they might take the statute conferring Dominion Status and work it.—*A. P.*

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar's Speech at a Reception

MADRAS, Feb. 8.

"We need not be ashamed of our past; and we need not be diffident about our future. I have always said that it does not pay one to be a Liberal now-a-days," observed Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, President, National Liberal Federation, speaking at a reception given in his honour by the members of the Madras branch of the National Liberal party at the Servants of India Society premises this evening.

Mr. Chandavarkar said that

his visit was not to add to the strength of the Liberal party. He felt that those, who had time and energy should keep the gospel of Liberalism alive. To people like him, Liberalism was like religious faith and that was why they were at a discount now. Unfortunately, this was not an age of conviction by faith but an age of pose. People had no patience and they believed more in slogans without understanding the philosophy of various 'isms' and they wanted to swim with the tide. People did not like to be in a minority. The essence of democracy was that people should be prepared to be in the wilderness and to be in a minority. They should not expect quick results but should have the urge in them to keep the flame alive.

Concluding, Mr. Chandavarkar said that

he had not come to Madras on a mission which would mean conversion. He wanted people who were prepared to share responsibilities and misfortunes with people like him. One man with conviction was worth more than a thousand people who paid mere subscriptions. They had no quarrel with any other party. When they criticized the party which had been in power, they did so without any personal malice. *He would rather be ruled by his own people than by those who were not responsible to the people.* The Liberals had a certain impersonal outlook on the political life of the country and they definitely wanted that the country should attain freedom, not only political freedom but also social and economic freedom.—*A. P. I.*

Sj. Sachindraprasad Basu

The sudden and untimely death of Sj. Sachindraprasad Basu is a great loss to the public life of Bengal, including its business activities. He was a worker not only in the political field but in the spheres of progressive and liberal religious and social movements also. He was a student when the great Bengal Anti-Partition agitation began, resulting in the great and constructive Swadeshi movement. He at once came to the fore as a powerful orator and a zealous and indefatigable worker. The notorious Risley and Carlyle circulars of those days, aimed at crippling these movements, greatly interfered with the freedom of action of both teachers and students and took away many of their valued rights as citizens. At once an Anti-circular society sprung to life and young Sachindraprasad became its active secretary. It was greatly instrumental in popularizing the swadeshi *dhutis* and *saris* of the Bombay Presidency. On account of his stirring speeches and ceaseless activities Sachindraprasad became a marked man, and so he was one of the band of patriots deported from Bengal under Regulation III of 1818. The band included worthies like Krishna Kumar Mitra, Aswini Kumar Datta, Satis Chandra Chatterjee, etc. Sachindraprasad was the youngest of them all, and he, the last remaining survivor of the previous generation of stalwarts, is now the last to go to his rest.

During the Anti-partition and Swadeshi agitation he worked with the party led by Surendranath Banerjea. After his release from prison he continued to work with that party. He was for a time assistant secretary to the Indian Association and was a Vice-president of the Indian Journalists' Association. He worked earnestly to make the youth of Bengal business-minded. Many took to trade and industry at his instance. His monthly journal Byabasā-O Bānijya was the organ through the medium of which he worked for the economic advancement of Bengal. He was actively interested in institutions for the welfare of women like Nāri-Rakshā Samiti (Women's Protection League) and Nāri-Kalyān Asram (Women's Welfare Home).

University of Dacca Going Ahead

DACCA, Feb. 20.

The University of Dacca has decided to open three new departments, *viz.*, Statistics, Wireless and Geography.

It was also decided at the meeting of the Executive Council to confer the degree of Doctor of Science on Mr. Durga Prasad Banerjee and Mr. Kali Mohan Chakravarty. The Executive Council also appointed an Advisory Board in Calcutta for helping the graduates of the University in securing services in Mercantile Firms of Calcutta.

It is further understood that the University has approached the Government for starting a Women's Hall under the University in the near future.—*U. P.*

Dacca University Against Spread of Higher Education?

We are pained to read in the papers that the University of Dacca has refused to affiliate

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the Hara-Ganga College at Munshigunj up to the B.A. Examination standard. Last year it appeared in the papers that that college had applied to the Calcutta University for affiliation up to the B.A. Examination standard. The Calcutta University was willing to grant the application, but the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education objected on the ground that the Dacca University had stated that the raising of that college up to the B.A. standard would injure the interests of that university. At about the same time it appeared in the papers that the Dacca University contemplated limiting admissions on account of the increasing number of students. If that was so, what was the harm in allowing at least those students to study in Munshigunj who could not be accommodated in Dacca ?

The college at Munshiganj owes its existence to the endowment made by a gentleman of that small town who is a merchant in Calcutta. It has got its class rooms, hostel, etc., ready. The staff and students are also there. It may be in full working order as soon as affiliation is granted by either of the two universities of Bengal.

As in all probability it will not be able to equal the University at Dacca in the matter of library and laboratory equipments and in the scholarly standing and teaching experience of its staff, those students who can afford to meet expenses at Dacca will be always attracted to that centre of learning and those of more limited means will resort to Munshiganj for education. Munshiganj will not be a rival of Dacca. Therefore, in order that the sons of the poorer Muslim and Hindu residents of the neighbourhood may have the advantage of higher education, affiliation should be granted to the Munshiganj Hara-Ganga College.

Rapid Moslemization of Elementary Education in Bengal

The rapid pace at which the Moslemisation of the elementary education of the Hindu children in Bengal is being effected by the policy of the Premier and Education Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq, was clearly shown in reply to a question recently asked by Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The information elicited by the question and its supplementaries shows that in March, 1940, 74,506 Hindu children were reading in *Maktabs* against 32,149 in 1938. The following comparative figures, given by the Premier, will be found revealing :

Name of Districts		Number of Hindu Pupils in Maktabs	
		1940	1938
24-Perganas	..	2,219	748
Nadia	..	2,312	825
Murshidabad	..	1,486	683
Jessore	..	3,216	731
Khulna	..	829	273
Burdwan	..	2,437	1,658
Birbhum	..	1,177	1,182
Bankura	..	263	172
Hooghly	..	1,561	1,055
Howrah	..	116	262
Midnapore	..	2,190	1,891
Dacca	..	9,576	1,854
Mymensingh	..	3,436	3,849
Faridpur	..	2,536	1,001
Bakarganj	..	5,976	4,391
Chittagong	..	6,561	3,306
Noakhali	..	7,388	2,462
Tipperah	..	Nil	137
Rajshahi	..	1,017	695
Dinajpur	..	1,654	1,487
Rangpur	..	15,690	960
Jalpaiguri	..	252	517
Bogra	..	1,455	757
Pabna	..	612	923
Malda	..	547	330
Total	..	74,506	32,149

The figure for Tipperah drew forth a supplementary question.

Question.—Why no number or figure appears against Tipperah ?

Answer.—Evidently there is none.

The *maktabs* are schools which are meant specially for Mussalman children. The text-books read there are written specially for Mussalman children. There is no doubt that Hindu children are being obliged in increasing numbers to resort to *maktabs* because, not only is there no adequate number of primary schools meant for pupils of all communities, but that their number has been actually decreasing and the number of special Muhammadan schools increasing. The following figures clearly bring out these facts.

Year	Number of Primary Schools	Decrease
1934-35	64,309	....
1935-36	62,150	2,159
1936-37	61,157	1,007
1937-38	60,074	1,083
1938-39	55,452	4,622

Total *decrease* in five years 8,871.

According to the Bengal Education Report of 1937-38, the number of *madrasas* (Muhammadan schools) *increased* that year by 125.

According to the same Report for 1938-39, *madrasas* increased by 410.

So there is a deliberate policy of *decreasing* the number of elementary schools meant for all communities and of increasing that of schools meant for Muslim children. And this policy is pursued by spending money from revenues of the province contributed by all communities, *the largest* proportion of which is contributed by the Hindus ! This is an indirect but effective

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method of proselytization. And it is allowed by the British Government which boasts of its religious neutrality.

The education imparted in the special Muslim schools is bad even for Muslim children, because, instead of filling their minds with accurate and up-to-date knowledge and laying the foundations in their minds of a liberal education fit for the citizens of a modern country, it is calculated to turn them into narrow-minded communal bigots. Moreover, the text-books used in these schools are written in wretched Bengali such as is not used by the best Bengali Muslim authors in their books, speeches and conversation, and of course it is not used by any standard or ordinary Bengali Hindu writer. It is notorious that one of these text-books gives the information that "beef is a delicacy." It may be so for Muslims, but Hindu children ought not to be obliged to read such a book.

It is strange that even in West Bengal, and particularly in a district like Bankura with a very small proportion of Muslims, Hindu children should feel obliged to read in *maktabs* in increasing numbers. The Hindus should everywhere do their utmost to increase the number of ordinary primary schools where children of all communities can receive non-denominational education.

Statues of Famous Poles Removed

LONDON, Feb. 16.

Desperate attempts are being made by the Germans to remove all traces of Polish life in the western part of Poland, says a *Reuter* correspondent. Even memorials and tombstones in cemeteries are being taken away and the cemeteries are being ploughed or turned into public parks. Statues of many famous Poles are being removed by the order of Doctor Franck, the Nazi Governor of Poland. Among them is the statue of Marshal Poniatowski, one of the most famous of Napoleon's Marshals who committed suicide after the battle of Leipzig. His statue stood in Pilsudski Square, the principal open space in Warsaw, where it was set up in 1923 after it had been brought back from Russia. The inauguration ceremony was attended by Marshal Foch, who was then created a Polish Marshal. The whereabouts of the statue are not known. The statue of Copernicus, owing to his world renown, has not been destroyed, but the Polish inscription has been erased and replaced by a German one.—*Reuter.*

Bengali Mussalmans and Calcutta Municipal Bill

It is noteworthy that Bengali Mussalmans, including many of their leaders, have been protesting against and condemning the Calcutta Municipal (second Amendment) Bill. They have come to perceive that the Calcutta Municipal Act which is now in operation and has placed some non-Bengali Mussalmans in positions of influence and power, has been of no use to them, and that the bill which is at present on the legislative anvil will be still more detrimental to their interests as well as to those of other communities.

Nationalist Muslim Leaders on Real Implication of Pakistan

MOMINS, MAJORITY OF MUSLIMS, NOT BOUND BY MUSLIM LEAGUE

NAGPUR, Feb. 15.

Two anti-Pakistan meetings were held at Nagpur last night, one addressed by Maulana Maqbul Huq (a Congressman from the Punjab) under the auspices of the Nagpur Congress Committee, and the other by Maulana Asaf Bihari, General Secretary, All-India Momin Conference, at Mominpura, which is considered a stronghold of the Muslim League.

Maulana Maqbul Huq said that Pakistan supported the policy of "divide and rule" adopted by the Britishers. The Majlis Ahrar, the All-India Shia Conference, the All-India Momin Conference and the Proja Parishad in Bengal and the Congress Muslims opposed that scheme. If Muslims could demand Pakistan, Sikhs might as well demand a Sikhistan, Mahars a Maharistan, Jains a Jainstan and thus the whole of India would be divided into small "stans," which would help to perpetuate the policy of "divide and rule" and India would never become free.

Maulana Asaf Bihari, General Secretary of the All-India Momin Conference, said that Momins in India numbered four crores and a half and were a separate entity from the Muslim League. They would strive to assert their rights in proportion to their population.—*Associated Special Service.*

Muslim League Sub-Committee's Pakistan Scheme

Here is the Muslim League Sub-committee's precious Pakistan scheme :

KARACHI, Feb. 14.

The Constitution Sub-Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League to prepare a scheme for Pakistan has today forwarded its report to the President and members of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

The scheme will again be considered by the Sub-Committee and then placed before the All-India Muslim League for adoption.

The Constitution Sub-Committee held two sessions, one during April and the other during November.

The scheme, it is understood, seeks to provide without transfer of population, separate homelands covering one-third of the total area of India for the entire Muslim community, excepting one and a half crores. This area consists of Sind, the Punjab, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. P., the Tribal areas, Delhi Province, some districts of the United Provinces, Bengal and a few districts from Madras. Each of these areas, it is proposed, should constitute separate units owing allegiance to one common Regional Sovereign State, each regional State being directly responsible to the British Government.—*Associated Special Service.*

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Our Idea of India of the Future

Our idea of India of the Future is that it will include the whole of what is at present known as British India, all the Indian States, all the French and Portuguese possessions, and Independent Nepal. Probably the whole will be a Confederacy. But the exact form it will take cannot be forecasted now.

In their own interests and for their own convenience, Burma and Ceylon may also join this Super-State as partners enjoying equal status.

Tributes to Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhushan

An address was presented to Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhushan, the great Brahmo leader and thinker, on behalf of the Sylhet Union on the occasion of the revered Pandit's completing his 85th year, at Arya Samaj Hall, Calcutta, on the 12th February last. Dr. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan presided.

In his speech Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan said :—

"I think that the writings of Pandit Sitanath Tattabhusan were the instrument of religious education for nearly half a century in this part of the country and elsewhere. I believe with the Pandit that the religion enunciated in the Upanishad does not require any muzzling of the mind or surrender of our judgment. It is native to the nature of man and springs from his experience. I wish to emphasize the rational approach to religion. At the present moment there is a wave of credulity and religious obscurantism which mistakes superstition for truth.

"With the other leaders of Brahmo Samaj, Pandit Sitanath Tattabhusan emphasised the need for reform in our social institution.

"I salute Pandit Sitanath Tattabhusan with love and esteem for his great services to the cause of philosophy and religion in this country and pray that he may have more years of peace and usefulness."

Drainage of Experience from India

To Indian economists and students of economics, as also Indian publicists and readers of newspapers, the theory of the drainage of wealth from India, supported by facts, is familiar. This drainage takes place mainly in two ways. One is that part of the salaries and allowances paid to the British civil and military public servants of India, and at least a part of their savings also, go to Britain; and their pensions also are paid to them from the Indian treasury in Britain and spent and saved by them in Britain. The other and the more considerable part of the wealth drained from India is taken away from India mostly to Britain and partly to other countries through the channels of trade and industries and the transportation work done by the foreign mercantile marine.

There is, however, another kind of drainage which, though not entirely unnoticed, has not received as much attention as it ought to have done. All British officials and officers who serve in the various civil and military departments of India acquire much valuable experience in the course of their service. When they retire from service, almost all of them go away from India, carrying their experience with them. This experience becomes a valuable asset to their native land but is lost to India at whose cost it was acquired.

Similarly, all the British and other foreign men who do commercial and industrial work and carry on banking and insurance business in India, sometimes as employees of Indian concerns, too, carry away all their experience to their native lands. This also means considerable loss to India.

These losses are due to India's political and economic subjection and can be put an end to only by her achieving substantial political independence.

League of Nations As Centre of World Experience

That the main declared political object of the League of Nations, namely, the settlement of disputes and differences between nations by arbitration and other peaceful means, was not gained by it to any appreciable extent, is an admitted fact. But the other services rendered by it—particularly through its International Labour Organization, have been by no means negligible. They have been important, in fact. Great attention has been paid by it to problems of Labour in all its various forms, to problems of Health and Sanitation, to problems of Agriculture and other Industries, to problems of Migration, and the like. During the period of its active existence, Geneva was the hub of the universe as regards many international affairs and the clearing-house, as it were, of knowledge and experience gained in and gleaned from all lands, relating to the problems mentioned above.

India has all along contributed her share to the expenses of the League of Nations. But the personnel of the League proper and the International Labour Organization have not been drawn from India to an adequate extent, and India's Delegations to the League Assembly have never been elected by the representatives of her people. Hence Indians in sufficient numbers have not had opportunities to acquire the various kinds of experience available at Geneva through the League.

Now that the League, with its International

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Labour Organization, is practically broken up, all those officially connected with it have departed to their countries as far as practicable, carrying their knowledge and experience with them. India has not had many such persons to boast of.

Happily we have now in our midst Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, lately of the International Labour Office, Geneva, who since his return to India has been sharing with his countrymen a little of his abundant store of specialized knowledge and experience through the medium of lectures and contributions to periodicals. But to have the full advantage of his knowledge and experience, India (either British India or some important Indian State) should be made his sphere of work for the remaining period of his active life. This can be done if he be entrusted with work relating to the basic problems of Agriculture, or of Labour, in India, in which he is a recognized specialist.

A Christian View of "Hindu Mahasabha Nationalism"

The Guardian, of Madras, "a Christian Weekly Journal of Public Affairs," takes the following view of what it styles "Hindu Mahasabha Nationalism."

By one of the rapid turns in Indian politics, the Hindu Mahasabha now stands as the most ardent nationalist body and appeals as such to the country. It demands all that the Congress demands from the British Government. It would accept and work any intermediate scheme of Central Government, unlike the Congress and the Muslim League, who have favoured a constitutional strike. The Mahasabha is out to fight partition schemes to the bitter end and that is what every nationalist cries out on platforms, must be done. It is all for enthusiastic recruitment to the army and participation in the war, so that the country, and Hindus in particular, might be made martially fitter. It is eager about capitalising present opportunities in favour of Indian economic interests. When all these tasks came upon the country in vast flood tides, the Congress first walked out of the Legislatures and then walked into the jail. Their seats are vacant, and the Hindu Mahasabha is determined to capture every one of them, wherever the grace of Government allows an election. It can make a strong appeal and even critics of its communal creed will find it hard to deny the record of its nationalist service at a critical juncture. The Sabhaites demanded that the Congress should withdraw from the field and leave the Muslim League and the Mahasabha to face each other. The Congress has been obliging.

Chinese Minister's Gift to Visva-bharati

His Excellency Tai Chi-tao, President of the Examination Yuan and Member of the State Council of the National Government of China, who headed the Chinese Goodwill Mission to India last year, has, it is learnt here, donated a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Visva-bharati, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Institution.

The donation is to be utilised for rural uplift work organised by the Visva-bharati and building dormitories as well as for the improvement of the 'Cheena Bhawan.'

It is not the amount of the donation, which is not negligible, but the fraternal spirit behind it that matters most.

Ban on Begging In Trains

By an amendment to the Rules under the Indian Railways Act, it is announced that "except under and in conformity with, the terms and provisions of a licence granted by the Railway Administration in this behalf, no person shall hawk or expose for sale on any article whatever, or tour for transport or solicit fares for any vehicle. No person, whetner in possession of a ticket or not, shall beg or solicit aims, subscriptions or charities in any part of railway premises or in trains."

Anti-Illiteracy Drive in U. P.

Five and a half lakhs of villagers, including 6,000 women, have been made literate in the U. P., during the two years of the Government's anti-illiteracy drive, states Mr. S. N. Chaturvedi, Education Expansion Officer to the U. P. Government, in his second annual report. The total number of people made literate during 1940 was 263,187.

The Congress Government of Bihar made strenuous efforts to liquidate illiteracy in that province. Its present government has continued those efforts. The Assam Government has also set on foot a movement for the removal of illiteracy and has started for the purpose a fortnightly named *Janasikshā* in Bengali and Assamese. The Bengal Government has made no such endeavour, *except in a few jails*.

It may be that the Bengal Ministry think that literacy is not so necessary for the law-abiding population as for law-breakers.

Mr. Amery In His Familiar Role

Mr. Amery, the present Secretary of State for India, is never tired of repeating himself. So, in the course of a broadcast talk on the 23rd February last in London in the B. B. C. series of "Matters of Moment," after referring to the great struggle in which Britain is now engaged and to what is being done in India in connection therewith, he said :—

We are fighting today for justice of individual freedom and of self-government which are the living principles of the great development in the British Empire. The declaration of our policy for India is the same freedom as that which is enjoyed by the Dominions or by ourselves for that matter as equal partners in the British Commonwealth family of nations. There is no greater freedom, no higher status in the world. A far-reaching advance towards that goal was made in the Act of 1935.

This "declaration of our policy for India" sounds very grand but is made valueless by the condition attached to it, which is mentioned in a later passage of the speech.

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If "there is no higher status in the world" than to be a Dominion in the British Empire, why is Eire trying her best to go beyond it, why is the Boer party in South Africa endeavouring to have a different political status, and why is not the United States of America, for all its friendliness to Britain, earnestly seeking to be included in the British Empire as one of its Dominions?

Continuing Mr. Amery said that this form of Government had broken down in other provinces mainly because of the pretensions of the Congress Party, the largest and best organised party in India, not only to immediate and unconditional independence but in the name of democracy to override the claim of other important elements in India's complex national life.

Mr. Amery referred to the great Mohammedan community of 90 millions in India and to the Indian States with their long and different history. It was to meet that situation that His Majesty's Government had recently made it clear that they are prepared to give effect at the earliest possible moment after the war to a new constitution in consonance with Indian conceptions but it must be a constitution based, as all Federal Constitutions have been based, on agreement between the main elements in India's national life. At this moment the Congress Party was carrying on a campaign of protest calculated to interfere with India's war effort. "This campaign does not affect the universal detestation in which all shades of Indian opinion including even Congress hold Nazi and Fascist dictatorship. The general desire of all India is to see the victory for our cause. It does not even affect the eagerness to come forward to serve in that cause. It does not affect the generous enthusiasm with which all classes of Indian society have contributed for every fund collected for the war."—*Reuter.*

It is false to say that the Congress seeks to "override the claim of other important elements in India's complex national life." It is for a constitution to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which the representatives of different elements in the national life of India are to be elected by those elements themselves; and the views of these representives are to be fully considered and given due weight to. The only "important element in India's national life," of which only a section, *viz.*, the Muslim League, has set up a separatist claim, is the Muslim community. The Congress has been all along so conciliatory in its attitude towards the Muslim League to the neglect of Hindu interests, that that has been one of the reasons why the Hindu Mahasabha has been obliged to do everything in its power to safeguard the political interests of the Hindu community. And in the Muslim community itself the Momins, who form the majority of that community, repudiate the claim of the Muslim League to represent it. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Arhars, and the Shias also deny the sole representative pretensions of the Muslim League. In spite of all these repudiations, the British Government continue to behave as if the Muslim League represented the whole or the majority of the Muslim community, because the League has given the Government a convenient excuse for refusing to accept the Indian Nationalists' demands.

This is not the first time that Mr. Amery has said that the Muslims in India are ninety millions strong. Their actual number according to the census of 1931 is 77,677,545, and the number according to the current year's census is as yet unknown. What is the reason then for these repeated exaggerations, calculated to encourage inflation of Muslim figures in the census? It is remarkable that in the same speech from which we have quoted Mr. Amery gives the total population of Bengal, the Panjab, Assam and Sind as "88 (eighty-eight) millions," *which is somewhat less than the actual figure according to the census of 1931.* **So, here is a Secretary of State for India who inflates a number in one case and slightly understates in another! What is the reason?**

There will not be men wanting to take Mr. Amery's over-statements as a hint that in this year's census the Muslim population *must* be shown as having increased by *at least* 16 per cent.

We have repeatedly observed that Indian Nationalists can try, with some hope of success, to bring about "an agreement between the main elements in India's national life," on which, according to Mr. Amery, a federal constitution will have to be based, if the British Government removes those obstacles to such an agreement for which it is itself responsible. But it has not done, nor is it likely to do any such thing. Nor does it name *definitely* the main elements in India's national life between which agreement is to be arrived at. Such a definite and exhaustive mention of these elements is necessary. For, otherwise, supposing an agreement is arrived at between what Indian leaders of all political parties and communities may consider the main elements, it will be open to the British Government to trot out some section of the people, whom it has induced to disagree, and say, "*Here is a main element in the national life of India with which no agreement has been arrived at.*"

Mr. Amery says that the Congress party is "carrying on a campaign of protest calculated to interfere with India's war effort." But in reality the campaign is meant to secure freedom of speech. Mahatma Gandhi has been trying to avoid even the appearance of seeking to interfere with the war effort, by refusing to convert the campaign into a mass movement of civil dis-

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obedience, by prohibiting satyagraha in cantonment areas and in other ways. And curiously enough, Mr. Amery practically contradicts himself by observing that the campaign has not affected the "universal detestation" for the Nazis and Fascists in India, has not affected the eagerness of volunteers to come forward to serve in the cause of Britain and has not affected the flow of contributions to the war funds!

Lack of Suitable Candidates for Military Officership

The Leader wrote on the 23rd February last:

Mr. Ogilvie, the indefatigable Defence Secretary, seems to be satisfied with the steps taken to accelerate the pace of Indianization. Replying in the Central Assembly to Mr. Lalchand Navalrai who asked to what extent the number of Indian officers had been increased in the army, he said that no Indian candidate who was considered likely to make a good officer, had been refused. The suggestion was that if a larger number of Indians had not been granted commissions the reason was that suitable candidates were not forthcoming. If a visitor from another planet were to hear this statement he would not know that one of the fiercest wars known in history was being fought and that India was one of the belligerents. Four years ago, there was a shortage of recruits in the British army. There was no war at the time. But the Government was alarmed and the War Office made strenuous efforts to raise the recruits required. If the War Minister had been content with merely informing the House of Commons that no recruit who was considered likely to make a good soldier had been refused, where would have the strong army which England possesses today come from? In our own country we have seen what efforts have been made by the Government to obtain British officers for the army. Up to October 1, 1940, the Government had granted commissions to 1,041 Europeans in India. If the Government had taken the same amount of interest in the recruitment of Indian officers, there would have been no need for recruiting Europeans.

It would be interesting to know how Mr. Ogilvie would square the suggestion underlying his reply with the reference in Mr. Amery's broadcast talk "to India's *vast resources in manpower*" and with the sentence in that speech in which the Secretary of State says that the Congress campaign does not affect *the eagerness to come forward to serve in the cause of the war.*

"Martial" and "Non-martial"

Answering a question by Mr. Lalchand Navalrai in the Central Assembly as to whether the Government had abandoned their policy of recognizing martial and non-martial classes, Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie, the Defence Secretary, stated that the Government had never had such a policy. To a supplementary question, Mr. Ogilvie replied that the Government had never admitted the distinction. He further added that the terms martial and non-martial had been coined entirely by politicians.

Although these questions and answers are not taken from the verbatim official report, we must presume that the version of them quoted above as given by the Associated Press of India is correct both in form and substance. Our astonishment at what Mr. Ogilvie said is all the greater. Mr. Ogilvie must be very ignorant or very disingenuous. If there is anything quite certain about this matter, it is this that in their recruitment policy the Government of India (or rather their military advisers) have for the last sixty years or so, consciously and deliberately observed the distinction, with two exceptions, and that the insistence on this distinction came not from politicians, but from soldiers.

Historically speaking, the responsibility for systematizing the distinction and adopting it as a basis of the recruitment policy of the Indian Army belongs to Lord Roberts, who, even Mr. Ogilvie would perhaps admit, *was* a soldier. This is what Lord Roberts wrote on the question:

"From the time I became Commander-in-Chief in Madras until I left India the question of how to render the army in that country as perfect a fighting machine as it was possible to make it, was the one which caused me the most anxious thought, and to its solution my most earnest efforts had been at all times directed.

"The first step to be taken towards this end was, it seemed to me, to substitute men of the more warlike and hardy races for the Hindustani sepoys of Bengal, the Tamils and Telagus of Madras and the so-called Mahrattas of Bombay; but I found it difficult to get my views accepted, because of the theory which prevailed that it was necessary to maintain an equilibrium between the armies of the three Presidencies, and because of the ignorance that was only too universal with respect to the characteristics of the different races, which encouraged the erroneous belief that one Native was as good as another for purposes of war."

* * *

"In the British Army the superiority of one regiment over another is mainly a matter of training; the same courage and military instinct are inherent in English, Scotch and Irish alike, but no comparison can be made between the martial value of a regiment recruited amongst the Gurkhas of Nepal or the warlike races of northern India, and of one recruited from the effeminate peoples of the south.

"How little this was understood, even by those who had spent a great part of their service in India, was a marvel to me; but, then, I had had peculiar opportunities of judging of the relative fighting qualities of Natives and I was in despair at not being able to get people to see the matter with my eyes, for I knew that nothing was more sure to lead to disaster than to imagine that the whole Indian Army, as it was then constituted, could be relied on in time of war."*

The practical outcome of these views of Lord Roberts was the elimination of certain classes

* Field-Marshal Lord Roberts: *Forty-one Years in India,* Vol. II, pp. 441-42.

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disparagingly thought of by him and their substitution by what he described as "the men of well-known fighting castes."

The length to which the successors and followers of Lord Roberts were prepared to go in their adherence to the theory of the martial and non-martial classes will be vividly illustrated by the following quotation from the writings of Sir George MacMunn, that voluminous writer and one-time Quartermaster-General in India. At the beginning of Chapter V, entitled "The Military Races of India" (it should be recalled here that Sir George has written a complete book with the title *The Martial Races of India*) of his book, *The Armies of India* (published in 1911 with a foreword from Lord Roberts), there occurs the following passage :—

"It is one of the essential differences between the East and the West, that in the East, with certain exceptions, only certain clans and classes can bear arms; the others have not the physical courage necessary for the warrior. In Europe, as we know, every able-bodied man, given food and arms, is a fighting man of some sort, some better, some worse, but still as capable of bearing arms as any other of his nationality. In the East, or certainly in India, this is not so. The people of Bengal, even those with the most-cultivated brain, the trading classes, the artisan classes, and the outcaste tribes, are men to whom the threat of violence is the last word. At the bottom of all power and law, disguise it never so carefully, lies the will of the hand to keep the head. Presumably the great conquest of India away back in the mists of time, by the Aryan race, and the subjection of the original inhabitants, is at the bottom of this. Only certain races were permitted to bear arms, and in course of time only certain races remained fit to bear arms. Conquest, pure and simple, with cruel repression, is responsible for it in some places, such as in Bengal and Kashmir. It is extraordinary that the well-born race of the upper classes in Bengal should be hopeless poltroons, while it is absurd that the great, merry, powerful Kashmiri should have not an ounce of physical courage in his constitution, but it is so. Nor are appearances of any use as a criterion. Some of the most manly-looking people in India are in this respect the most despicable.

"The existence of this condition, therefore, much complicates the whole question of enlistment in India. It renders any form of levy *en masse* impossible, or any form of Militia service."†

If this is the state of opinion, practice, too, has not been any the less rigid. There have always been specific orders and instructions as to the class composition of each and every Indian regiment, and down to the outbreak of the present war, the Indian Army List always gave the authorized composition of the regiments. In these instructions and orders, the names of only the so-called martial classes appear, and the Government have always maintained that recruitment had to be confined to these classes because they were the only martial people in India. In fact, if the Government had not clung to their theory of an inherent distinction between the "martial" and "non-martial" classes in India, they would have been driven to admit political discrimination in explanation of their recruitment policy.

The two exceptions referred to above occurred during the later stages of the last war and during the present war. Under the stress of circumstances, then and now, enlistment was and has been made a little more elastic. But as soon as the war of 1914-18 was over, there was a reversion to the old policy. In the present war the recruitment of classes not considered martial is for the moment confined almost exclusively to the Territorial forces, and it is not known what will happen after the war. In every way then, these are exceptions which prove the rule.

N. C. C.

† *Op Cit.*, pp. 129-30.

The Question of Unitary or Federal Government

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, a former member of the Bombay Executive Council and an ex-president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, has published a pamphlet in which he has given his ideas of what the future constitution of India should be in the light of the experience gained by the working of provincial autonomy since the date when the provincial part of the Government of India Act of 1935 was brought into action. Says he :

"It is difficult to conceive how a united India can work smoothly and in the best interests of the country as a whole when divergent interests, both communal and territorial, are insistent in regard to their special interests. It appears to me that the only basis for a united India is to proceed to frame a constitution for India as one country. If this is connected, then there should be only one Legislature and uniform laws for the whole country."

Continuing, Sir Ibrahim writes :

"This would perhaps seem a novel suggestion, having regard to the size of the country and the different classes and communities forming the Indian population, but it is my firm conviction that these territorial and communal differences will never disappear and a real national spirit will never arise unless the country is administered by one Indian Government with uniform laws for the whole country. A real national spirit will develop by the adoption of a constitution on some such lines as these. In considering this suggestion attention may be drawn to the British Constitution. Great Britain till recently consisted of four different countries—England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. In spite of this fact and in spite of the inhabitants of each country claiming to be Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen and Welshmen, there is one Parliament for all four countries and uniform laws enacted and applied by one Parliament. If it is possible for four countries to unite and have one Parliament and uniform laws, there does not seem to me to be any reason why India, which is admitted to be one country, should not have one Parliament and uniform laws."

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Proceeding, he observes :

"The administration of British India should be carried on by a set of officials appointed by and responsible to the Indian Government. The administration of Indian India should be left to the Indian Princes, who will carry it on by means of officials appointed by and responsible to them. Once the idea is accepted and effect given to it, the whole thing will work automatically, and India will establish a record of a vast country with a huge population being so united as to have one Government with a united, happy and prosperous population vaying with one another for the progress of their motherland. It will have the further advantage of eliminating separatist tendencies and conducing to the growth of the feeling that we are all Indians proud of our Motherland."

There is much to be said in favour of the view that the government of India should be a unitary government.

At present the oldest living ex-president of the Indian National Congress is Sjt. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem. He strongly advocated a system of unitary government for India. But his was practically a cry in the wilderness. The other leaders of the pre-Gandhi Congress and all the leaders of the Gandhite Congress party were enamoured of provincial autonomy.

Had the present Government of India Act given the country real provincial autonomy, its advocates could have said something to justify this attitude. But it has done nothing of the kind, as Congress minister after Congress minister have admitted.

Why British Imperialists Have Favoured "Provincial Autonomy"

It is perhaps for the Nth time that *The Modern Review* publishes what follows, in spite of not succeeding previously in drawing the attention of the big guns of the press and the platform in India to it.

Major B. D. Basu's *Consolidation of the British Power in India,* published in 1927, a collection of articles by him which originally appeared in *The Modern Review,* contains the following on pages 76-77.

One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian Power in India, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was what was euphemistically called "Provincial Autonomy," but which was really the policy of "Divide and Rule." Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major G. Wingate, who appeared before it as a witness on 13th July, 1858, on being asked :

"7771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a Central Government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous ?"

Answered :

"Yes, I think that if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."

"7772. *Mr. Dauby Seymour.*

"Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing at the same time ?"

"Yes."

Major G. Wingate gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time, not to do anything which might 'amalgamate' the different creeds and castes of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India which would make the people of India politically a nation. Of course, they have been a nation in a different sense since antiquity.

It may be argued that what appears above relates to what British imperialists felt and said after the Sepoy Mutiny and that there is no proof that they have continued to think in the same way in recent years. In order to show that there has been continuity of British feeling and thought and of policy, we have repeatedly quoted passages from the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Volume I, Part I. We quote only one passage again, from paragraph 26 :

"If the establishment of Provincial Autonomy marks, not so much a new departure, as the next stage in a path which India had long been treading, it is the more necessary that, on entering this stage, we should pause to take stock of the direction in which we have been moving. We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but, in transferring so many of the powers of Government to the Provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity."

And the process of destruction of the political unity of India has been going on according to schedule.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's Unitary Legislature

To implement Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's suggested scheme of unitary government for India he proposes that there should be an Indian Legislature with 1000 elected members. Considering the population of India this number is not too large.

He proposes that out of these members 25 per cent. should be elected or nominated by the Indian Princes, they themselves determining among themselves whether their representatives are to be all elected or nominated or partly so and by whom and how. This complete ignoring of the people of the Indian States is objectionable.

25 per cent. of the members are to be elected

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by the caste Hindus, 25 by the Muslims and 25 by the Scheduled caste Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Aborigenes, etc.

The division of Hindus into two groups is highly objectionable. It has been shown repeatedly that there are many 'depressed' and practically 'untouchable' Mussalmans in the Muslim community. If, as is quite proper, there should not be any division of the Muslim community on that ground, it is only proper and right that the Hindus also should be treated as *one* body. Moreover, the criteria, if any, according to which castes have been 'scheduled', differ from province to province, the division being quite arbitrary in some cases, the castes cut off from the main Hindu body themselves protesting against their separation. Further, no principle is perceptible according to which scheduled castes, Christians, Aborigenes, Sikhs, &c., can be grouped together as one constituency.

Considering their numbers only, the caste Hindus would be entitled to more than 25 per cent. of the seats.

A great and fundamental defect of Sir Ibrahim's proposed scheme of the legislature is that there is no provision in it for joint elections at some future stage after a number of years. He wants a United Nation. National unification would be out of the question if the different sections composing it were for ever to form separate constituencies.

One Advantage of A Unitary Government

One advantage likely to accrue from a unitary or centralized government for India was incidentally pointed out by *The Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of the 28th December, 1940. It wrote :

> The three Presidencies which have come longest and most under British influences have absorbed different features of that influence in varying degrees. Bengal, as Professor Batuknath Bhattacharya shows, most readily imbibed the love of freedom in religion and art as well as in social life and politics. She led the way for the rest of India in these directions. Bombay felt most attracted to the industrial and political side of English civilisation and with it she got a strong bias in favour of moderation and compromise which has been the distinguished mark of Bombay public life. Madras, from her special circumstances, felt drawn to the administrative achievements of Britain and many of the greatest administrators among Indians have been South Indians. *This difference in response to the call of Western civilisation in different parts of the country, is the most urgent reason for a Centralised Government which can blend them all in a single whole for the benefit of the Indian people.* Professor Bhattacharya observes that the questioning and protestant tendency of English culture has nowhere been more assimilated than in Bengal. Raja Rammohun Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Surendranath Banerjee, Swami Vivekananda, C. R. Das, and Subash Chandra Bose are all typical of the free and independent spirit of Bengal which refuses to bend its knee to any individual or cult. An even more impressive example is Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who, as his lectures recently in Bombay showed, challenges practically every school of thought which holds the field in India today. Along with this spirit of challenge is combined rather strangely an ardour to link the genius of Bengal with other great world cultures, exemplified by Rabindranath Tagore and Santiniketan. That is to say, while Bengal seeks to broaden the basis of Indian nationalism, her object in so doing is pre-eminently to fit India into the world picture out of which her particularisms and isolation have so long kept her. (Italics ours.—EDITOR, *M. R.*).

"Some Problems of Secondary Education" in Bihar

This is the name given to the presidential address of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-chancellor, Patna University, at the eleventh session of the Conference of the Secondary School Teachers' Association, Bihar, held at Jharia on the 23rd February last.

Dr. Sinha is himself an old stager and knows the requirements of the knights of scissors and paste. So he has consulted their convenience and thereby earned their thanks by getting his address printed on one side of the leaves only, leaving the other side blank and making it easy to take clippings.

He offers a humorous justification for the election of himself, a man who has had nothing to do with secondary education except as a quondam school boy, as president of a secondary school teachers' conference, in the following words :

> And in a land where members of the Indian Civil Service had been appointed Directors of Public Instruction, Inspectors-General of Police, Directors-General of Posts and Telegraphs, and also heads of many such other departments, also where one who had scarcely ever handled a tennis racket was the President of the All-India Tennis Association, and where several successful old lawyers, who had nothing to do with any business other than their own, found themselves installed as Directors, or Managing Directors, of industrial and other business concerns, it would be too much to expect that a lawyer-Vice-Chancellor—be he ever so old or decrepit—should not be held eligible for the Presidential Chair of a Conference like yours. That being so, I thankfully accept the honour, and desire to acknowledge my grateful appreciation of your kindness. I shall try my best to give expression to such of your grievances as seem to me to be reasonable and well-founded, and to suggest their redress; and *I venture to hope that, as your advocate, I may not prove to be unworthy of your cause.*

Dr. Sinha need not have spoken in an apologetic vein, as our perusal of his address from the first sentence to the last has brought home to us his thorough grasp of the problems of

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secondary education in Bihar. The grievances of the teachers mentioned by him are reasonable and the remedies suggested by him, if adopted, have every chance of being effective. He points out the shortcomings of Government and of the managers of the non-Government Schools, as well as of the Text-book Committee, in language whose meaning cannot be mistaken; but at the same time he has done his best to avoid giving offence : *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*

He has given the history and enumerated the objects of the Secondary School Teachers' Association in Bihar, and briefly described those resolutions and activities of the body which have already met with success. He has also summarized what it now desires, and given his support where support is due.

From Dr. Sinha's examination of the work and position of Government and non-Government schools we pick out only two sentences at random :

"On each Zila school, I think, as much money is spent as would maintain at least three ordinary schools of the same size, maintaining the same standard of efficiency."

"The result is that the class of people, who in advanced countries would place their children in the public schools, and pay the whole cost of their education, get their children educated at the cost of the State, in our country, while those who should have free education for their children have to put up their own schools."

Regarding school text-books he says :

"Our school text-books retain things long since discarded in the progressive countries. The courses prescribed are unbalanced, and the result is that the children are forced to a great deal of unproductive labour. At the present moment the whole affair of text-books has degenerated into a low trade, and the needs of the students are regarded as only a secondary matter."

He suggests a thorough re-constitution of the Text-book Committee.

Dr. Sinha evidently and rightly wants security of service, provident funds, and enhancement of the salaries of teachers in non-Government schools and observes : "There is, I submit a very strong case for superannuation at sixty, and not at fifty-five." These are calculated to make for greater contentment among our teachers. They can then give their best to our school students.

The following words addressed to the teachers are deserving of earnest consideration :

"Gentlemen, as members of the great profession of teaching, it is primarily your duty not only to examine schemes of re-organisation, but to maintain a continuous and vigilant watch over developments in the field of education. . . . ."

"The dignity and pride of the profession which has fallen so low today will only be restored by an achievement which will compel society to recognise your true worth, and your abiding and ever-increasing usefulness. It is my earnest wish that your Conference may give its serious attention to the consideration of measures which will not only ameliorate the conditions of teachers, and enhance their status in society, but also raise their efficiency and improve their knowledge, so that they may play their proper role as makers of men, and builders of the nation, and receive their due meed of respect and esteem from society."

How Tribes are to be Recorded

In Circular No. 14 issued from the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations in Bengal, the following is one of the instructions given under the heading "(3) *Race,* Tribe, or Caste.—" :—

"For all members of tribes (whether Hindu or non-Hindu) enter the name of the tribe, *e.g.,* Santal, Garo, Lepcha, etc."

It is not said here how Hindu Santals are to be distinguished from non-Hindu Santals. It has been claimed that all Santals are Hindus. Without discussing that claim, it is clear that at least some Santals *are* Hindus, for the above-quoted instruction itself admits that fact and in the Census Report for 1931 Santals are classed under two divisions, one of which is Hindu.

If all Santals, Garos, Lepchas, etc., are recorded only as such without putting the word Hindu either after or before the description of those of them who are Hindus, how are they to be included in the total number of Hindus ? If they are not so included, the total of Hindus is sure to be shown as less than what it really is.

What is the Meaning of "Domiciled in India" ?

In the Census Circular mentioned in the foregoing note, under the same heading, "(3) *Race, Tribe or Caste.—*" : we find the following sentences also :—

"There are many well-defined communities domiciled in India, which can hardly be classified as race, tribe or caste. In such cases, write the name of the community. In Bengal, the most important of these communities are the Muslims. Wherever Muslims are encountered, write 'M' (abbreviation for Muslim). Other examples are Anglo-Indians, Brahmos, Parsees, Indian Christians, Jains, Sikhs and Jews. Buddhists also will be treated as a community."

Will not Hindus, by the by, be treated as a community ?

But let us try to understand the meaning of "domiciled in India." Usually a person who or whose ancestor has come from outside is said to be domiciled in a country or place where he has settled and got a permanent residence. We are familiar with the claim of some Muslims that they are all of foreign extraction. If that claim be admitted, they may be said to be "domiciled in India." But the Brahmos, Indian Christians,

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Jains, Sikhs, etc., have never fancied or pretended that they are of foreign extraction. Why then call them domiciled in India? If it be said that foreign extraction is not necessarily implied in the word "domiciled" and that only permanent residence is its sole implication, why not then include the Hindus also among those "domiciled in India"?

In that case, all the inhabitants of India, except perhaps the aborigines, would be described as "domiciled in India"!

In *The Indian Messenger* of the 16th February last, page 43, it is stated that in the case of Brahmos,

"The Government has already issued instructions that enumerators should write "Brahmo" under the heading "race, tribe and caste" and also under "religion"."

How very absurd! 'Brahmo' is no doubt the name of a religion, but Brahmos are neither a race, nor a tribe, nor a caste.

Strong Condemnation of Census Methods in Bengal

"I say here and now with a full sense of responsibility that there is a deep conspiracy to which the present ministry is a party whose intention is to see that the Hindus are reduced in number in Bengal," declared Dr. Shyamaprosad Mookerjee while addressing a mammoth gathering of the Hindu citizens at Ballygunge, Calcutta, on the 24th February last.

The Chief Minister wanted to prove that the Bengal Hindus were trying their utmost to inflate the number of the Hindus and were adopting underhand means for the purpose. One and a half years back at a meeting of the Hindus at Albert Hall, Dr. Mookerjee as their President made a demand for joint enumerators. The Chief Minister now said that the Government of India had turned down their proposal for joint enumerators. But was that the real reason? The Government of India decided, Dr. Mookerjee said, that the Hindus would be able to register themselves as Hindus without any distinction being made as regards castes and creeds. But the Government of Bengal objected stating that in that case the enumeration of the Hindus would not be correct. The Moslems, on the other hand, demanded that they should be enlisted as Moslems only.

Proceeding Dr. Mookerjee said that he had received a letter stating that a Muslim Supervisor had circulated a letter that if anybody enlisted him only as Hindu he would be sent to prison. There were also some Hindus who were preaching likewise.

Dr. Mookerjee added:

In Bankura, there were about 1½ lakhs of Santhals. A propaganda was being carried on by Government officials through Moslem circle officers that the Santhals should not be enlisted as Hindus, though they had previously done so. The European Association had addressed a letter to the European managers and proprietors of tea gardens in Jalpaiguri that the 2½ lakhs of Santhals should be enlisted as animists and not as Hindus. Why this anxiety? At whose instance the European Association had addressed that letter? At 77-1, Cornwallis Street where there was a mosque the enumerator had been asked to register the number of inhabitants at 62 or 63 while the accommodation in the mosque was for 20 to 21 persons.

Dr. Mookerjee continued:

The Chief Minister was now seeking after truth. But he had begun it very late.

At Beliaghata, a criminal case had been instituted by a Hindu enumerator against some Moslems. The Hindu enumerator refused to register the number of Moslems at a higher figure. As a result he was stabbed by some Moslems.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee moved that:

In view of the fact the Hindus having been reduced to a minority community in Bengal due to their boycott of the Census of 1931 and thus deprived of their legitimate rights, social, political, economic and educational, this conference of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta requests the Hindus of all classes and creeds to enlist themselves as Hindus to the census enumerations and see that no name is omitted."

"I have materials at my disposal," Mr. Chatterjee said, "to substantiate the allegation that there is a deep conspiracy to inflate the number of Moslems."

In this connection we draw the attention of all who want a correct census to the paragraph in thick type on Mr. Amery's repeated exaggerations of the number of Muslims in India.

State-owned Railways' Prosperity

The State-owned Railways yielded a net surplus of Rs. 4,33,00,000, after meeting all charges including depreciation and interest, in the year 1939-40, according to the Anual Report of Indian Railways just issued by the Railway Board. The entire sum, which was Rs. 30,00,000 less than the full contribution due from the Railways for the year, was placed to the credit of General Revenues of the Central Government.

The increase in railway revenues, which was mostly under goods traffic, was due largely to conditions created by the War and, to a small extent, to the increased rates and fares introduced from March 1, 1940.

Railway rates and fares should be reduced.

Imprisonment for Ticketless Travelling Bad

We are against jailing those who may be found travelling without a ticket. Charging the fare due, with some extra charge in some cases, and fines for deliberate attempts to travel without payment, are all the measures necessary, if arrangements be made for their rigorous enforcement.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee's Statement On Communal Misrule in Bengal

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee has issued a statement on communal misrule in Bengal in general and in the district of Noakhali in particular. In

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Noakhali, "The cases of complaints relate to the following categories :—

1. Outrage and oppression on Hindu women.
2. Defilement of temples.
3. Damage to agricultural produces.
4. Killing of cows.
5. Removal of Primary schools from Hindu quarters to Muslim quarters.
6. Introduction of text-books for Hindu boys which contain sentiments repugnant to Hindu feelings and are written in a most objectionable style of Bengali language.
7. Compulsory realisation of Education Cess from Hindus on a discriminatory basis.
8. Concentrating Muslim officials in the district particularly in the Departments of Education and Law and Order.
9. Wiping out of Hindu capital through bad administration of Arbitration Boards.
10. Economic boycott of Hindus by Muslims.
11. Settlement of Khas Mahals mainly to the Muslims depriving the Hindus, even of the agricultural classes, of their rightful share.
12. Lawlessness exercised on a fairly wide scale upon Hindus particularly in thanas Ramganj, Begumganj, Raipur and Lakshmipur.
13. Release of Muslims by exercise of clemency even after conviction by the High Court.
14. Open dispossession of Hindu lands by Muslims in broad day-light.
15. Stopping of Government aids to High schools for non-compliance with vicious orders of a communal nature by the Inspectorate.
16. Intimidating persons who dare to give evidence in favour of the oppressed Hindus.
17. Failure to give police protection to the oppressed."

The statement concludes with a demand for an independent commission of enquiry.

Bengal Deficit Budget

The Bengal Budget for 1941-42 shows the huge deficit of one crore and thirty-four lakhs of rupees. In the legislature many Opposition members have been quite properly subjecting the budget and the administration of the Huq ministry in general to scathing and devastating criticism. The ministers want still more money —to squander. But they can show no appreciable improvements in Bengal in any direction adequate to the large ordinary revenues which they have received and spent, as well as to what may be called the windfalls, enumerated below :

Year	Revenue Receipts	Excess over Revenue for 1936-37
1936-37	Rs. 12,14,00,000	.....
1937-38	Rs. 13,00,00,000	Rs. 86,00,000
1938-39	Rs. 12,76,00,000	Rs. 62,00,000
1939-40	Rs. 14,31,00,000	Rs. 2,17,00,000
1940-41	Rs. 13,82,00,000	Rs. 1,68,00,000
Excess income in four years		Rs. 5,33,00,000

In addition to these 5 crores and 33 lakhs, the ministers were spared an expenditure of Rs. 60 lakhs every year for suppression of terrorism. That amounted to Rs. 2,40,00,000 in four years. Moreover, during the I.C.S. regime the Bengal Government had to pay some 18 lakhs every year as interest. During the last 4 years of the new regime the ministers were excused that payment, amounting to a total of Rs. 72 lakhs.

So during the last four years the ministers had at their disposal Rs. 8 crores and 45 lakhs more than what the I.C.S. had in 1936-37. In exchange for these huge sums Bengal has got Communal Misrule.

Increasing Excise Revenue in Bengal

In all the provinces under Congress rule for a short period a strenuous effort was made to fight drink and narcotic drugs—with some good result. In Bengal the excise revenue goes on increasing. In the four years 1937-38, 1938-39, 1939-40, and 1940-41, it was Rs. 1,54,56,000, Rs. 1,59,35,000, Rs. 1,65,28,000, and Rs. 1,75,00,000 respectively.

Report of Bengal Secondary Education Bill Protest Conference

The Report of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill Protest Conference, held in Calcutta on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd December, 1940, is a very valuable publication. Its illustrations are particularly telling. All interested in the question should try to get a copy.

Annual Report of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

In this issue we can only just mention that the annual report of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1940, so promptly issued, shows activity in all directions. Arrears of work are being rapidly made up and endeavours are being made to keep all activities up to date.

While cursorily turning over the pages devoted to Publications, some items caught our eye :

Varna-ratnākara, the oldest work in the Maithili language (c. 1325 A.D.), edited by Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Babua Misra;

Doctrine of Nimbārka, three volumes, translation of Vedanta-pārijāta—Saurabha and Vedānta-kaustubha, by Dr. Srimati Ramā Bose, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

The War

The war drags on its devastating course in Europe and Africa and threatens to spread to Asia.

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HYMN TO INDIA*

By SRI AUROBINDO

India, my India, where first human eyes awoke to heavenly light,
All Asia's holy place of pilgrimage, great Motherland of might !
World-mother, first giver to humankind of philosophy and sacred lore,
Knowledge thou gav'st to man, God-love, works, art, religion's opened door.

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today ?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray !

To thy race, O India, God himself once sang the Song of Songs divine,
Upon thy dust Gouranga danced and drank God-love's mysterious wine,
Here the Sannyasin Son of Kings lit up compassion's deathless sun,
The youthful Yogin, Shankar, taught thy gospel : "I and He are one."

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today ?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray !

Art thou not she, that India, where the Aryan Rishis chanted high
The Veda's deep and dateless hymns and are we not their progeny ?
Armed with that great tradition we shall walk the earth with heads unbowed:
O Mother, those who bear that glorious past may well be brave and proud.

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today ?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray !

O even with all that grandeur dwarfed or turned to bitter loss and maim,
How shall we mourn who are thy children and can vaunt thy mighty name ?
Before us still there floats the ideal of those splendid days of gold :
A new world in our vision wakes, Love's India we shall rise to mould.

India, my India, who dare call thee a thing for pity's grace today ?
Mother of wisdom, worship, works, nurse of the spirit's inward ray !

February 16, 1941

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* Translated from the Bengali song of the great poet Dwijendralal Roy.

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A TALK ABOUT THE WAR

The Prince of Peace Interviewed

By FREDERICK GRUBB

It was the afternoon of Christmas Day. I sat in a quiet corner of Britain's venerable Abbey as evensong was drawing to a close. The last rays of the setting sun came mystically through the western windows and fell athwart the sanctuary, where the Kings and Queens had been crowned during a thousand years, many of whom were brought here again on their last journey and are now but dust in their panoplied tombs.

The vergers were closing the doors, and as I passed through the transept portal into Parliament Square I found myself following a person whose attire suggested that he might be an officer in the Army—perhaps a chaplain, or a doctor in the R.A.M.C. He was stalwart and erect, the opposite of a weakling, but obviously not a combatant in the military sense. I could hardly imagine him dropping a bomb or thrusting a bayonet. At the same time I could not help connecting him in some vague way with the Unknown Warrior by whose honoured grave we had both been kneeling a few minutes before.

A manly figure indeed, but ready enough to notice a small boy who had stumbled on the hard pathway a few yards ahead. In a trice he had picked up the lad, drying his tears and wiping the blood from his damaged knees.

The day was close and stuffy for the time of the year. Feeling drowsy, after a succession of air raid alarms, I sank into a seat under the shadow of the Abbey, having around me as features in the landscape the mounds of sandbags which buttress the Palace of Westminster, the statues of disillusioned Victorian statesmen, and the famous clock tower with its still booming Big Ben.

The Messenger of Peace

As I sat and dozed to the accompaniment of droning aeroplanes and marching footsteps, I saw, or rather felt, on the seat at my side the stranger who had stepped before me from the Abbey. It seemed somewhat more difficult to classify him now; for, strange to say, there was no longer any suggestion of a uniform about his personal appearance. He struck me as belonging to a sphere that was quite different from this warring world, though there was understanding in his sympathetic eyes wh betokened a real oneness with the suffer souls around. There was, withal, a frank in his aspect which prompted me to open conversation. But at that moment there ca from the darkened fane the sounds of a famil strain:

> "Yet with the woes of sin and strife
> The world has suffered long,
> Beneath the angel strain have rolled
> Two thousand years of wrong;
> And man, at war with man, hears not
> The love song which they bring—
> O hush the noise, ye men of strife,
> And hear the angels sing."

Twilight fell, but the stars shone out m brightly in the gathering gloom. As the s echoes of the Abbey music died away stranger himself began to speak to me. W war raging on every hand it was inevit that the talk of any two men should turn that topic.

"Were they not reading in the church now of One who should guide the steps of people into the way of peace?" he asked.

"Yes", I replied, "the very purpose of day is to celebrate the birth of him wh coming was heralded by the angles as symbol of peace on earth and goodwill am men".

And then, as if assuming ignorance what must have been known to him, he inqui "How long is it since this child was born the present era began?"

I could only answer that it was upon 2,000 years; which led him to re upon the absence of any sign that men paid heed to the heavenly message. newspapers, he had found, were full of s thing very different from that and the wir echoed little but the details of scheming, ki and destruction.

"What are those fine buildings yonder?" he asked. "Are they monume the Prince of whom we have been hearin

"No", said I, "one happens to be War Office, opposite is the Admiralty, further on is the Ministry of Air".

As I spoke we heard the distant rum

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of guns as if to give point to my explanation. We talked further about the sad things that were happening at home and abroad.

"Must this slaughter go on", said my companion reflectively, "even on such a day as this!" His voice was like unto that of the Man of Sorrows, who wept over Jerusalem in days of old. I could but listen in wondering reverence as he proceeded.

"You and the people of every tongue who call themselves Christians do well to dedicate at least one day of the year to the Prince of Peace, whose kingdom, as he told you, was not of this world. And did he not add, "'For if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight, from which it follows that the weapons he would use must be those of the spirit alone'."

He went on to recite such phrases as these: "Blessed are the meek! They will inherit the earth."

"Blessed are the peacemakers! They will be ranked sons of God."

"God is Love. Love one another. Do not always be thinking the worst of your enemies; love them also. Pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

The Stranger Reveals Himself

It had gradually been dawning upon me, as if by inspiration, that there was something almost superhuman about this person.

"What you have been saying seems familiar to my ears", I mused. "Where have I heard it before? Can it be that you are yourself the author of these great words—that you are he whom men hail as Saviour, Redeemer and Good Shepherd?"

"I fain would be what they say I am, but though they call me Lord, Lord, they do not things that I ask of them. So many of the flock, of this and other folds, have refused to heed the shepherd's voice. They have turned to the hirelings for leadership, with the results you see today. Yet it shall not always be so, for my people will learn by bitter experience the better way of life."

"But Master," I ventured, "your way of life is not easy, and it is not always plain to the most sincere seeker."

"No, it is not easy," he replied "My way of life never was, and never can be, a primrose path, for it is the way of sacrifice. Nevertheless, true joy and satisfaction are only to be found in that way. Men and nations have to choose between conflict and co-operation. If they choose the first it means destruction and death; if the other is their choice then my kingdom, which is more than democracy, will be established in their hearts for ever, because it is founded on the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. Empires may gain the whole world by guile or brute force, but humanity will be in danger of losing its soul in the process. As my brave servant, Edith Cavell, said before she went to her death, 'Patriotism is not enough.' Even your well-prized democracies will break down, as happened in more than one country of late, unless they are charged with the right spirit and led by conscientious men. There is something higher than national loyalties. Real religion is supernational. Worldly power is futile, hate is fatal, but Love will conquer all. In my Father's house the wide-roofed Chapel of Chivalry has ample space for the knights of the Cross, on whose banner is inscribed service and sacrifice. Peace demands more courage even than war."

Can War be the Way Out?

As I looked at the speaker's face his challenging words seemed to be personified. Indeed, I felt a strange urge to bow down to him in adoration. He breathed a spirit that was above dogma, but there was no "perhaps" in his language. He spoke with authority and not as the scribes. Throughout our interview he was serenity incarnate.

"We poor mortals," I said, "are only too anxious, if we can, to follow your advice, which we know to be ideally good, but we have to face realities as they confront us today. Can we solve the tragic problems of Europe and the world by a literal application of your gospel?"

"Yes, you can," he responded, "if you have but faith and will go to the uttermost for the sake of it. The son of man will be no dictator to his friends or his foes (until the day of judgment), but the spirit of my teaching is that war, being based on mutual hatred, can offer no sure remedy for the woes of the world. It can only breed wars yet more horrible. You cannot by Beelzebub cast out Beelzebub. Your own history proves it."

"It is hard to look you in the face, Messiah—if that is who you are—and deny the truth of what you have been telling me. Your teaching is clear enough, but I remember the story of one who drove out the money-changers from his temple with whips of cord, charging them with making it a den of thieves, and who also denounced the pharisees of his day in terms which are generally reserved for our worst enemies. Are these things to be reconciled?"

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"Ah," said my companion, "did I err on those occasions! I have never claimed perfection, though many have attributed it to me. There is none perfect but God alone. Preachers have explained away that temple incident often enough, and even the commentators have frequently misinterpreted the truth, but my words are verily as whips to seared consciences, and there can be no place for the exploiter in my Father's house, nor for the warmonger in the new world that is to be."

At which I could not help exclaiming: "How many brave men have died in battle with your cross before their eyes!"

"Yes," he said, "they have blazoned my cross on their shields and called their wars crusades. Some in these days have twisted that cross out of all recognition until it has become nothing but forbidding hooks and crooked ends—a perverted symbol of naked force."

"But Sir," I humbly protested, "here we have to do with a predatory, despotic racialism, Nazi or Fascist by name, which would not only overrun and enslave all the nations of the earth, but would also dethrone the very Christ of God. It has already gone far in that direction. Are your followers to stand by unheeding without using the material means at their disposal to withstand the tyrants and their dupes? Must we hand over the world and its future to the workers of iniquity? By so doing we should invite the annihilation of all that is worth preserving in our human nature. Is it your will that we should do nothing when millions are being starved into submission and innocent victims are massacared by devilish machines at the hands of a ruthless oppressor?"

"No, such is not my will," he replied. "I am not neutral in these things, and isolation is impossible. There is a righteous anger. It was part of my Passion. 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay,' saith the Lord. They who take the sword shall perish by the sword. But I would meet their methods of violence by the consuming fire of love, which, while it burns up all that is hateful in the heart of man, disarms him altogether. What have you gained by opposing war to war?"

"We have come to hold," I ventured to say, "that there are worse things than war to fear—such as dishonour, injustice, falsehood and cowardice, all which must be alien to your divine spirit. How can we prevent the extermination of these qualities in mankind and establish the conditons in which alone the Kingdom of God can exist? Life for us would not be worth living if brute force were allowed to have its way."

"Why cannot the designs of the aggressor be thwarted," I continued, "at least on the material plane, by the only means which he can be made to acknowledge? Long experience has taught us that wickedness can be restrained by the strong arm of the law when there is sufficient power behind it. Unless we resist to the death, as we are doing now, all that is vital to righteousness and civilization will be wiped out and we shall return to the life of the jungle."

"Your answer is plausible," he said, "but it simply means an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, however good the intention may be. It means retaliation and revenge—the ruin of man by the machines he has made. Have you considered that even a successful war only proves which side has the most strength and can forge the deadliest weapons? It can muster millions and multiply armaments; it cannot decide what is right and what is wrong. But, thank God! The realm of the spirit can never be invaded by hostile armies. High explosive cannot shake the Rock of Ages."

He paused a moment and then added: "The freedom of the soul who can measure it? It is limitless and unconquerable. And the life it comprehends is more than liberty."

"These things can hardly be disputed", I replied, "but we cannot but feel that all the blessings which your gospel brought to mankind would be placed in jeopardy if the enemies we are fighting were permitted to complete their conquest. And may I dare to ask of you this further question—has the method of non-resistance to which you are calling us ever been tried with success on this struggling planet? If the wrong-doer persists in his wrong-doing, should we not restrain him by every means in our power?"

Prophets of Non-Violence

The stranger paused again. Then he answered: "There is wordly wisdom enough in what wou have said, but something more remains. A good friend of mine in days gone by, William Penn by name, went out to meet unarmed the savage western tribes who were thirsting for the blood of American pioneers—tribes who had been cruelly provoked by earlier and less peaceful invaders. Penn used towards them the language he had learned of me, carnal weapons were thrown aside, a friendly pact was made, and warless Pennsylvania became a fact of history.

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"The gospel of Peace which I preach has never been without its witnesses, inasmuch as it springs from the Eternal Spirit. Centuries before I came in the flesh a Prince was born in the East who was wholly akin to me. The All-Compassionate One, whom men call the Lord Buddha, laid down the rules of universal brotherhood. Alas! that so many of those who profess to follow him have forgotten his enlightened precepts and strayed from his noble path. And in that land today there is one—they name him Mahatma Gandhi—who holds aloft the same banner of non-violence, though comparatively few, even of his own countrymen, have kept step with him, notwithstanding their admiration for his saintly character. Yet future ages will link his name with mine and will declare that it should have been deemed an honour to be living in the time of such a man. Nor do these great souls stand alone, though they tower above their fellows.

"Reincarnation—but that is another story, and we must not digress from the main issue. There have been in all ages countless millions without a name—not excluding many of my own persecuted race who had no thought of hatred in their hearts and no desire to go to war with their neighbours. They have sought to live at peace with all men, and they have belonged to every nation under the sun. Such are my true disciples, whatever may be the colour of their skin or the creed by which they worship."

Heroes of the Past

I was almost speechless as I listened to his sublime words. But, pondering further, I asked whether he thought all war was wicked, regardless of its purpose. I pointed to the statue of Abraham Lincoln across the square and quoted his well-known utterance about having charity towards all and malice towards none, spoken when his country was in the throes of civil war. I reminded him of how Lincoln, believing in "government of the people, by the people, for the people", fought through five long years of blood and tears to overthrow slavery and, in the end, to vindicate a Union and establish a principle without which, as he justly claimed, freedom might perish from the earth. Could that have been done, I asked, except by fighting for it, whatever the cost in lives and treasure?

"Yes", assented the stranger, "Lincoln was truly one of your great heroes. But the bloody strife in which he was engaged for so long was only the harvest of seed that had been sown in previous years—the seed of injustice, racialism and greed. And you may well ask, what of Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights, the Glorious Revolution; of Leonidas, Judas Maccaboeus, Washington, Garibaldi and others like them? Of these I will also say, all honour to the memory of all brave men and women who have given, and are still giving, their lives in the fight for freedom and righteousness as they saw it. When I was a carpenter in Nazareth———"

Impulsively I interrupted him. "To the man in the street like me", I said, "it is all very confusing. I wonder what the man in the moon, if he knows anything of this mad world, thinks of its stupid, tragic quarrels. It would almost seem as if the transcendent Deity had left His creatures to stew in their own juice, when He might have interposed His sovereign will to control their warring instincts."

"Speak not thus of the Most High", he replied. "You forget that the good God gave His children the free will, as well as the freedom, of which we have been speaking. Without it the individual would have been less than a man, and in no other way could he have won through to the life more abundant which has been offered him. If he has chosen evil instead of good the responsibility is on his shoulders alone. He must retrace his steps if he is to work out his ultimate salvation.

"Again, our transcendent God is also immanent in His creation, with us here and now, sharing all that His creatures suffer."

Why the League failed

There was silence between us for a space. Then the Peacemaker said: "My plan for this striken world is a practical one too. Sooner or later you and your enemies will sit round a table and discuss terms of peace. Why not do it before instead of after the slaughter? It is better to build a single bridge than thousands of destroyers."

"That is exactly what we tried to do", I replied, "but the others would not have it so. It takes more than one side to build a bridge and make peace, unless everything worth keeping is surrendered. They spurned our League of Nations."

"That is sadly true, brother, but isn't it possible that your League was started on the wrong basis? Men of genius were at Versailles, no doubt. Woodrow Wilson did his best. Lloyd George had much to say. Clemenceau—appropriately named 'The Tiger'—was in his place. But there was no

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room for the Prince of Peace. They shut him out from their councils. The Conference was too much under the influence of pugnacious patriots whose motto has ever been, my country right or wrong."

"Then what is the way out?" I asked bluntly.

"You will have to begin all over again, and next time there must be something more than a league of victors dictating to the vanquished. The world must reach out to a greater ideal—the Family of Nations whose Father and Mother is God!"

"Almost a Utopia," I ejaculated. "O that it was within our reach! But being yet, as we are, in the animal stage, do you really think that the British lion, the German wolf and the Russian bear will lie down peacefully with the Lamb of God?"

"Verily I do," he replied with emphasis, "and a little child shall lead them." What radiant faith!

"Your last words remind me," he proceeded, "that when I was in Berlin last week I found how much alike men and women are, after all, whatever country they may happen to be born in. They too were mourning their loved ones lost in the war, and they were actually praying for victory in the same terms (and presumably to the same God) as you were using in yonder Abbey just now. They were also planning the 'new order,' as they call it, not less fervently than their foes. It recalled to me some poignant lines of one of your own poets who thus depicted the dilemma of the Deity:

> God heard the embattled nations sing and shout
> God strafe England! and God save the King!
> God this, God that, and God the other thing—
> 'Good God' said God, 'I've got my work cut out'!"

It seemed that there was little more to be said on either side. "I happen to be a journalist," I remarked, as we shook hands at parting. "What you have told me, coming from such a source, will be good copy for the Press, but I cannot promise that all of it will pass the Censor."

"It will get through all the same," he said with confidence. "Love will conquer in the end."

"Yet" I rejoined hesitatingly, "it might not be wise to proclaim all this publicly, lest we should be accused of defeatism and disloyalty, if nothing worse. They may even put you in prison or the concentration camp, and as for our enemies, who, as you say, are so much like ourselves, they would crush you altogether, if only because you were born in Bethlehem of Judea."

"Nevertheless" he concluded "they will find that I am invincible. The day will come when Adolf Hitler will have to confess, as did a greater than he, Galilean, thou hast conquered!"

"One word more," I ventured. "I gather from what you have said that you would not go so far as to condemn the gallant men who have taken up arms in what they deem to be a holy war?"

"God forbid! I judge no man or woman, but———"

The rest of his answer was drowned in the noise of bursting shells, which seemed to be coming nearer. As he moved slowly towards the Cenotaph in Whitehall I thought I heard him say in anguished tones: "So it is not finished, after all. I must remain on my cross untill they learn the better way. Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Bang! Was that another and louder crash, or had I been dreaming again? No doubt about it this time, for as I rubbed my startled eyes one of the A.R.P. squad rushed up shouting, "Wake up, there! make for the shelter yonder. The Jerries are over again."

Yes, I said to myself as I scurried away, I must be up and doing my bit if this war is to be won!

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RISE OF INDIAN CIVILISATION[1]

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

I

The rise of Indian civilisation is one of the greatest events in modern times. This Indian civilisation has its origin in the fusion or synthesis of Hindu, Muslim and Western civilisations, which have grown, or established themselves, in India during the past centuries. Of these component civilisations, Hindu civilisation is the oldest and richest inasmuch as it has come down from prehistoric times and counts about three-fourths of the national population among its adherents. Muslim civilisation was brought and installed in India by its conquerors some seven centuries ago and has since then become also a great civilisation of the country and counts about one-fourth of the national population among its adherents. Western civilisation has been brought to India mostly by the British, who, though not themselves settlers in the country, have established most of the political, industrial and educational institutions of modern India. While the synthesis, or fusion of these great civilisations, forms its foundation, the driving forces of this new civilisation are new social values, ideals and aims, which have been growing in India since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Both synthetic foundation and progressive nature have made this Indian civilisation distinct from its component parts and have thus ushered a new civilisation in India.

1. Nature and Function

The first question which arises in connection with this new civilisation is its nature, or those features which distinguish it from the existing civilisations, as well as the special function which it has to perform in the social, political and economic organisations of the country. Society is a continuous process; it proceeds from the past and retains most of its early characteristics; but as a living process, society creates new values of life and develops new ideals in the process of adaptation to physical and social environments and thus differs from the past in some essential points. After centuries of stagnation and static life, Indian society has begun to revive and regenerate itself and to adopt new values, ideals and aims, which form the distinctive features and essential conditions for its survival as well as for its progressive development.

Distinctive Features

This new civilisation may very appropriately be called the Indian Civilisation in contrast to the existing civilisations, whether Hindu or Muslim. Hindu civilisation, although indigenous,

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das

has failed to become national or Indian for a two-fold reason, namely: First, it has not brought into its fold various aboriginal races, which have remained outside even today. Secondly, it has excluded even the majority of the Hindu population, such as outcasts and untouchables, from the highest cultural achievements in religion, ethics, art and philosophy. Muslim civilisation has come from abroad and, although it has contributed a number of cultural benefits to India as a whole, it does not represent more than one-fourth of the population even after seven centuries of it's existence in the country.

There are more positive and cogent reasons for calling this civilisation Indian :—First, the

1. A preliminary report on the writers' *Studies in India and a New Civilisation*, which formed the subject-matter of his Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar Prize Lectures in October, 1940, and a resume of which was published in this *Review* in November, 1940.

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whole geography of India, including its territory, topography and climate, forms its physical background. Secondly, the entire population of India including the original inhabitants and immigrants forms its ethnic or demographic background. Thirdly, all the cultural wealth of India, whether Hindu, Muslim or Western, forms its social foundation. Finally, it is the civilisation which aims at the mental, moral and spiritual advancement of not any one class or sect, but of the whole Indian population irrespective of race, caste and creed.

There are both philosophical and practical reasons for calling this a new civilisation :— First, it is based upon the synthesis of all the existing civilisations of India, namely, Hindu, Muslim and Western, which together form the social life of modern India rather than the continuation of any one of the older civilisations. Although Hindu civilisation has come down from time immemorial and represents by far the majority of the population, and Muslim civilisation has already existed in India for several centuries and have greatly affected the life of the people, none of them can claim exclusive influence over the whole population. Moreover, most of the modern political, economic and educational institutions have been built by the British on the basis of Western civilisation, which has also great influence on the ideals and aims of modern India.

Secondly, this new civilisation, while taking its rise in the synthesis of the older civilisations takes as one of its principal tenets to apply the achievements of philosophy, science and art, including discovery and invention, to the solution of its social, political and industrial problems and adapts itself to the changing conditions of the modern world rather than blindly follow her old traditional customs, laws and institutions. It aspires to build a dynamic society and to lead the people towards the continued realisation of evolving ideals and aims in the progress of mankind.

Thirdly, it is based upon the positive background of the social, political and industrial activities of the people rather than upon the mystic and spiritual background of religion and is thus avowedly concerned with the life here below rather than with the life hereafter. Both Hindu and Muslim civilisations are based upon revealed religions, which have no doubt given them initial advantage, both moral and spiritual, in the early days of their careers. But this very foundation of their customs, beliefs, laws and institutions on religion has made them conservative and incapable to adapt themselves to the changing conditions of the world. They have, therefore, fallen behind. This new civilisation, based as it is upon the background of social activities looks forward for its ideals and inspiration in the progress of philosophy, science and art.

Fourthly, the new civilisation will be industrial and urban rather than agricultural and rural. Agriculture developing in the process of industrial evolution marked a great step towards the progress of civilisation, but it was only an intermediary stage and has been followed by the industrial stage in the most advanced countries and civilisation has also been reorganised on the new economic basis. Almost everywhere agricultural communities have been conquered and subjugated by nomadic and piratic tribes, who have established themselves as ruling classes over the rural population. Even today agricultural countries are liable to domination and subordination by industrial countries, which are always on the look-out for surer market for the sale of finished products and for the purchase of raw material and food-stuff. A rural civilisation is in fact weak, and lacks efficiency, cohesion, compactness, solidarity and unity, which are special features of an industrial civilisation. Urban and industrial life calls for greater energy and effort, awakens new desires and aims, stimulates initiative and enterprise, quickens intellect and activity, and assures stability and progress. The very priciples of self-protection, self-expression and self-government require India to adopt industrial civilisation.

Finally, this new civilisation is concerned with the masses rather than the classes. Like Greek civilisation, Hindu civilisation, or more properly Indo-Aryan civilisation, was developed by the classes and for the classes and has remained so even up to the present time. The high cultural achievements in philosophy, religion, art and literature were reserved for the high caste Hindus, such as the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas; while the vast majority of the people remained, and still remain, in ignorance, susperstition, misery, degradation and slavery or serfdom. As a matter of fact the new civilisation brings a message of relief and hope to this down-trodden, degraded, impoverished masses of Indian humanity; attempts at the betterment of their social, political and economic conditions, and at the removal of their inequality with other classes, and opens to them the vast human heritage of intellectual, moral and spiritual achievements not only of India alone but also of the whole world. The so-

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ments, morals, customs, beliefs, ideals, inspirations, laws and institutions arising from actions and interactions among themselves as well as between them and their natural and social environments, forms the sum total of this new civilisation.

The rise of this new civilisation does not mean the elimination or suppression of Hindu cultural achievements or Muslim cultural contributions. The object of this new civilisation is not to destroy but to fulfil. Hindu civilisation has attained some of the greatest moral and spiritual truths, which are of eternal value not only to India alone, but also to the whole world. When devoid of the superstitions and prejudices and of the antiquated and obsolete customs and manners and set on the background of improved and modern social, political and economic institutions, as represented by the actual life of India's teeming millions, their value will enhance all the more. Some of the highest moral and spiritual truths have also been achieved by Islam and its contributions to India are also very great. Similar contributions to the moral and spiritual life of India have been made by Christianity, Sikhism and other religions. All these moral and religious achievements and contributions form the moral and spiritual foundation of this new civilisation.

Social Necessity

It is not only the impact or fusion which has given rise to this new civilisation, but there is also an urgent need to co-ordinate and integrate different and conflicting cultural ideals for the common good of the whole population. In spite of her immense territories, vast natural resources, large population and rich cultural wealth, India is the most backward country in her social, political and economic development. India has no government of her own; over nine-tenths of her population are illiterate, most of her social institutions are obsolete and antiquated and by far the majority of the people live constantly in starvation and ill-health. The solution of the problem of misery and degradation of India requires the whole-hearted energy and incessant toil of her whole population. The co-ordination and consolidation of the mental, moral and spiritual forces of her entire population irrespective of race, caste and creed, as well as the application of all the achievements of modern art, science and philosophy to the reconstruction of her social, political and industrial institutions, are possible only when different groups of Indian population have a common goal, a common ideal and a common civilisation.

The need of a common civilisation arises from the fact that none of the existing civilisations has or can become a common or comprehensive civilisation for the whole population of India. In spite of its extraordinary power of absorption, toleration and assimilation, Hindu civilisation has not yet been able to assimilate Muslim immigrants, nor has Islam, in spite of its great vitality, aggressiveness and conquering ability, been able to convert more than one-fourth of the Hindus. Moreover, in spite of its immense material and intellectual achievements within the past two centuries, Western civilisation has not established its moral claim upon the Indian people for Westernisation. In fact, the British, who are directly responsible for the establishment of many Western institutions, have never attempted to colonise India, nor to interfere with the social and religious life of the people.

While neither the Hindu nor the Muslim civilisation can give up its religion, on which both of them are based, they can easily combine their social, political and economic activities for the common good of the people in general and also utilise all the best elements of Western civilisation, some of which have already become part and parcel of national life within the past two centuries. It is only under the auspices of a new civilisation that the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs can meet upon a common platform and combine their social, political and economic activities, irrespective of race, caste and creed, for the good of the nation as a whole.

This new civilisation also offers an opportunity to relegate religion to the private and sacred domain of individual conscience and group conviction instead of making it a nationa institution. The separation of the Church and the State has been accomplished in most European countries and a similar thing is happening in some of the progressive Muslim countries. Even in India the State has been separated from the Church under British rule. Moreover, the new civilisation also facilitates the integration of the best features of the existing civilisations as well as the elimination of those institutions which have been found by experience to be social evils, such as the caste system among the Hindus, the zenana system among the Muslims and materialism among the Western peoples.

Finally, the very idea of its newness has a psychological effect. Human energy lies dor-

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mant, and it is only awakening and aspirations that can inspire a people to move forward, to achieve something for themselves and for humanity, of which they are only a part. Nothing can better inspire the younger generations of India into new activities of life than the ideals of realising new values in life and upbuilding a new civilisation. Moreover, the whole emphasis of this new civilisation is to turn the social mind towards the future, towards the evaluation and idealisation of aims and activities, and towards the achievements of higher values in life. The "golden age" is not in the past but in the future. It has not been achieved but has to be achieved. The romance of life is not in thinking of past achievements or glories, but in the act of achieving new values of life. The success of life depends on the continuous evolution of new ideals and aims, and upon the ceaseless efforts for their achievement. It is the continuous creation of new social values and the determined pursuit after their realisation by which this new civilisation can assure the uninterrupted progress of society as a whole.

India at Cross Road

India is at a cross road in her cultural development. After centuries of servitude, India is on the way to regain her national self-government and to develop a comprehensive policy and a working programme for the social, political and economic improvement of the entire population. India is thus face to face with a three-fold problem, namely :—(1) the achievement of national self-government and the preservation of the Western institutions developed since the beginning of British rule; (2) the establishment of internal security through the settlement of the communal question; and (3) the revaluation and reorganisation of old and new social values and ideals in order to assure the progressive development of Indian people.

The first and foremost question of India today is the achievement of complete mastery over her own self. For centuries, India has been a subject nation, which has retarded not only her political, social and economic development, but has also led to her moral and intellectual degeneration. However good a foreign Government may be, it cannot be a substitute for self-government. India has however already achieved provincial autonomy and is soon to regain national autonomy or self-government as promised by the British Government. An important problem of autonomous India will be how to assure the unobstructed development of the political, industrial and educational institutions, which have been built by the British during the past two centuries and which have been of great value to the development of democratic institutions and new cultural ideals. Any sudden and violent interruption of Indo-British relation may set in reactionary movements and retard or even set back, social progress.

The second question is the establishment of equitable relationship among different communities and specially between the Hindus and the Muslims. At the time of the decline of the Moghul Empire, the Hindus asserted themselves for the reconquest of India and brought the country into civil war, when the British appeared on the scene. With the prospect of a change from the foreign to national government, the Hindus and the Muslims have already revived their rivalry in a new form for the control of national government. Moreover, the so-called depressed classes have also claimed a due share of representation. The solution of the problem of establishing harmony among these conflicting groups lies in the co-ordination of their cultural ideals for the purpose of achieveing some common but higher values, ideals and aims, which only a new civilisation can offer.

The next important factor in assuring the progressive development of this new civilisation is the evaluation of all cultural ideals and the creation of new social values and new social ideals as well as the conscious and purposive direction of social life for the achievements of desired ends. The synthesis of different cultural ideals is not a new thing in India. Early Aryan culture might have been more or less pure, but since the advent of Buddhism, Aryan and non-Aryan cultures have undergone the synthetic process and have merged into what is called Hindu civilisation. Time has come again for India for a new synthesis of different cultural ideals or civilisations such as Hindu, Muslim and Western. The synthesis or fusion of these cultures has already begun. What is needed is not only the synthesis of all cultures but the realisation of new values and new ideals in this cultural fusion. The stagnation and decline of Hindu civilisation was in fact due to the lack of evaluation or the selection of those elements in social life which contribute to its progress.

The new civilisation in India has taken its rise at the world's critical moment. Western civilisation which obtains in majority of the advanced countries in Europe and America and exerts great influence in Asia, has become vitiated

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ted by the overgrowth of materialism, imperialism and capitalism and has been followed by some of its worst evils in some countries such as racism, totalitarianism and dictatorship. Barbarism, terrorism and cruelty have been organised on scientific methods; the freedom of thought, speech and action has been suppressed; and individuality has been brought under control of some dominating groups. Western civilisation is thus passing through a very critical moment of its life and the whole humanity is calling for moral and spiritual regeneration.

No country is in a better position than India to supply the urgent needs of the humanity and to build up a moral and spiritual civilisation for the benefit of herself and for the society in general. It is not meant that India has already a ready-made moral and spiritual civilisation which she can give to the world. All what is claimed is that like her vast natural resources which have remained unutilised for productive purposes, as the present writer has shown,[2] there also lie dormant enormous moral and spiritual forces, which once gave rise to several religious and ethical systems and which can even now be utilised by India for upbuilding a moral and spiritual civilisation for the benefit of her own people as well as of mankind in general. It is for such a civilisation that humanity looks to India.

If India takes up the cause of humanity and makes her choice, she can lay the foundation of the moral and spiritual civilisation in a generation or two. There are already enormous social forces in India which express themselves in various social, political, industrial, educational, religious and aesthetic activities. What is much more significant is the fact that with the growth of education, prosperity and suffrage, the immense potential energy of her vast population is being liberated for self-expression. Moreover, there are also important social movements in India, the significance of which can not be minimised, as they have their immediate objectives in the social welfare, of the whole population. But they themselves are not sufficient to occupy the entire energy of a nation, nor to satisfy the human soul, whose aspiration rises far beyond reform, prosperity and nationality and who always longs for things which are universal, eternal and infinite. While provisions should be made for the fuller and richer expression of the impulses, sentiments, thoughts, beliefs, activities, ideals and aims of each person, they must also offer opportunities for unifying the whole population in the continued realisation of justice, equality and brotherhood, thus satisfying the eternal desire of human soul on the one hand and assuring the continued progress of the whole humanity on the other.

II. Favourable Backgrounds

Cultural contact is the most important force of social evolution. Great civilisations, whether ancient or modern, are the outcome of the fusion of many cultural elements. Diversity in culture brings about competition, conflict, adaptation and adjustment and sets in motion the process of assimilation, amalgamation, integration, and co-ordination, and gives rise to a new and greater culture or civilisation. Muslim and Western civilisations coming in contact with Hindu civilisation have created great possibilities for the rise of a new civilisation and India has offered very favourable backgrounds for its development. In the immediate background of this cultural evolution there are several factors such as (1) geographical unity, (2) ethnic similarity, and (3) cultural diversity.

Geographical Unity

In the physical background of this new civilisation lies the geographical unity of India in spite of the fact that it is one of the largest countries of the world. India is surpassed in extent only by such countries as the Soviet Russia, China, Canada, Brazil, United States and Australia, and is as large as Europe without Russia; some of the provinces, into which the country is politically divided, represent areas which are equal in size to some of the leading European countries. Moreover, its three great natural divisions, namely, the Himalaya, the Gangetic Plain and the Peninsular India, are each a vast territory. It has the highest mountain ranges and some of the largest river systems, and contains high tablelands and low tidal-lands, rugged plateaus and smooth plains, extensive deserts and large forests, and areas of perpetual snow and tracts of tropical heat, all of which make her topography highly variegated.

There prevails in India a great variation in climate. The most important factor in the climatic condition of the country is the presence of the monsoon which divides it into two great seasons, namely, dry and wet. High altitudes rising from the level of the sea to the height above vegetation have also great effect upon climate; the temperature ranges from tropical heat to arctic cold; and precipitation varies from almost absolute aridity to humidity. Moreover, climatic fluctuations add to the physical variation of the country. When dry winter is changed into wet

2. Cf. Author's *Production in India*, Calcutta.

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summer and the land is covered with water for several months in Bengal and other low-lying districts, the landscape is scarcely less variable than that of the snow-belt in the subtropics.

The richness of the flora and fauna is also the cause of diversity in physical features. The flora of India are much more varied than those of any other country in the Eastern Hemisphere. The trees, shrubs and climbers of Oriental types are supplemented by those of European, African and Siberian types and the fruits and flowers of India follow one another in perpetual succession. The fauna of India are as abundant and varied as the flora. Local richness and climatic difference have made the number and kind of animals inhabiting India very large and they far surpass in number those found in the whole of Europe.

The natural resources of the country consist of arable land, forestry, fishery, minerals and waterpower, in all of which India has a fairly large supply. Over one-half of the area is productive; forests in India are limited in extent but rich in variety; thanks to altitude and rainfall, nearly all the trees of commercial importance are represented in India and there are about 2,000 species of both soft and hard varieties. In fresh water fisheries, India stands second only to the United States while still larger fishing areas lie untapped in different Indian seas. Like fisheries, minerals in India are also large in variety, although limited in quantity, she has however a fairly large supply of iron and coal. The potential water power is, however, very considerable and is next to that of the United States, steps are being taken to develop it.

In spite of its territorial vastness, India is a geographical unit, both externally and internally. It is separated from the rest of the world by natural barriers, such as mountains and seas. Within the country itself, there is however great unity. Each of the three geographical divisions is more or less uniform in physical features. The mountainous characters of the Himalayas, the smoothness of the Indo-Gangetic plains, the highland of the Deccan plateau are features peculiar to themselves. But the Himalayas supplying almost all the rivers and influencing the climates and soils of the plains below form the natural part of Upper India and although the Aravalli Hills separate the north form the south, the plains and plateaus of both intermingle with one another so naturally and imperceptibly that they easily form a geographical whole.

The political and social history of India is not mere accident, but the result of India's geographical unity. An invader might have some difficulty in entering into India from outside, but once in India, he had very little difficulty in marching from Peshawar to Chittagong and once he could cross the Aravalli, the whole of the Peninsular India fell an easy prey. The fundamental unity in the folkways, *mores*, institutions, laws, arts, science and philosophy of India are also the results of her geographical unity.

The territorial expansion of the country affords the growth of a very large population, both the physical energies and mental faculties of which are essential for her building a great and complicated civilisation, specially in modern times. While the natural barriers at the frontiers separate India from the rest of the world and thus afford the growth of a distinct and particular culture, the geographical uniformity within the country itself assures the development of uniformity in cultural ideal. The fairly rich supply of mineral, vegetable and animal resources indicate the possibility of her industrial greatness and national prosperity, and topographical variations and climatic fluctuations form the basis for the development of diversity in mental traits and cultural ideals.

Ethnic Similarity

Like any other national group, Indian people has also been derived from a variety of racial stock. First, the Proto-Australians, who arrived in India even before they had developed some of their fixed characteristics. Seconoly, the Dravidians, who belong to the Mediterranean race and arrived in India from the West. Thirdly, the Indo-Aryans who belonged to the Nordic or Alpine race and who arrived in India from the North-West between 2,000 and 1,500 B.C. Finally, the Mongolians who entered in India from the North-East and are still to be found in Nepal, Bhutan and Assam. To these must be added different sub-races who came to India during the historical times either as conquerors or immigrants. From the 6th century B.C., to the 6th century A.D., Persians, Macedonians, Scythians, Parthians, White Huns have invaded Northern India. Still later on came the Arabs, Afghans, Armenians, Jews, as well as the Portuguese and other European races.

There is no pure stock in any part of the world, though some of the regions show a larger concentration of certain racial characters. The chief races of India and their distribution may be described in the following terms:—(1) the Indo-Aryans in the Punjab, Kashmir and Rajputana and among the higher parts of Northern India; (2) the Dravidians in Southern

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India; and (3) the Mongolians in the Indian frontiers of Tibet, Assam and Burma. These chief races have given rise to several sub-races, such as (1) the Aryo-Dravidian in the United Provinces, Bihar and in parts of Rajputana; (2) the Mongolo-Dravidian, in lower Bengal, Orissa and Assam; (3) the Scytho-Dravidians in the Marhatta countries, North-Western India and Rajputana; and (4) the Turko-Iranians in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province. When it is considered that none of the so-called original races is pure in itself, the complexity of racial elements in India, as in fact in any other country, can be easily imagined. Diversity in racial elements is thus one of the most distinguished features of Indian population, thus meeting the diverse needs of India's new civilisation in both physical and mental traits. What is more significant is the fact that this race mixture has added to the variety and vigour of the people of India and laid down the biological foundation for the development of a rich new civilisation.

In the midst of these diversities, there exist however some homogeneity among the peoples of India: First, geographical factors including climate and food, either directly or through the development of uniformity in internal glands, have brought about some modifications in racial features, tending towards homogeneity. Secondly, in spite of the caste system, which are both racial and social in origin, the intermixture of blood has been the most important factor in racial homogeneity. The ancient custom of allowing men of higher caste to marry women of lower castes and the religious systems, such as Buddhism, Sikhism, Vaisnavism, Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Christianism attempting to abolish the caste system, have also encouraged mixed-marriages. Moreover, sex attraction always plays its part in the development of mixed population. Finally, the result of the admixture of races has also developed racial characteristics among different classes of Indian people, which, although different among themselves, distinguish them from the rest of the human race.

"Beneath the manifold diversity" says Sir Herbert Risley, "of physical and social type, language, custom and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. There is in fact an Indian character, a general Indian personality which we cannot resolve into its component elements."[3]

3. *People of India*, 2nd ed., p. 299.

Cultural Diversity

As far as the cultural background is concerned, India offers a unique opportunity in the impact of three great but divergent civilisations, namely, Hindu, Muslim, and Western, each of which has developed through the ages and resulted from the sentiments, customs, thoughts, activities, ideals, aims, laws and institutions of a large body of humanity. The greatness of this new civilisation lies in the embodiment of the living experiences of a variety of racial and cultural groups. What is equally significant is the fact that these different and divergent cultures have been brought and established in India by their own adherents.

The most important cultural achievement in India is Hindu civilisation. It is the civilisation which has been achieved by various groups of peoples through prolonged experiences for ages. The Indo-Aryan culture, which mingled with the Dravidian and other indigenous cultures even in pre-historic times, has subsequently absorbed several other cultural elements, such as those of the Greeks, Persians and Scythians and Turks in ancient and medieval times. Hindu civilisation is essentially religious in its nature. Rising from the early stage of human history, when man was still quite helpless in his struggle against nature and depended for his success in life upon the assistance of some superior power, religion became deeply embedded into Hindu culture. But the greatness of Hindu mind lies not in its religiousness but in its quest of the ultimate reality and in the discovery of some universal truths for the benefit of not only themselves but also of the mankind in general. These truths have been expressd in their science and philosophy, religion and ethics, art and literature, and social systems.

Islam itself is a cultural synthesis. Although originating in Arabia, it has absorbed several Semitic civilisations, such as those of Assyria, Babylonia, Sumeria, Phoenicia, Egypt and Northern Africa. Muslim civilisation is founded upon Mahommedanism, which like Hinduism, is not only a religion, but also a mode of life. Although based upon Judaism and Christianity for the conception of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, it has been mostly drawn from Arabic culture and transformed into a great religion under its illustrious prophet, Mahomed, and his teachings or rituals, which became known as the Koran. As a civilisation, it is a synthesis of several cultural achievements, both ancient and medieval, but owing to the basic origin from the Arabic culture and the teachings of the Prophet it has maintained its

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individuality and unity. Muslim civilisation has made great contributions to India with special reference to government and administration, science and philosophy, art and architecture, industry and trade.

Western civilisation is also an admixture of Greek and Roman civilisations as well as of the cultures of Western European countries, specially of Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany. It is the most virile, dynamic and progressive civilisation in modern times. It has not only spread over America, Australia and Africa but has also great influence over Eastern civilisations. Of the older countries, no one is more closely associated with Western civilisation than India. India has not only come in contact with Western civilisation, but most of her modern institutions, such as government, jurisprudence, industry and education, have been introduced and established by the British on Western models. Moreover, most of the social values and social attitudes of modern India have resulted from close contact with the British as well as the West in general.

It is thus seen that India has achieved vast resources of cultural elements from the impact of three great civilisations within her borders. While the co-ordination and integration of these diverse and sometimes divergent cultural elements into one organic whole forms the foundation of this new civilisation, its progressive development depends upon a number of factors such as (1) evaluation and selection of the best elements of these cultures; (2) elimination of obsolete and antequated elements which are obstacles to its progress; (3) adaptation of some elements to new and changing social conditions; and (4) adjustment and incorporation of new cultural values into existing cultural systems.

III. Processes of Development

Reference has already been made to the rise of Indian civilisation from the synthesis of Hindu, Muslim and Western civilisations and from the new social values, ideals and aims, which have grown in India since the beginning of the 19th century. The development of this new civilisation has been brought about by several social processes, which may be considered under the following headings, namely: (1) assimilation and amalgamation; (2) integration and co-ordination; (3) re-generation and re-orientation; and (4) evaluation and idealisation. These processes, though neither exhaustive nor exclusive, might be said to have played important part in the four great periods of Indian history, namely the ancient, the medieval, the modern, and the contemporary respectively.

Assimilation and Amalgamation

The most important process of cultural fusion are assimilation and amalgamation, by which either one cultural group is incorporated into another through absorption into its traditions, sentiments, thoughts and institutions, or two or more racial groups are blended into one through intermarriage or otherwise. While amalgamation is merely a physiological process and may be helpful to assimilation, the latter is a psychological process and is essential to cultural fusion.

The cultural history of India has been traced back to what is called the Indus Valley civilisation some 3000 years B.C. It was not, however, until the advent of the Indo-Aryans that Hindu civilisation began to grow. Even before their arrival in India, the Indo-Aryans had made considerable progress in cultural attainments, such as social, religious and political institutions and art of warfare. With their superior culture, especially fighting power, they not only conquered the country, but also imposed their culture upon the indigenous peoples, and the early impression of their dominating cultural ideal was so great that Hindu civilisation has continuously followed the Aryan cultural patterns in ideas, thoughts, customs, laws and institutions. Although during the Buddhistic period the Indo-Aryan culture declined and a part of it was fused with indigenous cultures, the rise of Hinduism in the 3rd century A.D. restored the supremacy of the Aryan culture.

Buddhism was a great unifying force of the peoples and cultures of India for about 1000 years. When Indo-Aryan culture spread eastwards up to the frontier of Bengal, it came in close contact with the various non-Aryan cultures. It was Buddhism which combined the Aryan with the non-Aryan cultures and brought most of the races of India into one cultural idea, specially when Asoka became the Emperor of India and made Buddhism a State religion. The attempt of the Buddhists to popularise the culture was, however, mostly frustrated by the Brahmins in the 3rd century A.D., who established new Hinduism, or Brahminism, although they incorporated, in a new system, most of the cultural achievements of the Buddhists, thus making it again a richer civilisation.

The success of the Indo-Aryan culture in assimilating other cultures lies in its spirit of toleration. The pervading thought of the Indo-Aryan culture is that a unifying spiritual reality

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underlies this visible world, and the true philosophy of life consists in the search after this unity in the midst of all diversities. This dominant conception of Hindu civilisation has developed tolerating spirit. While attempting to preserve their own cultural ideals they respected other cultures. This spirit of toleration has helped them to absorb all the isdigenous cultural ideals and also to asssimilate all the subsequent cultures brought by the invaders and conquerors upto the 10th century A.D. Thus the cultural achievements of different races and tribes of the early periods, such as the Greeks, the Persians, the Scythians and the Turks, were subsequently assimilated into the great mass of Hindu cultural achievements under what is called neo-Hinduism or Hinduism.

Amalgamation of racial groups began very early in the Vedic period inasmuch as the early Aryans did not hesitate to take their wives from the lower castes. But it was a commoner practice during the Buddhistic period when the caste system was condemned. The greatest period of racial amalgamation was however the ninth and tenth centuries, when Rajput peoples were formed by the blending of the Aryans, non-Aryans and foreigners of the Central India. The practice of giving daughters in marriage to higher castes and taking wives from the lower castes helped in the blood-mixture of many racial and sub-racial groups. This process of amalgamation has been a great help to Hinduising many foreign tribes and lower castes.

While these processes of assimilation and amalgamation are going on among the Hindus even today, the initiative in this matter has been taken up by the proselytising religions, such as Islam, Christianity and Sikhism. As compared with the increase in population of 26·8 per cent among the Hindus in 50 years from 1881 to 1931, the increase in population was 55 per cent among the Muslims, 134 per cent among the Sikhs and 238 per cent among the Christians.[4]

Integration and Co-Ordination

Integration and co-ordination are still another class of social processes for cultural synthesis. They adjust cultural elements either into one organic whole or bring them together into a working order preserving their individual characters. Integration and co-ordination are not new processes in India, but were utilised in establishing neo-Hinduism inasmuch as many indigenous cultural elements were incorporated into Hindu culture without much modification. But it was the advent of Islam which made it necessary to adjust cultural differences through the process of integration and co-ordination.

Muslim civilisation, in fact, brought into India an altogether new cultural ideal, with its absolute and uncompromising monotheism. There soon grew, however, a tendency to integrate and co-ordinate some of the Muslim and Hindu cultural elements. In spite of cultural differences, by far the majority of the social, political and industrial activities of Hindus and Muslims are concurrent and complementary rather than divergent and contradictory. In fact, agreement and concord among the religious groups of India are commoner than disagreement and discord.

The integration and co-ordination of some of the cultural ideals of Hindus and Muslims have been facilitated by several factors;—(1) the common origins of the Hindus and by far the majority of the Muslims; (2) policy adopted by some Muslim emperors, especially by Akbar, to give the Hindus the same position in the State as the Muslims; (3) the adoption by the Muslims of some of the Hindu institutions; and (4) attempts made by some religious teachers, such as Kabir, to unite the Hindus and the Muslims under one religion.

Government has also played an important part in the processes of cultural integration and co-ordination. Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., Chandragupta II in the 3rd century A.D. and Akbar in the 16th century brought a large part, or practically the whole, of India into one government and helped in cultural consolidation and unification. Moreover, British rule has been of great help in the co-ordination of indigenous cultural elements in India owing to the policy adopted by it, such as (1) non-interference in social and religious affairs of the indigenous peoples, and (2) impartial administration of social justice irrespective of race, caste or creed.

Regeneration and Re-orientation

More important processes for the development of this new civilisations are, however, regeneration and re-orientation, *i.e.*, the revival of old cultural ideals and re-organisation of social institutions on a new basis. These processes have been brought about by several factors such as the following: (1) the establishment by the British of political, industrial and educational institutions during the past two centuries; (2) the Indian Renaissance since the beginning of the 19th century; and (3) various

4. Cf. the writer's paper on "Differential Fertility in India," *Report on Congress International de la Population*, Paris, 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 100-114.

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social movements, which have followed the Indian Renaissance.

Reference has already been made to the various cultural contributions made by the British to Indian civilisation. Themselves conservatives, the British not only avoided any interference with the social and religious institutions of the country, but wanted to keep the *status quo* in social organisation as far as possible. But the very fact that they were a progressive nation with advanced political, industrial and educational institutions, which they built in India for the preservation of their political and economic interests, led to the re-orientation of some of the most important institutions of modern India.

Of the various benefits of British rule, the most important are the following: (1) *peace and order* established by the British Government since the first quarter of the 19th century; (2) *uniform administration*, including the common Civil Service, educational systems and English as official language; (3) *facilities for communication, e.g.*, railways post and telegraph, bringing the different parts of the country within easy reach of each other; and (4) *press and platform*, which have developed since the early part of the 19th century for the social, religious and political movements. The Indian press, both Vernacular and English, is one of the most important factors in the development of common national life.

A very important factor in the development of Indian civilisation is in fact the Indian Renaissance or the regeneration of national life, not only in art and literature but also in social, political and economic activities in general. Neither a mere contact of several cultures nor even their fusion can lay the foundation of a new civilisation. Some of the valuable cultural ideals which have been lost through some physical and social causes must be renovated in the light of modern philosophy, science and art and old institutions must be adapted to new and changing social conditions. Moreover, new cultural achievements must be adjusted to social institutions, new thoughts and ideals must be rooted in national consciousness and aspirations and aims must be integrated into new cultural ideals.

The founder of the Indian Renaissance was Raja Rammohun Roy, who took initiative in most of the modern cultural movements such as abolition of the *Suttee*, education and emancipation of women, separation of the judiciary from the executive, establishment of the freedom of the press, codification of Indian laws, introduction of English as the medium of higher education, foundation of Bengali as a written language and the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj. In brief, Rammohan was the founder of modern India.

The Renaissance movement gained immense strength and made great progress during the first half of the 19th century and has been followed by several social movements with special reference to religion, reform, education, industry and government. All these movements are more or less conscious, continuous and organised activities with a view to eradicating some outstanding social evils or reforming some old institutions or even realising some new social ideals and social values.

The earliest social movements in India relate to religion, the most important of which are the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramkrishna Mission. All of them are the direct results of the contact with Christianity and Western civilisation and have exercised great influence upon the national life of India. Reform movements have much more tangible results than the religious movements. The lead in social reform movements was given also by the Brahmo Samaj, which has done much in bringing before the public the evils of child marriage, caste and untouchability, enforced widowhood and the purdah system. Most of these movements are now carried on by separate and independent organisations. Child marriage has been restricted by national legislation. Hindu widow marriage has been legalised and provision has also been made by the Baroda State for divorce among Hindus. Movements for the emancipation of women have been undertaken by women themselves.

The most important movement for the elevation of the people to a high cultural level is that of education. Among the landmarks of the educational movement the most important are the following:—(1) the introduction of Western learning, with English as the recognised medium, in the 'thirties of the last century; (2) the establishment of universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the 'fifties, and at other towns later on; (3) the enactment of primary educational Acts by eight different provinces since 1918, granting local governments option for imparting compulsory primary education; and (4) introduction of vernacular language for primary, secondary and even higher education in different provinces. As a result of the educational movement, there has grown up in the country a large number of educated people in different branches of

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learning, such as art, science, and philosophy, as well as in different learned professions such as law, medicine and engineering. Their intellectual activities have been expressed in different organisations and associations of history, economics, science, medicine, chemistry and law, and have helped the growth of a new social consciousness in India.

The industrial systems are still among the links which unite the inhabitants of a country into one or more groups. The greatest movements in the industrial organisation of the country are (1) the gradual commercialisation of agriculture; (2) the revival of indigenous industries including arts and crafts by the Swadeshi and the Khadi movements as well as by Government subsidies; (3) the rise of organised industry, which employed about 5 million workers by 1931; (4) the rise of indigenous capital and enterprise, which has been taking an increasingly important part in national industry and finance, and (5) the rise of the labour legislation and of the trade union movement, which have followed organised industry.

The last but not the least important social movement is that in connection with Government as represented by the Indian National Congress, the Indian Muslim League, and the Indian Liberal Federation. The Indian National Congress has, since 1885, exercised a great influence in the development of the spirit of national unity as indicated by its success in the election of 1937 under the new Constitution, when the Congress captured seven out of eleven provincial governments. As a result of the national movement in India as well as of the adoption of more liberal policy by England, the Constitution of India has been made more liberal by the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935. By the Act of 1935, the British Provinces have been granted autonomy and provisions have also been made, though temporarily postponed for the duration of the War, for the federation of Indian States with British Provinces under a Federal Government. Moreover, India has also been promised Dominion Status after the War, which, as reconstituted by the Statute of Westminster of 1926, is nothing short of independence except in name.

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Some of the racial types of Siam

THE PEOPLE AND POLITICS OF THAILAND

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc.Pol. (Rome)

While all the world is anxiously waiting for a rapidly advancing intensification of the war in the coming spring, a new theatre of world war is slowly developing much nearer home which would prove to be no less far-reaching in its consequences than the bigger theatre of Hitler's war in Europe. This smaller theatre is a picturesque and fascinating stretch of tropical territory "in the backwash of the China Seas." Formerly its name was "Siam;" now it is called by the more ethnologically significant name of "Thailand," that is, the land of the *Thai*, the original inhabitants of the country.

Wat Sutat. It is a double-roofed temple, erected on a high terrace with a court-yard in the centre full of sitting Buddhas

It is here that a decisive battle of Imperialist Powers struggling for supremacy in the East, in the Pacific and in the Indian Ocean, may very well be fought, and it is here that Anglo-American diplomacy and military strategy may be confronted with its most crucial test for the preservation of *status quo* in East Asia.

Following closely upon the defection of France last summer, the Far Eastern partner of the Axis Tripartite Pact seized the opportunity of attacking Indo-China with the obvious purpose of obtaining military concessions for naval and air bases in the French colony which were calculated to bestow a definite advantage on Japanese operations against China from the Southern flank, not to speak of their strategic importance in a major encounter in the East Indies and South Seas. The prospect of such an alluring gain tempted the Japanese strategists to fish in troubled waters, but the French in Indo-China offered resistance. The Japanese plans for a quick settlement in Indo-China were frustrated. It is at this stage that Thailand pushed forward her territorial claims against Indo-China and hostilities started between the two neighbours. The French Government at Vichy vacillated and apparently could not persuade the colonial authority of Indo-China to come to terms with Thailand or Japan. The hostilities proceeded and Thai troops penetrated considerably into Indo-Chinese territory. At the instance of Japan an armistice was called between Thailand and Indo-China, and on the 31st January, 1941, an agreement was signed between the representatives of the two countries on board a Japanese warship off Saigon. It is not necessary to go into the details of the terms

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Siamese dancers in graceful pose. The Khon dancers wear masks but the Lakon dancers do not

of the armistice agreement, but it would be useful to remember that its clauses ensure the effective arbitration of Japanese delegates in all matters of dispute which the latter call thier "mission." This Japanese mission of arbitration between Thailand and French Indo-China offeres the key to the understanding of the intriguing situation swiftly developing in the south-eastern marches of Asia. That Japan is not arbitrating in this dispute for the mere love of peace in East Asia would be amply borne out by the following press report published in the Calcutta *Statesman* on the 5th February, 1941 :

"By imposing their arbitration on the French in Indo-China and the Thai Government, the Japanese have scored their first diplomatic success for a long period, for their signature of the Triple Power Pact in Berlin can scarcely be so termed, states the diplomatic correspondent of the *Times*.

"They may also have strengthened their military and naval positions in the 'South Seas' that vague elastically defined region which they would like to earmark as a Japanese sphere of influence. It is not in the Japanese character to arbitrate without hope of remuneration, and nothing in recent Japanese policy suggests that the Konoye Government would be satisfied with improving their prestige at Bangkok and Saigon and restoring peace on the Thai border. It is very probable that the Japanese Government intend to charge a high price for their services."—*Copyright*

It is not difficult to imagine what form this high price would take. It may mean effective Japanese control over the strategic posts and natural resources of both Indo-China and Siam, or eventually may take the form of virtual occupation by Japan of the entire territory comprising the two countries. This latter would place Japan in an extremely advantageous position in regard to her war with China as well as any eventual war with the British Empire and the United States of America. With her air-bases in Indo-China and her navy in the Gulf of Siam, Japan would be able to strike equally in the north as well as in the south. If, in addition, the much-discussed plan of a canal through the isthmus of Kra materialize, then the Japanese Navy can substantially reduce the importance of Singapore in the defence of British India and may find it possible to quietly cross into the Bay of Bengal. But before Japan may think of executing such an ambitious scheme, she will have to prepare herself for a tough fight on the frontiers of Burma which are closely guarded by British Imperial Forces. Seen in the light of this complicated chess-board of Imperial strategy, the real importance of the Burma Road connecting Mandalay with Chung-king would be fully realized. The Burma Road is not merely

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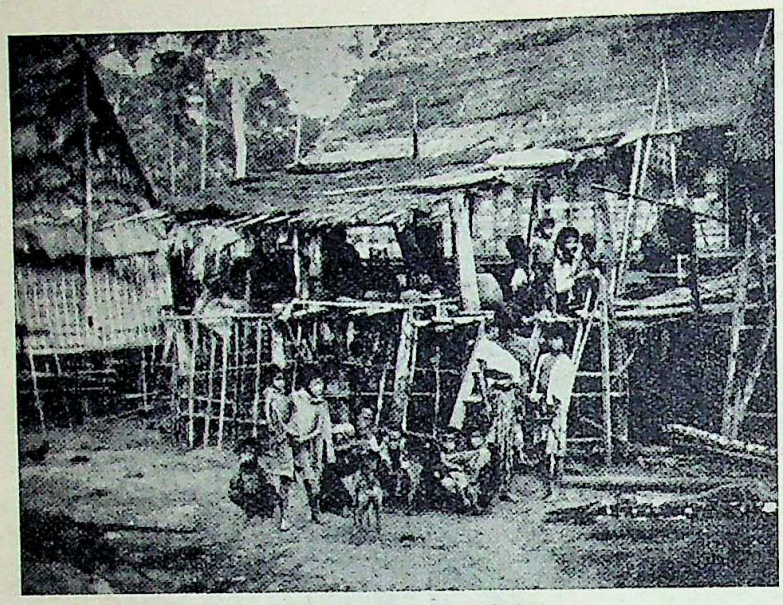
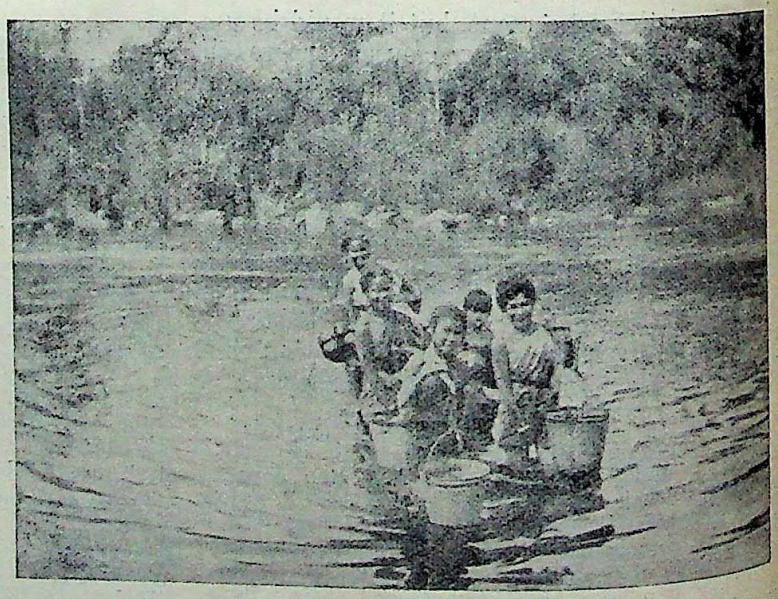


A hut at Ban Pak Hai

a trade route for the transport of war supplies to China but is a strategical avenue for welding together Republican China and British Burma into one military block against any eventual Japanese invasion of Burma or Malaya. On the other hand, the Indo-Chinese air bases will provide excellent jumping-off grounds for Japanese air-men in any southward drive. Newspaper reports have been pouring in regularly for the last two weeks about Hitler's pressure on Japan asking the latter to launch an attack against the Dutch East Indies synchronising with Hitler's grim spring offensive on Britain or in the Balkans. In any case, if Japan is eventually persuaded to fulfil her obligations according to the Tripartite Axis Pact, Thailand and Indo-China will witness the thickest of the East Asian struggle and one of our immediate neighbours, namely Burma, will inevitably be involved in it. It is from such an eventuality that dangers to the civic life of the great cities in Eastern India may arise.



Lao women of Ban Pak Yang

At this stage, one may reasonably ask, what is Thailand's interest in such a struggle. Apparently she has some territory to gain in Indo-China, the territory that once belonged to Siam. The desire on the part of Thailand to regain those territories may be considered to be the result of a strong nationalist movement in the country supported by the Army and inspired by irredentist ideologies borrowed from abroad. This nationalist ideology is also manifest in the change of the country's name from Siam to Thailand. It is not unlikely that this movement had something to do with the overthrow of the autocratic regime of King Projadhipok who is now an exile in England. The causes leading to Projadhipok's abdication, however, are still shrouded in mystery. Whether it was due to a genuine people's revolt against an autocratic monarchy or was manœuvred by foreign Powers interested in the government of the country, is not yet very clear. It is certain that the people of Siam were never very friendly to the French, the memory of wars with whom is not yet very faint with them. But the same cannot be said with regard to the relations between Siam and Britain. Projadhipok was educated in England and was credited with having a perfect understanding of the British point of view in regard to Siam's foreign policy. That such a king was not wanted by the people or the Army or both does not help to clarify the diplomatic intrigues at Bangkok.

Siam's contact with Europe dates back to

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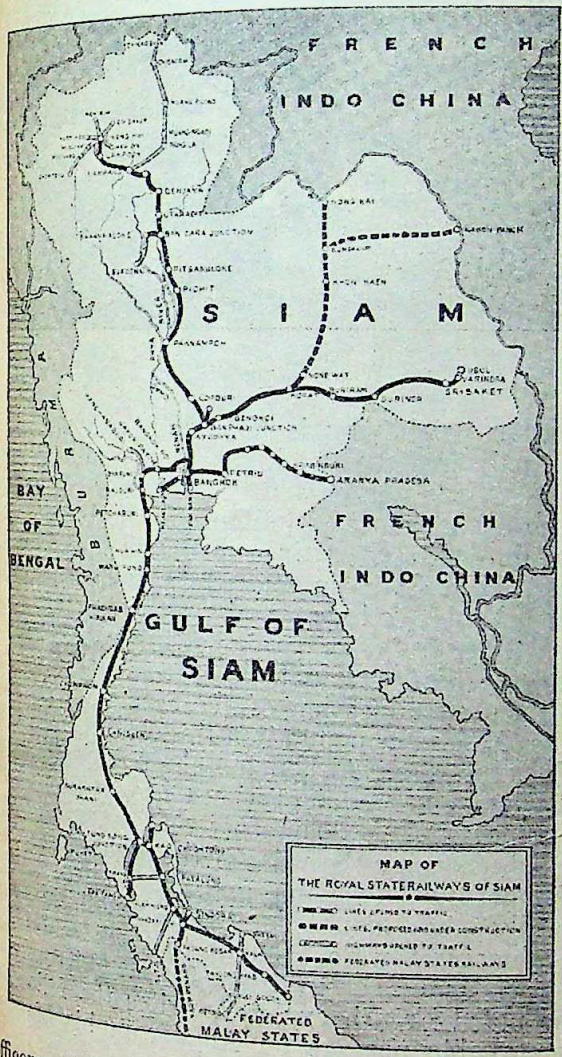
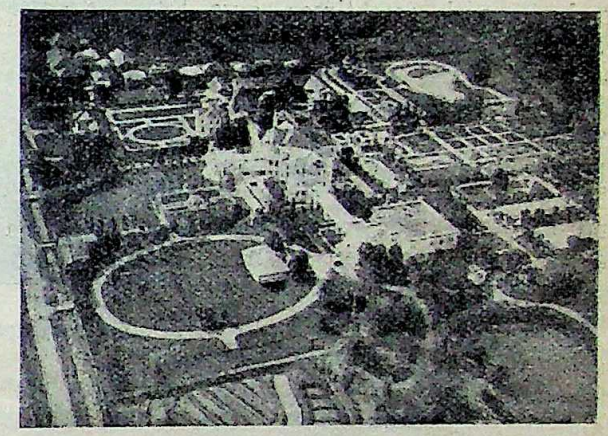
1511 when the Portuguese traders landed there. Siam's contact with the Dutch and the British dates from the early seventeenth century. Following the friendly communication between James I and the King of Siam, Englishmen came to enjoy special privileges in the country and occupied important posts in the State Services. This aroused considerable jealousy among



officers of the East India Company which led to an attack on Siam by the troops of the Company. The Siamese reprisal took the violent form of massacre of the English at Mergui in 1688. The relations between the Siamese and the English were not restored to their normal friendship until 1855 when a series of frustrated negotiations led to a treaty, whereby Siam agreed to the appointment of a British Consul at Bangkok. France came into contact and conflict with Siam somewhat later than England, and in 1895 lengthy negotiations took place between France and England concerning their respective eastern and western frontiers in Farther India, leading to the Anglo-French Convention of 1896. In 1907, a further Convention was made with France, by which Saim ceded to the French the protectorate of Cambodia and the province of Battambang conquered in 1811, and received in compensation the province of Krat and the district of Dansai. In 1917 Siam declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary. The most important modern



Phya Thai Palace, Bangkok

treaties are those made with the United States (1920); Japan (1924); Denmark, France, Holland, Portugal and Spain (1925). In 1925, there was concluded an economic agreement with Germany, and two new treaties with Great Britain were signed in the same year, one general and the other commercial. From the above short historical account it will be clear that British and French ambitions in Siam have fought side by side for supremacy. But English influence finally triumphed over the French in Siam, mainly because the Siamese were suspicious of French intentions. Disputes between Siam and France regarding the boundary between Siam and the French province of Annam continued for a long time. Siam's trade with Japan dates back to a remote past and is known to have existed in the opening centuries of the Christian era. The present-day rivalry between Britain and Japan in Thailand is mainly economic. Thailand is rich in natural resources and minerals, namely, rice, teak, tin, tungsten, wolfram, coal iron, zinc, manganese, antimony, gold, silver, rubies, sapphires, etc. In 1926-27 the extraction of tin amounted to 10,140 tons, and in the same year 59,339 tons of teak wood valued at £747,144 were exported from Siam. Siam has a population of nearly ten millions out of which 3,800,000 are Siamese, 3,650,000 are Laos, 500,000 are Chinese and 400,000 are rest, including Malayans, Cambodians, Burmans,

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Annamites, etc. There are about two thousand Europeans in Siam, out of which there are missionaries, merchants and technological experts employed by the Government. The teak industry is almost entirely in the hands of the British. The Chinese population are energetic and industrious but very independent, and sometimes give trouble so that their increasing numbers and organisation through secret societies are a source of anxiety. It is mainly through the efforts of the Chinese settlers that socialism and labour movement have gained some vogue in Siam in recent years. All able-bodied men are liable by the Military Service Act of 1917 to two years' service with the colours and for varying periods in the reserves. Aviation schools have been established and Government used to send in recent years a number of students to receive training in aviation and other military services to the advanced European countries. The Government of Siam is practically an absolute monarchy, but a Legislative Council was established in 1895. Its functions, however, were taken over by the Supreme Council of State and the Department of Legal Redaction of the Ministry of Justice. The Legislative Council seldom met but the Cabinet Council and the Supreme Council meet frequently.

Waterfall on the Kwee Wang Tong at Ban Pooy

Siam is essentially a forest country. The Siamese Teak forests yield much revenue to the State. Elephants are generally used for hauling logs

Perhaps one of the least known among our eastern neighbours is Thailand, although it is the only independent kingdom in South-Eastern Asia. Even the citizen of Tokyo or Peiping or Lhasa, is more familiar in Calcutta and Bombay than the citizen of Bangkok or Chiengmai. Yet Siam is related to India by many remarkable ethnic and religious affinities. Buddhism is the prevailing religion in Thailand and the *Wats* or monastic schools look after the elementary education of the Siamese and Laos. The Malayan population in the peninsula is Mohammedan. Although a chronological history of Siam since ancient times has not yet been written, all the documents and records having perished during the wars of the middle ages with Cambodians, Peguans and Annamites, it can hardly be doubted that Buddhism and Brahmanism were brought to Siam and India-China by preachers from India. Pierre Loti, the noted French explorer, writes the following remarkable passage on Angkor in his Siamese Diary :

"In epochs that are uncertain, this town, buried now for many centuries, was one of the glories of the world. Just as the old Nile, by virtue merely of its slime, had reared in its valley a marvellous civilisation, so here the Mekong, spreading each year its waters, had deposited its richness, and prepared the way for the proud empire of the Khmers. It was probably in the time of Alexander, the Macedonian, that a people emigrated from India, came and settled on the banks of this great river, after subjugating the timid natives, men with little eyes, worshippers of the Serpent. The conquerors brought with them the Gods of Brahmanism and the beautiful legends of the *Ramayana*, and as their opulence increased on this fertile soil they built everywhere gigantic temples, carved with a thousand figures. "Later—some centuries later, one cannot tell

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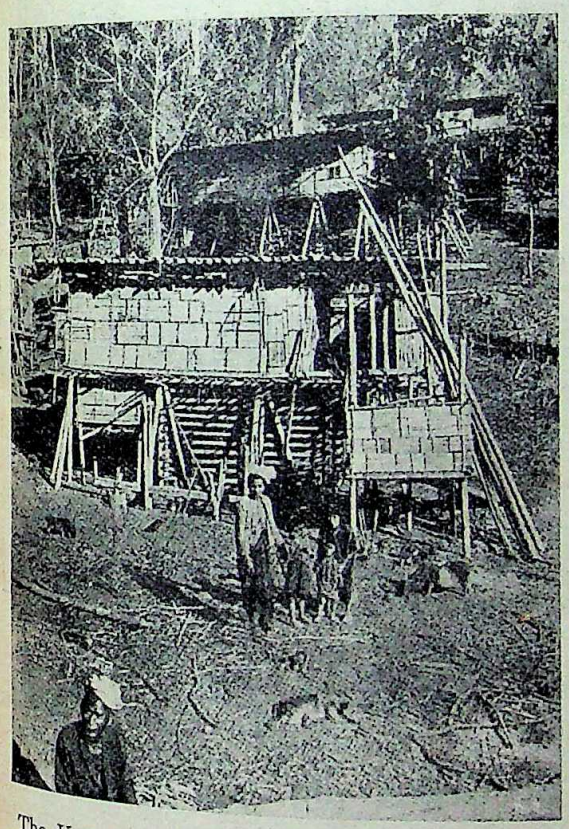
many, for the existence of this people is much effaced from the memory of men—the powerful sovereigns of Angkor saw, arriving from the East, missionaries in yellow robes, bearers of the new light at which the Asiatic world was wondering. Buddha, the predecessor of his brother Jesus, had achieved the enlightenment of India, and his emissaries were spreading over the East of Asia, to preach there the same gospel of pity and love which the disciples of Christ had recently brought to Europe. Then the temples of Brahma became Buddhist temples; the statues of the altars changed their attitudes and lowered their eyes with gentler smiles."[1]

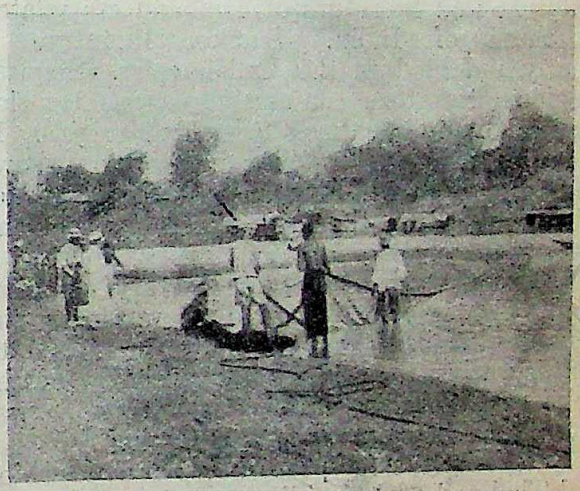
Although the Thais belong to a race-group which is predominantly Mongol in origin, it is not unlikely that a considerable amount of Indian blood has mingled with the Thais and Laos to make the modern Siamese. The following account given in an authoritative treatise of the ethnic and religious characteristics of the Thais is very illuminating :



The Karens of Siam live in villages, where they build curious bamboo-woven structures, daubed with fowl's blood and ornamented with feathers, placed by the side of the path. They are mostly animists and some of them are Christians

"Taken as a whole the Thais resemble the Chinese much more than they resemble the Indians or Malays, and yet their physiognomy, their customs, and their way of thinking present so many characteristic Indian traits that the Siamese nation to a certain extent justifies its claim to descent from the Brahmans. The Siamese are well named Indo-Chinese; everything about them—manners, customs, civil and religious institutions—participates in that double character. Their festivals are of Brahmanic origin, whilst their mode of Government and their laws are clearly borrowed from Chinese institutions. The language, like the other principal idioms of Indo-China, is monosyllabic, and includes no words of more than one syllable except those taken from foreign languages.

The Siamese are for the most part very good-tempered and remarkably patient, but they wholly lack initiative; they work regularly at their customary labours, but are not ingenious enough to discover new methods. No people are more hospitable or more humane; the poor are taken care of everywhere, and travellers find along their routes shelters where they can cook and pass the night; the recommendation made by the Buddhists to place along the road jars of fresh water for thirsty wayfarers is nowhere better observed. Siam is the country of Indo-China in which Buddhism is least mixed with other religious elements; it has not degenerated into Shamanism, as in the valleys of the Himalays, on the plateau of Tibet, and above all on the steppes of the Mongols and in the forests of the Buriats; it has also held aloof from Hindu idolatry, at least in modern times, for in the sculpture on several temples of the Laos, as in the religious buildings of Cambodia, a confused mixture of Buddhist and Brahmanic motives may be detected. Every son in the family has to pass through a monastic state; between the years of twenty and twenty-one, the young men go to a monastery, take off their civil dress, and renounce their rank and dignity during the time of claustration. Even the Kings are subject to this rule, and on emerging from the monastery they have to be crowned anew, although they remain none the less high priests and are responsible for the prosperity of the monasteries."[2]



Siam's fresh-water fishing grounds include many large interior rivers, which abounds in numerous types of the carp family

Side by side with Buddhism and Brahmanism, the Thais practise animism in rural areas.

1. Pierre Loti : *Siam*. Translated by M. P. Baines (London, 1929). Pages 63-64.

2. *The Historians' History of the World* (London, 1907). Vol. XXIV, pp. 514.

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The *Phai* or spirit, still owes, the secret allegiance of thousands of Thais while their sacramental rites are conducted according to the Buddhist and in some places Brahmanical traditions. A member of the British Consular Service who had travelled extensively in the interior of Siam observes in this connection :

"So the peasant's life fall into two parts. He is ever willing to pay his devotions to the teachings of the Lord Buddha, and to tread the strait and narrow path as far as within him lies so that his merits may increase and the *Karma* handed on may prove such as to endow him with a higher role in his next existence. But, on the other hand, the doctrine is not easy to comprehend, and in the meantime he has his daily life and work to think of, in which, at every turn and thoughtful moment, the *Phai* alone can help or hinder him. They must, therefore, be continually courted and feasted to this end."[3]

Recent indological researches have demonstrated how vastly and intimately the art, sculpture and literature of Thailand are related to those of India. Siamese literature is greatly indebted to the Indian epics. Siamese religious literature contains numerous translations and amplifications from Pali origins. It is, however, in law that Siamese literature shows its best early prose. Five ancient canons, some of them founded on the *Laws of Manu*, exist and present the earliest form of Siamese law and a very early style of Siamese literary composition. The importation of Pali words in the Siamese language dates from about the 12th century, when the country having shaken off the yoke of Cambodia, a religious intercourse was established between Siam and Ceylon.

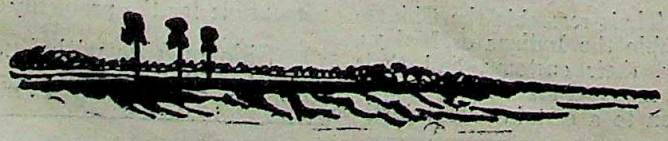
Negotiations for peace between Indo-China and Thailand are proceeling at present in Tokyo through the mediation of Japan. The temporary armistice may as a result of the negotiations be converted into lasting peace, unless any third party again stirs trouble in this region. If in spite of all attempts Thailand be dragged into an imperialistic war on the side of Japan she will have to meet opposition and resistance from the British Indian Army. The long standing cultural, artistic, literary and ethnic ties existing between Thailand and India will render such a paradoxical struggle between the two East Asian peoples all the more cruel and meaningless. We can only hope that Thailand will realize fully

Lao hunters setting out to snare jungle fowl

the implications of Japan's vision of a new order in the Far East before she plunges into the general conflagration that seems to be approaching very fast. One merely wonders in despair if the unhappy but peaceful peoples of Greater India will be spared the horrors of a modern warfare.

12th February, 1941

3. Reginald Le May : *An Asian Arcady* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 135.



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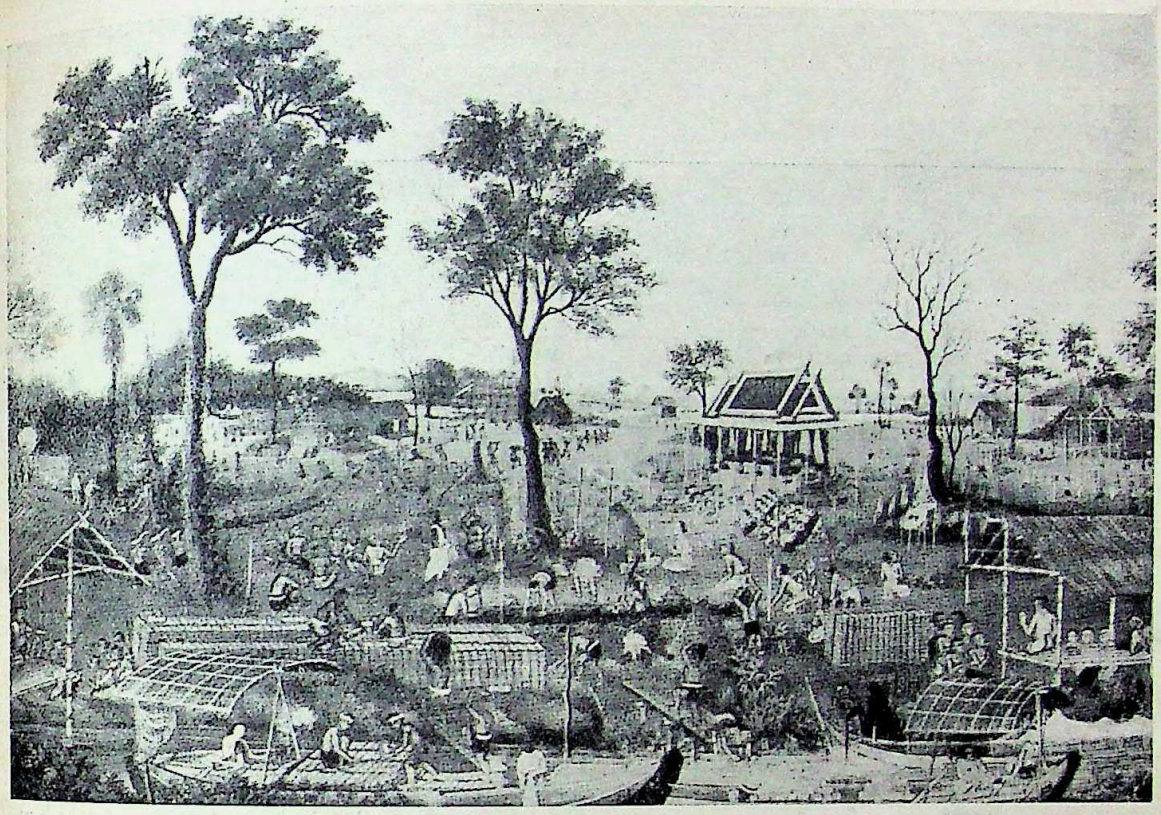

The discovery of the Sacred Conch Shell at the foundation of Ayudhya. Founded in 1349, Ayudhya is a city of great historical interest, containing many imposing ruins and relics

An episode taken from the drama known as "I-Nao"

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Bronze head and torso of Visnu. Tai (Ayudhya) type

Bronze Siva. Tai (Ayudhya) type

Bronze Siva. Tai (Ayudhya) type

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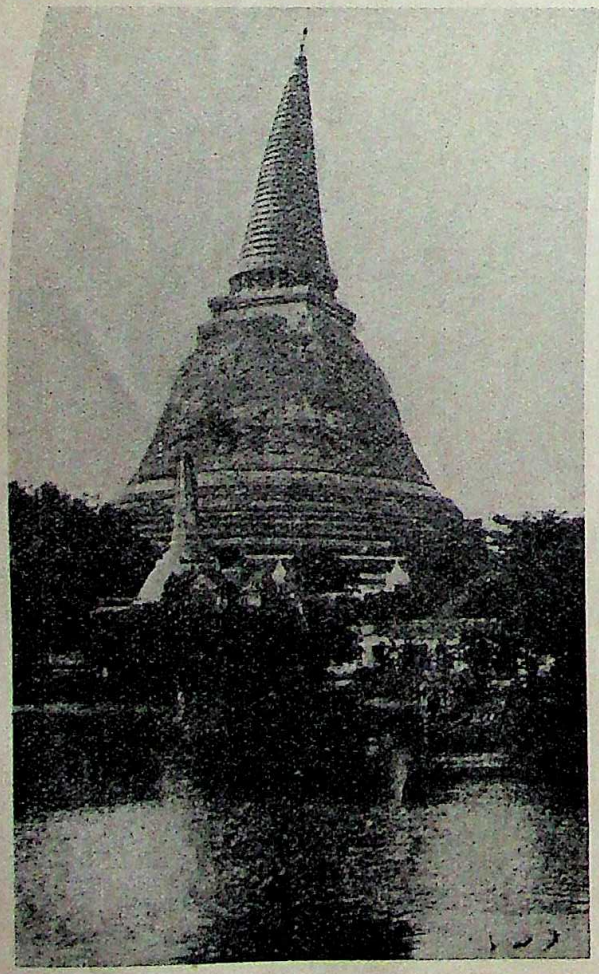
Bronze head and torso of Visnu. Tai (Ayudhya) type

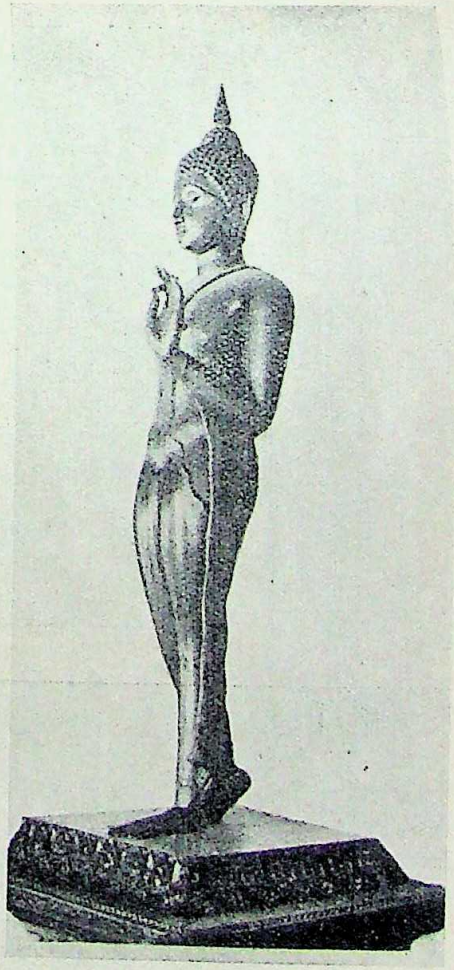
Bronze Siva. Tai (Ayudhya) type

Bronze Siva. Tai (Ayudhya) type



Stupa at P'rapatom (380 feet high) as restored by King Mongkut (1851-1868)

Bronze Buddha. Tai (Suk'ot'ai) type



Bronze Buddha. Tai (Suk'ot'ai) type. Temple of Benchamabopit, Bangkok

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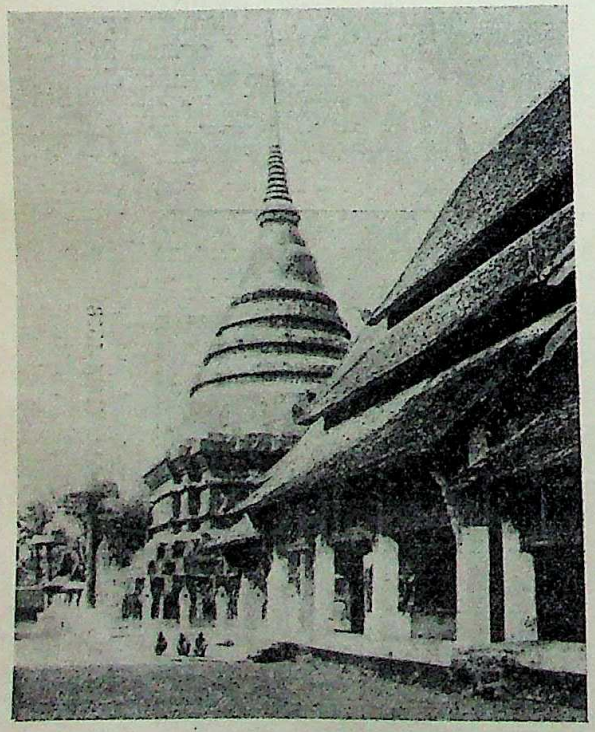
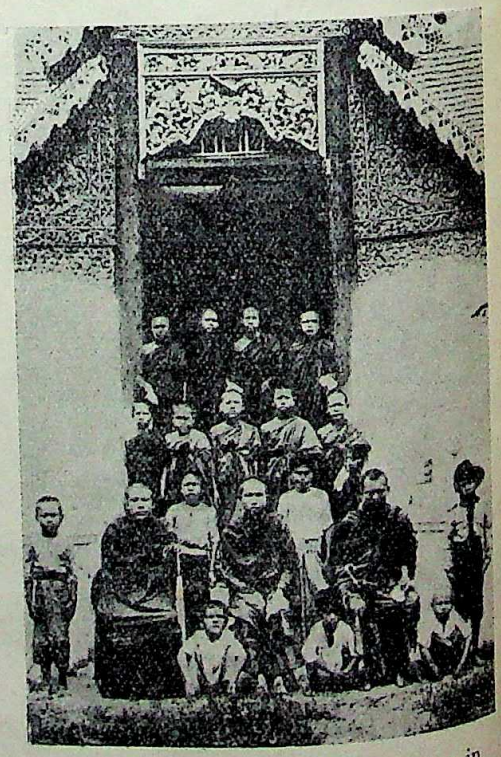
Carved teak door facing one of the four images of Buddha in the temple at Nan

The Vihara at Lampang Luang



The Stupa at Lampang Luang, behind the Vihara



Group of Buddhist priests and acolytes in Northern Siam

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NON-INDIAN EDUCATIONISTS AND THE PROPOSED SECONDARY BOARD OF EDUCATION, BENGAL

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.,

President, All-Bengal Teachers' Association; President, All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association; Organising Secretary, All-India Conference of Indian Christians

The representation of Anglo-Indians and Europeans in the Secondary Board of Education has been provided for under Sub-Clauses (6), (17), (19) and (20) of Clause 4 of the Secondary Education Bill. This will have the effect of sending altogether 5 members of these two communities to the Board. Of these, one will be an *ex-officio* European gentleman, one a nominated European lady and three will come in by election. To come to details, these members will be the Inspector of European Schools, a European elected from the Bengal Legislative Assembly, two non-official elected members of the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European education and a European lady nominated by Government. Obviously, any Anglo-Indian member of this group, if he finds representation at all, must do so by election from the Anglo-Indian and European Board of Education. It therefore follows that, under the arrangements proposed, Europeans and Anglo-Indians engaged in imparting Secondary, Collegiate and University education to Indians will not be represented in the Secondary Board.

More than half a century ago, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea in the course of an editorial in his paper, *The Bengalee*, while referring to the services rendered to India and her children by non-Indian missionaries stated

> "Nor must it be forgotten that in the days when the schoolmaster had not been abroad, the Christian missionary was the pioneer of education in this country."

This remark is equally true to-day for in every area where there is lack of educational facilities it is non-Indian Christian effort which is mainly responsible for the starting of different types of schools and colleges. It is also an undeniable fact that even where there are such facilities, the standard, always a high one, is set by institutions under non-Indian missionary control. And so high is the reputation for efficient teaching, discipline and a right atmosphere achieved by these institutions, that the demand for seats in Christian institutions is always in excess of the accommodation available.

Under circumstances such as these, the exclusion of non-Indian Christian educationists from the Secondary Board appears unjustifiable. It is therefore that I feel that I must draw the attention of every one who takes any interest in the spread and improvement of Secondary education in our province to what I regard as one of the most objectionable features of the Secondary Bill and I am doing so because apparently it has not attracted the attention it deserves.

Every one who has even a nodding acquaintance with the history of education in our motherland must be aware of the yeoman's service rendered to this cause by Christian missions and missionaries. And yet no one has entered his protest against what I regard as an obvious injustice towards a body of people to whom we owe a debt of gratitude which is almost unrepayable. Any refusal to recognise their claims would lay us open to the charge of ingratitude of which I for one must clear myself.

We find that even to-day Catholic and Protestant missions are maintaining 12 colleges and about 140 Secondary schools in our province. In the colleges, about 90 per cent of the students come from the Hindu and Muslim communities while in the Secondary schools about 75 to 80 per cent are non-Christians. Highly qualified non-Indian missionary teachers are to be found in all these colleges and in practically every one of the Secondary schools. These European and American teachers, male and female, are graduates of world-famous universities, hold teaching diplomas and are quite familiar with Indian conditions. So far as members of the different Roman Catholic orders are concerned, those familiar with the education imparted to them in their seminaries will agree with me when I say that, shut out as they normally are by their rules from entering ordinary educational institutions and getting their education in them, the kind of strenuous training they receive in their own institutions is in no way inferior to what is imparted in secular centres of education.

It has appeared to me very strange that the

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framers of the Secondary Education Bill overlooked the claims of this body of highly qualified, trained educationists, though they found no difficulty in reserving 5 seats for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. One wonders whether this omission was intentional or otherwise. If the latter, there is yet time to rectify this mistake. On the other hand if the omission was intentional, those uncharitably disposed might have some justification for suggesting that independent, expert European opinion from a purely educational point of view was sought to be avoided. Hence the framing of the Bill is such a way as to exclude such people from all chances of entering the Secondary Board.

These non-Indian gentlemen and ladies cannot come in by nomination for the reason that 13 out of the 14 nominated seats have been allotted to Indians and the one remaining seat to a highly placed European female member of the Education Department. The only other way by which we could have availed ourselves of the services of these educationists would have been by election from the Senate of the Calcutta University and the Executive Council of the Dacca University. These seats, 7 in number, have, however, been allotted to Indians on strictly communal lines. A similar reason prevents European gentlemen connected with Secondary schools from being members of the Board. Sub-Clause 15 of Clause 4 provides for an elected Headmistress professing any religion. I am not sure whether our missionary lady teachers should feel thankful for this very small indirect concession, whether any of them would care to seek election under the conditions laid down in the Bill and also whether they are in a position to meet its requirements.

So far as the Executive Council which has practically been entrusted with all the work of administration is concerned, 8 out of its 14 members are to be officials. The remaining 6 seats have been allotted to Indians on strictly communal lines. So here too the non-Indian educationist is totally shut out from offering any suggestion as to how the work of the Secondary Board should be conducted.

Every educated Bengali—Hindu, Muslim or Christian,—is aware of the services rendered to the cause of higher education by Dr. Henry Stephen who spent more than half a century as a teacher in our midst and who gave away the major part of his savings for the encouragement of higher education. He spent these years as a teacher first of the Free Church College, then of the Scottish Church College and last of all as the Head of the Department of English, Calcutta University. The pecuniary help accorded by him to hundreds of his students which only enabled them to secure the advantages of higher education irrespective of the religion they professed, the pains he took in explaining their difficulties to individual students accounts for the affection and reverence of which he was the recipient. For more than 40 years, he was a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University and a member of various Boards of Studies, Committees, etc., the deliberations of all of which were assisted by his valuable advice and ripe experience.

Dr. W. S. Urquhart was another such figure who spent all his active life in teaching our youths and took delight in doing so. He has won for himself a permanent place in the heart of educated Bengal as one of the most eloquent and impressive teachers of Philosophy. His reputation as the Principal of the largest missionary college in Bengal was unique. The administrative talents he possessed were not only evidenced by the extensions in the academic activities of the Scottish Church College but also by the new directions he gave to University activities which made him, within recent times, the most popular of non-official European Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta University. The services he rendered to the cause of education as a Fellow and a member of different committees are too well-known to require mention. Who does not know that while less eminent men received titles from Government as a recognition of their work as Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Urquhart's claims to distinction were overlooked only because as Vice-Chancellor he had defended the prestige of the University against the unjustifiable high-handedness of the police on a certain memorable occasion ?

Dr. George Howells, Principal of Serampore College, won a unique reputation both as a teacher and an administrator. He made very important contributions to the cause of education serving as a Syndic, a Senator and a member of various Boards of Studies and Committees. His special contribution to the richness and variety of Indian education lay in the sponsoring of that scheme the fruition of which was attained when the Serampore College secured recognition as a Theological University. His instinctive sympathy for the Indian point of view, his bold and uncompromising stand when principles were involved won for him the respect and admiration of all who were privileged to come in contact with him.

Another such man was the Rev. A. E. Brown who, first as a teacher of Mathematics and later

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as the Principal of the Christian College, Bankura, left the deep impress of his personality on his students, colleagues and friends. If Bankura to-day can boast of a large number of educated Hindus, Muslims and Christians, it is only because Mr. Brown took courage in both his hands and, undeterred by difficulties which would most probably have dissuaded most men from such efforts, extended the teaching activities of his college till the time came that instruction in Science and Arts subjects up to the honours stage was placed at the disposal of the young people of the very poor district of Bankura.

Till the other day, the only large institution for the higher education of Hindu, Muslim and Christian women in South Calcutta was the Diocesan College. The amount and kind of service it, as a pioneer, rendered to this cause in this locality can be appreciated only by those who have any knowledge of its activities.

Truly admirable was the boldness of vision of Sister Mary Victoria and of Sister Dorothy Frances who carried on their work under the most difficult of circumstances and by an amount of self-sacrifice the extent of which can be known only to those who, like me, as Inspector of Colleges, had the opportunity of examining the income and expenditure of this institution for more than a decade and a half. These ladies were also responsible for starting the very first Training College for women in Calcutta and to-day many of their old students as trained teachers are doing most excellent and valuable work in Secondary schools for girls in Bengal and Assam. Contrary to what might naturally enough be expected, they threw open their institution to members of all castes and creeds with the result that, in spite of disappointing many Christians, the number of Hindu and Muslim women L.T.'s, B.A.'s and B.T.'s turned out by them is much larger than those coming from the Indian Christian community. The work of Miss. W. Plumbe in the B.T. classes for women students in the Scottish Church College is equally valuable and is referred to in the briefest of ways for want of space.

Turning to the Roman Catholic contribution to the cause of higher education, we cannot forget the truly admirable services rendered to us by the Rev. Father Lafont who built up the splendid laboratories of St. Xavier's College, by the Rev. Fathers Crohan and O'Neille who taught three if not four generations of Hindu and Muslim students and last, but not least, by the Rev. Father E. Roeland, urbane and sympathetic but unyielding in the discharge of his duties as Rector of St. Xaviers, a Syndic and a Fellow of the Calcutta University. Called to another sphere of activity, we of the Senate as well as his old students remember him as one of those stalwarts who fearlessly stood up for the right under all conditions. The Mothers of the Loreto House too in their B.A. and B.T. classes have rendered and are to-day rendering equally valuable services. The names of Rev. Mother Mary Baptist and Rev. Mother Mary Antonia Burke are household words to-day in many a Christian, Hindu and Muslim home.

Nearly all the gentlemen mentioned above were members of the Senate of the Calcutta University and they have left worthy successors behind them who too are to-day maintaining the old traditions built up by them. The reasons for not mentioning their names are, I hope, obvious to my readers. And yet, under the proposed Bill, they would have been and their successors will be excluded from the Board of Secondary Education for they cannot, under Sub-Clause 12, be elected from among the members of the Senate, who must, under its provisions, be either Hindu or Muslim. Nor could they have been nominated under Sub-Clause 21 where also the persons nominated must belong to one or other of the two communities. Their successors who are carrying on their work will be excluded from the Secondary Board for the same reason. So far as the ladies are concerned, under Sub-Clause 20 there is provision for the nomination of only one European lady but she must be a member of the Education Department and thus they too are shut out.

The contribution of non-Indian missionaries as teachers and administrators in the domain of Secondary education is equally valuable. One has only to remember what is being done to-day by men of the type of Dr. F. G. Williams who has created out of nothing the Ushagram schools at Asansol where a radically different attitude has been fostered as regards the problems of Secondary education. At Bow Bazar, we have the Irish Christian Brothers who, under the leadership of Brother Leo, have done so much for the poor boys of Central Calcutta. Nor can we forget what Rev. Father Boswell of St. Anthony's School in Market Street close to the Hogg Market is doing for the poor boys, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, of this particular locality of Calcutta. Last but not least, we have the Jesuit Fathers who have gathered in their hostels the poorest of the poor from different parts of Bengal at St. Lawrence School, Ballygunj, where they are being fed, clothed and taught free or almost free of cost. I have seen the same kind

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of work done at St. Gregory's School, Dacca, and St. Placid's School, Chittagong.

Similarly, Mr. J. C. Hensman of the Scottish Church Collegiate School, Rev. Mr. H. C. Long and Rev. Mr. C. C. Roedermel of the Bhimpore Santal H. E. School, Rev. Mr. B. W. Bean of St. John's School, Krishnagar, Rev. Mr. F. Ryrie of Dipti-mandir, Chapra, Dt. Nadia, Messrs. W. E. French, C. Headland and G. M. Soddy of the Siksha-Sangha, Bishnupur, Twenty-four Paraganas, Messrs. W. Bailey, J. L. Allen and M. Temple of the Bankura Collegiate School, to mention the names of others with whom I have come into personal contact will not, under the present Bill, be permitted to make their contribution to the improvement of Secondary education in Bengal. The gentlemen if they are to be included in the Secondary Board could have come under the provisions of Sub-Clause 14 which allows the presence of 5 elected Headmasters in it. But, here again, these Headmasters must be either Hindu or Muslim.

So far as the work of missionary ladies in Secondary schools is concerned, one has only to remember the work of Miss N. M. Lindsay in North, Miss O. Stillwell in South, Miss A. E. Moule in East, of Rev. Mother M. Cinacle in North East Calcutta, of Miss Ruth Daniels in Midnapur and of the Daughters of the Cross in Kurseong in order to have a very cursory idea of what is being done in the field of Secondary education by missionary ladies to-day. I have visited all the district headquarters and some sub-divisional headquarters of Bengal not once or twice but scores of times and wherever I have gone, I have found that the lead in the spread of female education in our province has almost always been taken by Protestant lady missionaries or members of the Roman Catholic orders. But they will find no place in the proposed Board of Secondary Education for though under Sub-Clause 15 of Clause 4 one seat has been reserved for a Headmistress who may profess any religious faith, these ladies who supervise the work of the schools and do teaching work have invariably Headmistresses working under them. Then again, among the three seats reserved for women under Sub-Clause 21, the one seat set apart for a European must go to a Government servant.

One might very well enquire whether it is the honest conviction of the framers of this Bill that we have learnt all that we have to learn from missionary educationists and that therefore we are in the happy position of being able to do without their advice and assistance. Is it at all probable that the suggestions coming from graduates of Western Universities such as these, backed by their knowledge as trained teachers and their experience about Indian educational conditions obtained by daily personal contact with their Indian colleagues and their Hindu, Muslim and Christian pupils will be less valuable than those which will come from our elected Hindu and Muslim Headmasters who will certainly lack their breadth of outlook due to their education and training and renewed by visits to their Western homes ?

Those of us who are opposing the Secondary Education Bill maintain that the presence of such people in the Secondary Board and in the Executive Council is essential and that their exclusion will make these bodies lop-sided. We also hold that if the Secondary Board and the Executive Council have to be constituted on communal lines, the people just referred to have as much if not more right to be included as those other non-Indians who have been given places in it. We, however, plead for their inclusion not because we believe in the communal division of seats but because we look on them as educationists pure and simple who, by reason of their education, training and experience are in a position to make certain very valuable contributions which we believe cannot be expected from any other quarter. Non-Indian missionaries, as a rule, have more intimate contact with our countrymen than non-Indian officials; they understand our point of view and sympathise with us, they appreciate our difficulties, and what is more, they inspire more confidence than those of their compatriots whose presence here is due to economic reasons.

It is only fair that we who insist on the presence of non-Indian missionary educationists in the Senate, in the Secondary Board, in the Executive Council and in fact, in every organised body directing education and shaping its policy, should explain this attitude. Without having the slightest desire to be a cause of offence to any one, we maintain that there is a fundamental difference between these whom we have come to regard as our friends and their countrymen.

While we have not the least hesitation in acknowledging the services rendered to our motherland by non-Indian civil servants, educationists, medical men, engineers, policemen and so forth, we cannot, at the same time, forget that even though these services rendered have undoubtedly been valuable, they were rendered for consideration given and received. Nor can we persuade ourselves that these gentlemen, desirous as they

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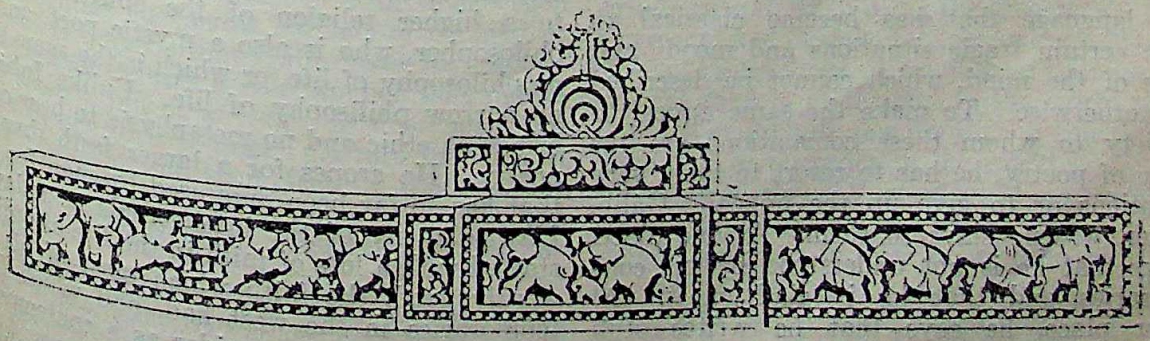
always have been to do their duty towards India, would have ever consented to serve her children on the same terms and conditions as missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant. So far as non-Indian businessmen are concerned, our considered opinion based on past experience is that, as their primary concern, as is quite natural, is bound up with their commercial activities, they take interest in these matters alone. There are of course exceptions but they are so few that they need not be taken into account at all.

On the other hand what we find among missionaries is that though a majority among them are as qualified in their own way as those of their countrymen who come to India as officials or as businessmen, the former work for allowances—I am not prepared to describe them as salaries—which barely suffice to maintain them and do not always enable them to give their children the kind of education which they themselves had received from their parents. A majority of them return to their homeland after a residence extending to 30 years or more in a tropical country with their health shattered. Probably the worst feature is not so much the smallness of their allowances or even their long exile from their own country as the inevitable breaking up of family life unrelieved by furloughs as frequent as those enjoyed by non-Indian officials and businessmen.

I have so far dealt with the case of Protestant missionaries but that of the Roman Catholic missionaries entails the harder task of denying themselves the comforts of family life. The members of the different Roman Catholic orders are entitled to maintenance and to nothing else. The rule for some among them is that once posted to any particular country outside their homeland, they are expected to live and die there. For such people life is one long story of self-denial and of service which comes to an end only when the vital spark is extinguished. Apart from the services rendered by these missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, services which spring through no sordid reason, we further remember that we get them free of any cost to India. This is because the funds which support them are all drawn from outside India. Lastly, all the Protestant denominations as well as the Roman Catholic orders have spent and are to-day spending crores and crores on the erection and maintenance of beneficent institutions which are benefiting us Indians.

These are the reasons which have endeared missionaries as a class to us and we maintain that, on account of the unselfishness which inspires them in their work and the enthusiatic way in which they welcome intimate contact with Indians, they have far more knowledge of the warp and woof of Indian life than officials who come in contact with certain strata of Indian society *viz.*, those only who approach them as seekers of favour and patronage, as parties to some kind of litigation and as their lawyers, witnesses, and supporters.

And when we find that in the Secondary Education Bill, there is deliberate omission of educationists of this type, we are filled with misgivings and apprehend that they have been intentionally shut out in order to make impossible the voicing of independent, influential European opinion. We further feel that the unwillingness on the part of Government to consider views emanating from such quarters justifies us in the opinion that it intends to use the powers of control it seeks for a purpose which is not likely to meet with the approval of independent and impartial people pledged to the service of humanity. And if that is so, it follows that those who have the good of the country as a whole in their hearts must do all they can to ensure their presence in the Secondary Board and the Executive Council if only to act as a steadying influence.



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GÁLIB—AND MODERN DISILLUSIONMENT

By S. L. KAUL

The Gálib day was celebrated at several centres of Urdu learning in the country on the 15th February last. All-India Radio also had a crowded programme on Gálib for that day. He is probably the most quoted of all Urdu poets, and his couplets have become tags and proverbs.

The chief title of Gálib to fame is his Urdu *Diwan*. His *gázals* and *qasîdas*, *rubâ'-is* and and *quata'as* are modelled on old patterns of Persian poetry. Strangely enough, these conventions are in many respects similar to those found in the sonnets of the Elizabethan poets, which were inspired by Chaucer and after him by Wyatt and Surrey. Gálib and his contemporaries were imbued with the symbolism of old Persian masters, just as the Elizabethans were with the sensuousness and imagery of Ovid and Dante and Petrarch. There is more than a suggestion of common tradition behind the love conventions of the oriental *gázal* and the occidental sonnet, and a virgin field presents istelf for investigation by the research scholar into the origin of this tradition and its later bifurcation. Conventions of poetry do change from time to time. A great genius may be comparatively independent of the common stock-in-trade of his craft. He may chalk out an original line for himself and reject some conventions and devise new ones, but no writer can altogether escape the living ideas behind such old forms. Literary conventions when tortured become conceits, but they are in their origin forces let loose and crystallized by masterminds into forms that persist, because of their significance, their verbal felicity and their beauty. If, therefore, Gálib describes the masochistic suffering of the lover and the sadistic callousness of the beloved in the approved fashion, if he cannot get rid of the bird and the cage and the garden, he is merely using language that has become classical to denote certain tragic situations and moods and phases of the mind, which cannot be described better otherwise. To make the same appeal to a society to whom these conventions are the essence of poetry, he has to resort to these very conventions or to give up the appeal. Gálib, however, was no slave to them. At one place, he says that he is not understood by his contemporaries, and that he is glad of it. At another place, he says that he writes stuff steaming with the fire within him, so that no one can put his finger on it. At a third place, he laments over the narrowness of the *gázal* mould for his utterance and cries for more space. In one poem, he protests with a suppressed irony that he is no professional poet. Iqbál, however, was freer than Gálib from the old conventions, and it must be admitted that he had a felicity of diction, a cadence and a verve that Gálib never attained. But his audience was a larger and better educated and more sophisticated public, and Urdu language and a prosody had before his time developed considerably. The disadvantage of the conventions is that later-day imitators use figures of speech in cold blood, and art becomes aritifice, conceit takes the place of fancy and poetic truth is sacrificed to ornamentation and verbal jugglery. The greatness of Gálib consists among other things in this that he did not sacrifice poetry to mere form.

But if Gálib is old in form, he is modern and ultra-modern in spirit. If he is not known in the west, and better known in those parts of this country where Urdu is not understood, it is not his fault. Even a great poet must have his exponents, and propagandists. Most of those who have written about Gálib have considered him in isolation, or as an event in the history of Urdu literature and poetry. And that is not the way to treat one who, besides being among the greatest poets of India and probably the greatest Urdu poet, is a first-rate thinker, dealing with problems, which recognise no forntiers.

Gálib's thought consists in thoughtfulness rather than any system or credo inherited by him from any poetic ancestors or developed by him and passed on to his successors. He has not about him any pedagogic air. He is not cocksure of any set promises. He has no particular message to deliver : only by implication he points to a higher religion of the spirit. He is a philosopher, who is also a mystic poet, and has no philosophy of life, or which is the same thing, no narrow philisophy of life. Unlike Iqbál, he brings no ethic and no metaphysic to bear on his poetry. He gropes for a larger faith than any that has so far been organised by man for man. Like so many of the intellectuals of today, he started with a loss of faith in the life of ordinary wordly good, the faith which most of his contemporaries in the west had, and which Iqbál, whom we may well consider as a contemporary

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figure, had in such positive form. It should be remembered that Gálib was a figure of the days of the Mutiny, and Iqbál is at least nearer to us by two generations. Gálib is not quite happy over his loss of faith, and he is psychologist enough to understand the pragmatic value of faith. Here too he is quite modern in his outlook. He cannot bring his mind to pray as good people before him have prayed. He is left to envy those who have the faith which cannot be his. In one of his most pregnant couplets, he asks; "What is there to complain about the narrowness of the mind ? This infidel mind, if it were not narrow, would be an aimless wanderer." The same thought recurs in several other couplets. He cries; "I know the merit of surrender and piety, but my spirit is not set for it."

The aimless subjectivity about which Gálib speaks is the unenviable fruit of modern culture. But like Romain Rolland's *Jean Christophe* (in other respects so unlike him), Gálib has faith in faith. Iqbál inculcates an ideal of tension of the soul and activism, and there is little doubt that he was swayed by Nietzsche and other German philosophers in his thoughts and ideas. There is nothing new in this philosophy, except the particular orientation which Iqbál gave it. W. B. Steele whose encyclopædic synthesis has been dealt with by H. G. Wells in his *Anatomy of Frustration*, felt that the only alternative to suicide was "systematic aggressive living." There is something youthful in the ideal of action. Contrasted with Iqbál, Gálib may well appear to be a decadent. Nietszche would describe him as a "consumptive of the soul" and there are many derisive epithets for the type of thinker that Gálib was in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Indeed he did belong to an effete order of society, and was closely linked with the tottering Moghal aristocracy of Delhi of the pre-Mutiny period. But need one argue during the present Armageddon that the gospel of action needs a corrective, and the only corrective can be a broader vision that recognises no narrow barriers of country or group ? It may be that Gálib gives his readers opium, which induces a soft languor that mocks at movement, but at any rate he does not retail to them wine, such as might get into their heads and carry them off their feet in the lust for power. A morbid mind may be bad, but dangerous living is worse. Bertrand Russel has well said :

"Hamlet is held up as an awful warning against thought without action, but no one holds up Othello as a warning against action without thought. For my part, I think action is best when it emerges from a profound apprehension of the universe and human destiny, not some widely passionate impulse of romantic but disproportionate self-assertion. The world at present is full of self-centred groups, each incapable of viewing human life as whole—each willing to destroy civilization, rather than yield an inch."

Aldous Huxley, another profound English thinker has given vivid expression to similar apprehensions about self-asserting group in his latest book *After Many a Summer*. Even the ever-young H. G. Wells is not so optimistic about the way that man has progressed so far, and in his *Fate of Homo Sapiens*, he is not at all sure that men will not be extirpated, as so many species have been extirpated in the past. Well may Gálib cry : "Very hard it is for every work to become easy. It is not given to man to be man." And Mr. Aldous Huxley carefully diagnoses the malady of humanity, and seems to think that man must become supernatural and not merely superhuman.

Gálib is an individualist and egotist, but he represents man as man with his limitations, and may be said to possess in him the cosmic feeling. Not so Iqbál, who is international only in a qualified sense. The first-person plural is too much with him. Whether this pronoun stands for his countnymen or his co-religionists, it tends to emphasize an aggressive note. Whether the call to stand together is to all persons within particular geographical limits or to persons following a particular religion within wider frontiers, it is apt to be interpreted as a call to action, and when passions are excited, the charity and the magnanimity of the spirit are at a discount, the discrimination between defensive and offensive action is obliterated and man becomes irretrievably godless, although he can always invent a God to salve his conscience. This is as true of Sir Iqbál's famous *Hamara* poems as of most other patriotic poetry in other languages. A good exception to this is provided by Rabindranath Tagore's famous poem, giving his ideal of free India.

The highest ideal would demand that great writers should, when using the first-person plural, represent and speak for the whole humanity without distinctions of country or religion. Unless the leaders of thought in the world make a common cause with one another in this direction, there will be no peace in the world.

Gálib's thought is steeped in pessimism. He is essentially a tragic artist. There is something infectious in his lachrymose pose. The mosaic of his passion has a variety of hues ranging from the white melancholy of a Thomas Gray's famous sepulchral poem to the black melancholy of a Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In his pensive symphony there are

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a multiplicity of notes, high and low. He has the dramatic fatalism of an Aeschylus, the aristocratic melancholy of a Lord Byron and the determinist outlook of a Thomas Hardy. He is vehement in his description of the fire consuming him from within, the flood-gate of his tears with the useless dam he has set up against them, the solitude which makes the door and the walls his companions, and the bleak desert within his heart. But for all his jeremiads, he is not like Niobe all tears. At times he resorts to the gentle raillery of sacred things which Anatole France has made popular. He often smiles at grief, for as a thinker, he realises the futility of every thing and even of tears. But he also describes a stage when even these smiles are outgrown, and grief not only causes no pain, but also ceases to give surprise. At one end, he has the detached superior attitude of a Rose Macaulay towards life, at the other end, he represents the simple digust and weariness of an A. E. Housman, who has frankly given up all solace. In between the two, he represents every phase of dissatisfaction and discontent with life. He reflects all the questionnings of the age of interrogation, of the "roaring twenties" and the "gloomy thirties," and those students of European and American fiction who have read Gálib will note that in many of his lines and epigrams is summed up the sense of weariness and boredom, frustration and disillusionment, which is so prominent a feature of the thought of the last two decades of this century. The very first (not chronologically the first) couplet of his *Diwan* begins with a grouse against God and a note of interrogation. In fact, the note of interrogation recurs in him often and he has many a knowing smile for all attempts to ignore it. It would be easy to quote line after line from his *gazáls* to illustrate his melancholy feelings. Thoughts of suicide are by no means foreign to Gálib's poetry. He laments more than once that he is still alive, and that the waters in which he wants to drown himself are too shallow for him. When he does not lament his survival, he excuses himself with the thought that he is destined to yearn for death a little longer. In his own words: "If death be a man's only comfort—what must the extent of his despair be?" It should, however, be remembered that Gálib had a humour which neither Burton nor Steele, both of whom committed suicide, possessed, and that is what made him in actual practice tolerate life. In one of his comparatively unknown *quasîdas* he has touched the high water-mark of loss of faith. There is represented a condition of mind in which the world has "neither horror for him nor interest," "reality is merely an extension of appearance," "the word of truth and boast of wisdom are mere love of vanity," "God and Caesar are the sediments of the same cup of oblivion," and "communion is the rust in the mirror of credulity." In the same poem he asks: "Who has seen the fire leaping in the heart of the faithful lover, who has seen the effect of the cries of the heart?" The sheer disgust of these lines calls to mind Sir Walter Raleigh's poem "The Lie" in which zeal and honour, friendship and wisdom, physic and skill, justice and law, and faith, virtue and manhood are denuded and pilloried. Sir Walter Raleigh's warrant for this devastating negation of values is "the truth" as he knew it, but Gálib would go higher with the saints and the introvertism and give the lie to all narrow truths, and his warrant for this other-worldliness, this spiritual nostalgia, is religious in the broad sense and not merely didactic. Gálib ends the train of thought in the *qásîda* by saying: "I also like to listen to music that is being played before me—but without the heart to praise or blame." The attitude displayed in the last lines is similar to that developed in a number of modern books like Rose Macaulay's *Told by an Idiot*, which unfolds a pageant of values of civilized life only to be dismissed as "a tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing."

But for all his scepticism, Gálib is preoccupied with God, the God whose glimpse he catches when in brief moments of his poetic ecstacy he gets rid of the self. He has more than hinted at this illumination, and expressed his longing for more of this experience at several places. This along with his disgust with the world makes Gálib a kin not only to the modern intellectuals, but also to the saints of old who must be perfectly disillusioned before setting their inner eye on a higher reality. If Gálib has lost God, according to the paradox of the mystics that is the surest way of finding Him.

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THOMAS MANN : A EUROPEAN

By A. ARONSON, B.A. (Cantab), Ph.D.

Hamlet and Don Quixote were Europeans. The attitude to life which they represent cannot be determined or defined in terms of national boundaries. They speak in the language of actual experience; they behave in a way that is truly European, inasmuch as their critical awareness is singularly well developed and their reasoning faculty is greater than their propensity for action. They suffer a good deal and, perhaps, are also much too conscious of their suffering. They are noble and proud in mind : they are not born for action. If and when they act, they either fail to achieve their ends or become objects of ridicule among those with whom they associate. At bottom they are friendless : these Horatios and Sancho Panzas are much too commonplace and average to experience life in the same intense way; they may be able to pity them or imitate them; but theirs is a different level of existence. Both Hamlet and Don Quixote looked down upon their environment with a good deal of contempt; but there is some envy and secret admiration in them for the complacency and inner comfort of " those others " who are moderately pleased with their lives, who apparenty live without any effort, and who find themselves at home in whatever company they may choose.

Thomas Mann[1] is a European because he has seen the world around him with the eyes of both Hamlet and Horatio. His early works deal with the Hamlet who wrestles in a vacuum, conscious, all too conscious of his solitude, his maladjustment, his different scheme of values. His later works reprsent a different Hamlet, the fortunate and well-bred product of a stable civilization, the modern Hamlet who open-eyed and mentally receptive is exposed to the strange and sometimes exotic influences of a disintegrating environment. Thomas Mann is a European not only because his literary works appeal to everyone, but because he experienced himself those successive stages, because he is himself an integral part of the evolution we are witnessing today in Europe. The fact that he lives at present outside the country of his origin is indeed significant inasmuch as the culturally and nationally uprooted writer has become during the last few years the pathetic symbol of European destiny.

The rise of the middle-classes in Europe brought with it a strong national and patriotic feeling. Most of the writers during the 19th century were of a middle-class origin and although they frequently despised the commonplace monotony of a bourgeois existence, they viewed it with sympathy. We also often find that the middle-class is represented in those novels as the finest and most valuable achievement of a rising nation. The aristocracy was looked down upon as corrupted, immoral, and even " uncivilized." " Civilization " during the 19th century implied both nationalism—frequently of a narrow kind—and the mental and moral standards associated with the life of the middle-classes. It is no accident therefore that—especially after the first Great War—a number of eminent writers and penetrating critics of the bourgeoisie achieved a truly European level. Criticism of middle-class attitudes to life involves criticism of a narrow-minded nationalism, and a tendency towards co-operation in its various forms among human beings.

The society into which Thomas Mann was born has very little resemblance with that at the court of Elsinore. It was, however, a society which refused to accept men of talent, gifted for artistic creation and aware of the disintegrating forces around them. Thomas Mann must have indeed felt like Hamlet, when he first realized that the artist in this kind of society was " out of place " and in more than one sense " out of time ". And with the thoroughness peculiar to his race he began to analyse the conflict between the artist and the world, that is the world of the early 20th century.

Tonio Kröger, one of his earliest and perhaps his best short story, depicts this conflict of a modern Hamlet, an artist who is both morally and intellectually uprooted, who wants something to believe in, and who all the time is terribly aware of the state of things around and within him. To be different and to experience a deep and torturing longing for the commonplace, for those whose eyes are " clear," the normal and respectable, is Tonio Kröger's conflict with life. It was also Thomas Mann's

1. Thomas Mann, born at Lubeck, Germany, in 1875; Nobel Prize for Literature in 1929; now an exile in the U. S. A.

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conflict when he began to write. The almost terrifying frankness with which he deals with this problem throws an interesting light on the part artistic creation plays in a middle-class society :

"Feeling, warm, heartfelt feeling, is always banal and futile; only the irritation and icy ecstasies of the artist's corrupted nervous system are artistic. The artist must be unhuman, extra-human; he must stand in a queer aloof relationship to our humanity; only so is he in a position, I ought to say only so would he be tempted, to represent it, to present, to portray it to good effect."[2]

Whether we agree with this statement or not, it is no doubt a European attitude to art, one which has been emphasized from the *Dialogues* of Plato to our own time. When the Greeks spoke of "ecstasis" they meant this "irritation" of the nervous system that produces form, the mirror and reflection of nature. To be "extra-human" is to "know": but awareness excludes all action; it is the vicious circle of "knowledge" that creates form in the abstract without ever taking part in the concrete realities of life :

"I tell you I am sick to death of depicting humanity without having any part or lot in it. . . . There is something I call being sick of knowledge . . . when it is enough for you to see through a thing in order to be sick to death of it, and not in the least in a forgiving mood. Such was the case of Hamlet the Dane, that typical literary man. He knew what it meant to be called to knowledge without being born to it."[3]

But Tonio Kröger is neither a Greek inspired singer nor an Elizabethan nobleman. He is a European of the 20th century. There is nothing ecstatic or princely about him. His upbringing, his everyday attitudes, his racial and national heritage, belong to the higher middle-classes. He cannot escape into "pure" creation nor into metaphysics or philosophy, as either the Greeks or Hamlet would have done. Already at the beginning of the 20th century the European intellectual sensitive to influences from outside knew that there were no such escapes. Hamlet is a misfit as a prince. Tonio Kröger—and with him most of the artists at the beginning of the 20th century—was "a bourgeois on the wrong path, a bourgeois manqué... who strayed off into art, a Bohemian who feels nostalgic yearnings for respectability, an artist with a bad conscience."[4]

Hamlet, being a European through and through, cultivated his own "bad conscience," whenever he day-dreamt of all the deeds he should have performed and which—he realized it only too well—he was unable to perform. Those who stand outside the western tradition of action always suffer from the same "bad conscience": it leads them to admire those that are shallow but active, commonplace but practical. Hamlet presumably admired and even envied Horatio. Tonio Kröger is more explicit:

"But my deepest and most secret love belongs to the blond and blue-eyed, the fair and living, the happy, lovely, and commonplace. Do not chide this love, Lisabeta; it is good and fruitful. There is longing in it, and a gentle envy; a touch of contempt and no little innocent bliss."[4]

We can distinguish three words of thought in Thomas Mann, the sociological, the psychological, and the aesthetical. All three of them are divided within themselves; the realization of a dual aspect of human existence and the universe around us seems continually to pervade his work. In the same way in which the artist is opposed to society in his earlier work, civilization will be opposed to primitive habits of mind and body; the beauty of form to the ugliness of spirit; love to intellect; health to disease, and life to death. This dualism brings about conflict. The human being is helpless and appears small and insignificant in the face of this abstract conflict.

Nature, for instance, in its manifold expressions is always Form; it is man who infuses meaning, significance into it. But might not his admiration for the Beautiful tempt him to let loose his emotions and to abandon all self-restraint? Is not the worship of the beautiful form, when it reaches the level of "ecstasis," an experience outside the domains of civilization? For form too has two aspects. a kind of inherent dualism in which one side leads towards inner discipline and order and the other towards the chaotic darkness of our primeval instincts; for form is

"moral and immoral at once: moral in so far as it is the expression and result of discipline, immoral—yes, actually hostile to morality—in that of its very essence it is indifferent to good and evil, and deliberately concerned to make the moral world stoop beneath its proud and undivided sceptre. . ."[5]

Escape from civilization means passion, crime, disease, aberration of our moral nature. Hamlet pretends madness not only in order to deceive his environment, but because he could find no better way of escape from his environment. Thomas Mann, the contemporary of Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein, depicted a different kind of escape from civilization, adding, as it were, one more dimension to Hamlet's

2. *Tonio Kroger*, p. 26. (All the quotations are taken from the Everyman Edition, published in 1940).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
4. *Tonio Kroger*, p. 36; *Ibid.*, p. 68.
5. *Death in Venice*, p. 81.

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pretended insanity. He removes his hero, in *The Magic Mountain*, from the world of everyday "facts" and "realities" into a Sanatorium in Davos, in Switzerland, where the system of moral and other values is beyond all conventional standards of time and space, and he, furthermore, invests his hero with a subconscious which—like the chorus in ancient Greek tragedy—explains to the reader the causes and conflicts that made this escape necessary.

There he lives, the young Hans Castorp, on his Magic Mountain, far removed from the civilization of the plain land, cultivating a most detached attitude towards Time, day-dreaming of certain past experiences that repeat themselves in the present (though in a slightly different form), and exposing himself to the influence of two "pedagogues" of extreme views, one representing the very best achievements of the civilization from which Hans Castorp has so successfully escaped, the other representing the demoniac, destructive, and dynamic forces of this very same civilization.

The "plain land" below—that is the Europe before the first Great War; a civilization in which "good form," that is good breeding meant everything; an outlook on life coloured by a strong and optimistic belief in technical and scientific progress. It is from this civilization that Hans Castorp wanted to escape. He found a different kind of civilization on his magic mountain: for form, we know, has two aspects. And the civilization in which he felt at home now, was "immoral" because the human beings in it had ceased to live in terms of time, of change, of dynamic action, of purpose and aim. Their time was "magic" indeed: it could not be measured. They had so much "time" up there that even their attitudes, their responses, and their sensibilities became in some way unlimited. If human beings cease to measure time, everything is allowed. After adjusting themselves to a "timeless" existence, they are "free" to do whatever they like. That is their escape: they free themselves from self-restraint, order, and inner discipline for the sake of passion, the constant irritation of the nervous system, disorder, and a fever of the body and the mind. From the "real" bourgeois world in the plain land, they flee to a "magic" world which—though not less bourgeois—gives them at least the satisfaction of escape.

Hamlet wanted to go to Wittenberg in order to escape from the unavoidable deed; Hans Castorp goes to Davos in order to escape from the unavoidable "progress." Both did it because of some inner passion, a tendency of the subconscious which they could neither prevent nor resist. Already in his *Death in Venice* Thomas Mann defined passion in the very same way:

> "Passion is like a crime: it does not thrive on the established order and the common round; it welcomes every blow dealt the bourgeois structure, every weakening of the social fabric, because therein it feels a sure hope of its own advantage."[6]

In this sense Hans Castorp's love for Clawdia Chauchat is like a "crime": it is no longer conditioned by time and social conventions. He feels attracted towards her because of her foreign, exotic and "Eastern" appearance and because she reminds him of an experience he had as a schoolboy. She is his "bad conscience," his ecstasis; she represents to him the other aspect of form, not the self-sufficient harmony of a Greek statue, but the eccentric, perverse, illicit and, therefore, immoral side of life. Can form that is detached from time be anything but immoral? And is not this kind of "immmorality" more tempting than the "love-affairs" in the plain land with their sentimental and trivial declarations? Hans Castorp's love—as in so many other novels by Thomas Mann—is dumb and inarticulate, though not therefore less intense. Thomas Mann knows better than anyone else among living novelists how to depict the intensity of such a relationship between two human beings; with psychological refinement he will reveal to the reader the inside workings of the unconscious:

> "There can be no relation more strange, more critical, than that between two beings who know each other only with their eyes, who meet daily, yes, even hourly, eye each other with a fixed regard, and yet by some whim or freak of convention feel constrained to act like strangers."[7]

The European attitude towards the body and its functions, has been during the rise of the midlde-class one of inhibition and careful avoidance. It is only very recently that we find in literature, both in England and on the Continent, a growing interest in the body. In Thomas Mann the body is frequently considered as the counterpart of "spirit," in some way opposed to a civilization that has taught us to repress our bodily instincts and to live "mentally" and "morally" rather than instinctively. The interest in the body also involves a growing preoccupation with life as a combination of matter and mind, with disease in its various forms, with death as a dynamic force the presence of which we have at least to acknowledge and which we can no longer push aside as something inconvenient or indecent.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

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In *The Magic Mountain* the body has suddenly come into the foreground through illness; most of the characters are more conscious of their physical condition than those in the plain land: they have nothing but their body left. Disease and a close observation of the functions of their body is for them an escape from the spiritual birthpangs of progress: they return to a merely "material" existence in which their mind follows the dictates of their body. Thomas Mann does not hesitate to let his characters speak and act in the way in which people who are too conscious of the existence of their body behave. Although he is never as explicit as, for instance, James Joyce is in his *Ulysses*, the psychological implications of such an attitude become clear to us when we hear a person speaking in the following way:

"You kept on wanting to sneeze until you simply couldn't stand it any longer; you looked as if you were tipsy; you drew a couple of breaths, then out it came, and you forget everything else in the bliss of the sensation. Sometimes the explosion repeated itself two or three times. That was the sort of pleasure life gave you free of charge."[8]

Brought together by the physical phenomena of fever and disease, they all from a society of their own. They are as proud of their "temperature" as the man on the plain land are proud of their "progress." Their civilization is as self-contained as that of the men below. They develop attitudes of mind and a system of values that correspond to their feverish condition. The Sanatorium at Davos is their "Southsea Island." The only condition on which new members are admitted is that they must have "temperature." There is something truly significant in the way in which these highly civilized human beings fall back into unrestrained primitivism, into an over-emphasis of the material over the spiritual.

For the young Hans Castorp this stay in Davos was indeed an "adventure." He the bourgeois who has strayed off into a magic land of carelessness, emotional disorder, and happy indolence, was overwhelmed by the sudden change from the conventions of an essentially sober-minded environment to the gigantic, undisciplined, and immoral aspect of life. Even nature up here could not be "measured" by the ordinary standards of the plain land. Things happened all around him that seemed to him remarkable and extraordinary, but which he accepted without questioning with the receptivity and docilty of youth. Both nature and human beings behave at such an altitude in a "disorderly" manner; they do not conform to the average: the mountains, the clouds, and the sky are as eccentric, as "feverish," as the people below:

"The contours of the peaks dissolved, disappeared, were dissipated in the mist, while the vision, led on from one pallidly gleaming slope of snow to another, lost itself in the void. Then a single cloud, like smoke, lighted up by the sun, might spread out before a wall of rock and hang there for long, motionless."[9]

Hans Castorp's adventure consisted in his attempts repeated throughout the book to brave civilization, to challenge the unknown and the monstrous, to immerge into the "other" side of form:

"Weak human being that he was—though tolerably well equipped with the weapons of civilization—what he at this moment knew the fascination of venturing just so far into the monstrous unknown, or at least abstaining just so long from flight before it, that the adventure grazed the perilous, that it was just barely possible to put limits to it, before it became no longer a matter of toying with the foam and playfully dodging the ruthless paw—but the ultimate adventure."[9]

The deeper he penetrates into the ultimate adventure, the greater becomes his solitude and his detachment. He has studied the mysteries and secrets of the human body and the human soul. He knows all that science and personal experience can teach us in the art of understanding human life—and death. And he realizes the limits of his own knowledge; he bows down with humility—though not without dignity—to the unsolved and unsolvable problems within him and without:

"A naive reverence filled him for that organ of his, for the pulsating human heart, up here alone in the icy void with its question and its riddle."[10]

Hans Castorp—being perhaps too much of a European—never fully acclimatizes himself to this environment of morbidity and disease. The two pedagogues who are fighting for his "soul," prevent him from doing so. In these two men, Settembrini, the Italian, and Naphta, the renegade Jew and Jesuit. Thomas Mann wanted to show the two aspects of European civilization, the one based upon the "good form" and "beautiful contents" of the Renaissance, upon liberalism and individualism; the other upon the dark and mysterious forces of the middle-age, the subconscious, anonymous, and collective aspect of European history. The fact that Naphta, the Jesuit, is of Jewish origin should not mislead the reader to think that Thomas Mann is an anti-semite; the Jewish renegade who turns Jesuit is for him only a symbol for an intellectual tendency in the Europe of the

8. *The Magic Mountain*, Chap. Thermometer, p. 170.

9. *The Magic Mountain*, Chap. Snow, p. 187. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

10. *The Magic Mountain*, p. 220.

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early 20th century, the tendency towards collectivism based partly upon the medieval conception of life and partly upon the teachings of modern economists and sociologists.

There these two live side by side in the feverish mind of Hans Castorp struggling there with each other. But neither of them is allowed to win : they both seems to be right; for do they not also fight with each other even on the plain land down below ? Is this fight not part and parcel of European tradition and cultural heritage ? Settembrini and Naphta reflect this fight, this real fight from which there is no escape *in reality*. But the two pedagogues have fever and therefore cannot actually partake in the real struggle. Hans Castorp's fever, however, is of an emotional rather than of a physical nature. He will have to face the ultimate struggle between what is good and evil, creative and destructive, in human existence. And he makes his choice : it is neither of the two extremes. He realizes that his interest in disease and death is only another expression of his interest in life. Man in his full maturity stands between " mystic community " and " windy individualism, " between the only material and the only spiritual, between the two contradictory aspects of form. Deep within us there is, however, the unconscious, the primitive, the " blood-sacrifice " :

> "Love stands opposed to death. It is love, not reason, gives sweet thoughts. And from love and sweetness alone can form come : form and civilization, friendly, enlightened, beautiful human intercourse—always in silent recognition of the blood-sacrifice. . . For the sake of goodness and love, man shall let death have no sovereignty over his thoughts."[11]

Has Hans Castorp only gone back to his former state—the state from which he wanted to escape ? Has he liberated himself from the body only in order to immerge himself in that " admirable mediocrity " of Horatio and Sancho Panza ? He is Hamlet still, but, we may almost say, a purified Hamlet, more detached perhaps and less ecstatic. He has chosen the middle path not because it was the easiest for him, but because he was made aware of the temptations that lurk in excess. Not he has changed, but his attitudes, his responses, his degree of awareness. Hans Castorp is the " bad conscience " of Europe, the bourgeois who has strayed off and escaped into a world of imagination and who in 1914 was forced back into the " real " fight—the one he wanted so much to avoid.

He was drawn into the whirlpool of the mediocre and respectable, the average and normal, to fight for a reality that would conform to his dream of " beautiful human intercourse." But for the time being there is the " blood-sacrifice " of Europe. And in a few pages, at the end of *The Magic Mountain*, that are among the most forceful that Thomas Mann has written, he speaks of this blood-sacrifice. Hamlet, the European, who has returned to the plain land, to time and the conventions of life, to the anonymous and collective destiny on the battlefields of Europe.

Political extremists do not like Thomas Mann. They accuse him of compromise and call him an ethical aesthete. But in evaluating his work we are not concerned with politics. We find in him a writer who was all the time aware of the dangers that lurk in our much too comfortable past, and, one who foresaw the future. That his voice was not heeded in due time is indeed proof for the pathetic condition in which intellectuals found themselves in the Europe of yesterday.

His latest books are based on the Old Testament. The " two aspects of form " have dissolved themselves in the great simplicity and unity of Jewish mythological tradition. Will the conflicts of the modern soul be solved there too ? Is it a new kind of escape, or will it bring forth a new awareness, new attitudes, and a fuller integrity of thought and action in the future ?

The answers to these questions do not lie with the literary critic. He, the writer himself, Hamlet the European, will tell us all about it, after he has passed through the experiences of life and death in the symbolical conflicts of the Old Testament and the real battles of the Europe of today. Perhaps he will tell us one day the story of this " blood-sacrifice " of which the feverish Hans Castorp dreamt on his magic mountain.

11. *The Magic Mountain*, p. 223.

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FINANCIAL AND MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE PAKISTAN SCHEME

By Professor HARI CHARAN MUKERJI, M.A.

Even in the face of the great danger to which India is exposed and the consequent need for a strong, efficient and prosperous Central Government competent to impose its will on all and take concerted measures for defending the country against external aggression the menace of which is becoming greater and greater day by day, Mr. Jinnah is going on gaily airing his views about Pakistan. It seems to be a pity that the lesson of this great war and the splendid war effort of the Government of India made possible on account of the unified control that it exercises over the whole country and the vast resources that it commands, should be lost on him.

But it seems to be also very strange that Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, should be openly encouraging this attitude, for, before his latest pronouncement about "India First" he expressed his idea that Mr. Jinnah's Scheme might have to be accepted with certain territorial readjustments. We do not know if he is really in earnest or was merely toying with the idea and dangling it before the eyes of the Congress to make it relent and give up its present policy of non-co-operation. But let us take it for granted that he means what he says and that it is the intention of the present British Government to yield to the preposterous demand of the League and allow the Muslims to break away from the contemplated Indian Federation and form a wholly autonomous federation under the nominal control of the British Government.

There should be a territorial readjustment to allow the majority of the Mohamedan population to come under this federation which will be very losely held together, as all residuary powers will be vested in the component parts and not in the centre as is being demanded by the Hindus to make the federation more homogeneous and strong and capable of taking prompt action in case of emergency. According to this Pakistan scheme sponsored by Mr. Jinnah there should be two important Mohamedan zones, the eastern and the western one. The latter will comprise the North Western Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab with the exception of those parts containing predominantly Hindu and Sikh populations, *viz.*, the eastern part of the province where modern industries have mostly sprung up. Claims are sometimes put forward to include within it the State of Kashmir which contains an overwhelmingly large Mohamedan population. But this claim, if driven to its logical conclusion must provide for the exclusion of the Nizam's Dominions from the proposed Pakistan for though governed by a Mohamedan prince it contains an overwhelming Hindu population. We do not know how the League answers this argument for it seems to be very anxious to include this vast territory within its orbit. The eastern zone will consist of perhaps (allowing for territorial redistribution as envisaged by Mr. Amery) Eastern and Northern Bengal and the Surma Valley in Assam. So the western portion of Bengal containing an overwhelmingly large Hindu population with the capital city of Calcutta and parts of Santhal Parganas and Manbhum, parts which were once snatched away from Bengal to suit political exigencies are to form a new province which will be an integral part of the Federation of Hindu provinces and states.

It is doubtful whether Mr. Amery has examined this proposal in all its implications, for if Calcutta is not to belong to the proposed Pakistan how will interests of big European mercantile firms with their head offices at Calcutta and ramifications all over the country, be safeguarded against all exactions and expropriatory measures(?) to be adopted by the ungrateful Hindu, for constitutional safeguards are no safeguards and can be easily circumvented or how are the Leaguewallahs to be rewarded if this juicy morsel is not to be tasted by them. But if Calcutta is to belong to the Muslim province of Bengal that will also give rise to serious complications and consequent loss to the European mercantile community. In that case these firms will have their headquarters at Calcutta but their field of activities will spread over the whole of the Hindu province of Bengal and the contiguous province of Bihar, parts belonging to a different sovereign state and which will contain rich deposits of coal, iron, copper, mica and

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manganese and forests yielding shellac, the exploitation of all of which forms one of the biggest sources of income of these firms as well as numerous engineering and other workshops and the great Indian Iron and Steel Works at Burnpur and Kulti which at no distant date are likely to rival the fame of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur.

As the authorities at present repose very little confidence in the Hindus and in their sense of justice and fairplay and seem to be bent upon punishing them what guarantee is there that these perverse Hindus will be restrained from imposing heavy duties upon the coal and iron, etc., raised and steel and iron and other manufactured goods turned out. These concerns will be bringing in less and less revenue and the European merchants at Calcutta will have to depend upon the incomes derived from tea and jute, the market for which latter is steadily shrinking due to the substitution more and more of some sort of substitute for it. Moreover the volume of trade of Calcutta, both import and export, is sure to contract due to the inevitable increase in customs and other duties levied at the port by the Muslim government of Bengal on goods intended for northern India and the consequent diversion of the greater part of this trade to Vizagapattam which will afford greater facilities to commodities coming into or going out of Hindu India, for it can not be expected that if this preposterous scheme be given effect to in the teeth of Hindu opposition, the latter will feel any inclination to enrich Moslem India by allowing its trade to follow the same course as before to the detriment of Hindu interests. Under such circumstances the fate of Calcutta will be sealed as well as that of the European mercantile community established there. And the same fate though in a smaller degree is sure to overtake Karachi too which will fall within the Muslim sphere of influence and the trade of northern India will find an outlet through Bombay as in times past before the development of this port. The East Indian Railway will not perhaps handle one half of the tonnage that it now does.

So much as regards the prospects of the European mercantile community. Now let us see whether the native Moslem populations of these zones will be really benefited. These areas will mainly consist of agricultural districts with no major industries, which will belong entirely to Hindu India, except the Jute industry of Bengal. But everything else will be excluded from its jurisdiction. There will be as deposits of coal and iron in close proximity which has been the cause of the phenomenal development of the iron and steel industry of Bihar and west Bengal. So for want of deposits of coal or swift mountain currents from which cheap electricity or water-power could have been generated the Eastern Zone will start with an initial handicap which it will never be able to get over. The same remark is also to a great extent applicable to the Western Zone. Handicapped thus from the very outset the Moslem populations of the proposed Pakistan will be condemned to live a life of want and penury, for the pressure of population on land will constantly increase and no alternative methods will be found to ease it and all this to satisfy the whims and caprices of some highplaced personages.

If we are to make any guess as to the relationship which will exist between the two communities either within the same state or in the two sister states, it can be confidently asserted, if the measures adopted by the present ministry in Bengal be any sure guide to what is going to take place in the future, that it will not at all be a cordial one unless overnight with the introduction of the Pakistan scheme good sense prevails and both the communities are actuated by mutual esteem and goodwill and regard for legitimate rights and privileges of each. It seems to be more likely that in order to retain the confidence of their communal supporters, the government will be hustled into passing all sorts of retrograde measures infringing the just rights of the minority community and these will be retaliated in the sister state by the co-religionists of the latter. Thus instead of peace and goodwill, mutual suspicion and jealousy will exist and one will have every suspicion of any contemplated move on the part of the other. The expenditure on defence will have to be duplicated and will swallow up all the available resources of both and even then it will not at all be adequate for the purpose. Pakistan will have to defend the land frontiers of India both in the east as well as in the west and thus it will be charged with the same duty as has devolved upon the British Government in India but it will be entirely without resources necessary for the purpose. Its western block will consist of the impecunious provinces of Sind, the North Western Frontier Province and British Baluchistan which either require subventions from the Central Government to meet the ordinary recurrent charges or as in the case of the last, is directly administered by it. Only the Punjab is financially competent as a province but its resources are entirely inadequate even when supplemented by its share of customs duties, income tax, etc., to meet the deficits of its partners not to speak of shouldering

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the heavy responsibility for defence. If it is argued that this Moslem State will enter into an alliance with other Moslem states of South Western Asia, it can be pointed out that the present menace which threatens the latter has not been able to force them to adopt some common policy for purposes of defence. The same phenomenon can be witnessed in the Balkan peninsula also where the threat to their very existence and even the virtual extinction of one of these states have not been able to make them stand shoulder to shoulder in the defence of their hearths and homes. In fact mutual rivalries and jealousies die very hard and unless the peoples are of a homogeneous race and are actuated by the same common ambition and have not mutually antagonistic motives they can not sink their differences and make common cause. But the Moslem populations of South Western Asia belong to various races and are at different stages of civilization and there is infinite variety in their conditions and modes of living Secondly, it won't do for them to combine for a specific purpose and as soon as the danger is over to dissolve the union, for a constant watch is to be kept to restrain the territorial ambition and the proselytising zeal of Soviet Russia just waiting across the border even if the threat which is always held out before us of the establishment of a German base on the Persian Gulf does not happily materialise.

But allowing for argument's sake that the unexpected happens and a league of Muslim states is formed for mutual defence, Pakistan will have to contribute its proportionate share, for to expect that it will be relieved of the payment of its due share will be ignoring the lessons of history for whenever any such league was formed in the past, as for instance the Confederacy of Delos, the major partner became eventually all-powerful and reduced the rest to virtual submission and vassalage. It is better under such circumstances to spend more and not less than the due share for purposes of mutual defence.

It can not also be expected that the federation of Hindu states will bear its proportionate share of expenses for common defence, for the very Pakistan Scheme postulates that there can be no healthy co-operation between the two major communities for any such admission on the part of the League will knock the bottom out of its argument for separate existence. The federation of Hindu states will surely have to spend an equal amount no doubt in order perhaps to restrain the zeal of her north-western neighbour not to make any descent upon her as well as to defend her long coast line from foreign invasion but no part of this sum will perhaps be available to give relief to her harassed neighbour.

In addition to this expense for maintaining a well-equipped standing army, Pakistan will have to maintain her air force and navy to defend her sea coast. The eastern zone of it will be most of all exposed to this menace of invasion from the sea but the provincial government of Bengal has not even sufficient resources to pay its own way not to speak of building up a strong navy. Nor is it at all likely that there will be any improvement in her financial condition under Pakistan when additional sources of income will be released for utilisation by her like customs duties and income tax, for the advantage will be to a large extent neutralised by the diversion of trade from Calcutta to Vizagapattam and consequent loss of prosperity. If on the other hand Calcutta is to remain within the Hindu zone the financial condition of the Muslim province will be nothing short of desperate. Neither can she enter into a defensive alliance with Burma, for the Burmese are Buddhists, *i.e.*, Hindus and according to the advocates of Pakistan no alliance is possible with people who profess this faith. They may also suspect that the Hindu population of the province may even turn out to be traitors and may help invaders like the Japanese firmly established in French Indo-China and perhaps to be so in the Netherlands Indies, to obtain a foothold in Bengal, for religious affinity is according to them the only bond that can bind one people with another however unbridgeable may be their differences in every other respect.

These are a few cold facts and the dismal prospect which they unfold will, I believe, be sufficient to cool the ardour of even the most enthusiastic amongst the advocates of Pakistan.

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RELIGIOUS UNITY IN OLD BENGALI LITERATURE

By Prof. ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

It is a historical fact that the doctrine of unity of all religions was first propagated by the Hindus. They were also the first people in the world to put into practice the same doctrine, *viz.*, that all religions are equal in the eye of God and all religions are worthy of equal respect. It is also a fact that Christians and Muhammadans made good use of this religious liberality of the Hindus. The history of activities of Christian missionaries in South India in the first century of the Christian era, the advent of Arab traders in the kingdom of Dahir, the origin of the Moplahs, the great reverence shown by Lakshman Sen, last Hindu king of Gaur (Bengal), and his queens to a Moslem saint, are instances in point. In the present article, I shall try to put together evidence from old Bengali literature —classical and non-classical—of the Hindus' belief in the unity of religions.

I. The "Chaitanya Bhagavat" and the Story of the Vaisnava Saint Haridasa

The *Chaitanya Bhagavat*, a famous Vaisnava work, says that the famous Vaisnava saint Haridasa was a convert from Muhammadanism. When the news of his conversion to Hinduism spread, the local Kazi, instigated by the Muhammadans, complained to the local Governor who sent men to sieze and bring Haridasa before him. When Haridasa appeared before him as a prisoner, the Muhammadan Governor said :

"Brother ! it is your exceptionally good fortune that you were born as a Muhammadan. Why, then, do you observe Hindu practices ?" After a good deal of attempt to persuade Haridasa, the Governor concluded thus :

"Whatever evil you have done, was the result of your not understanding the consequences thereof. Now, atone for that sin by uttering the Kalma."

The reply that Haridasa gave contains a brief exposition of the doctrine of unity of religions. It is as follows :

"Hear my child ! God is equally for all. Hindus and Muhammadans make a difference in names only. The spiritual truth of the Koran and the Puran is the same. The One, Undivided, Imperishable, Pure, Eternal Being fills the minds of all men. Man acts according as his mind is directed by the same Lord. All men utter and describe the name and the qualities of the Lord according to their respective scriptures. God, again, bears responsibility for all; to show ill-will to or injure any, is to try to injure Him. I have acted as my Lord and God has inclined me. Some men among Hindus, who are born as Brahmins, become Muhammadans out of their own free will. What do Hindus do to them ?"

Haridasa's words breathed the lofty idea of universal brotherhood and equal reverence for all religions. But they were wholly wasted here. Haridasa was sentenced by the Muhammadan Governor to be cudgelled to death : for, "a Muhammadan who accepts Hindu religion can expiate his sin only by death."

II. The "Padmapuran" by Dwija Vansidas

In this work, we come across some passages touching upon the idea of religious unity. While narrating the story of Hassan-Hossein, the author makes a Muhammadan utter these ideas.

Under the leadership of Hassan and Hossein, a Muhammadan mob had collected and they were about to march upon the Hindu cowherds with the object of breaking down the cottage in which the snake-goddess Manasa was worshipped and punishing the cowherds. At this time one of the Muhammadans assembled there said to the others :

"What you are going to do is not proper. God is one and the same for both Hindus and Muhammadans. Each practises his own religion in his own way. The Great Lord has created the religious practices. None can derive any good by committing wrongs upon the others."

III. "Mansingha" by Bharatchandra

In this work, the eighteenth century poet Bharatchandra describes the war between Pratapaditya of Bengal and Jahangir's Rajput general, Mansingha. The latter, after defeating Pratap, took Bhavananda Mazumdar to Delhi. Bhavananda had rendered valuable help to the army of Mansingha during the war. Mansingha now recommended Bhavananda to Emperor Jahangir for suitable reward. Jahangir, however (according to the poet) delivered a vituperative lecture abusing not only the Hindu religion but the Brahmin caste as well, to which

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Bhavananda himself belonged. Bhavadanda gave a spirited reply, which he began thus :

"Your Majesty, I salute you. Why do you speak ill of Hindu gods and goddesses ? God is the same for all men—Hindus, Mussalmans and others—and even for all animals. There is only one God for all—not two."

These words, put in the mouth of a Brahmin, clearly convey the idea of unity of all religions, and equal respect for all religions.

IV. "The Book of Shamsher Ghazi"

The author of this work (as yet unpublished most probably) was a man of mid-eighteenth century and therefore a contemporary of Bharatchandra. It describes the life and deeds of a certain Shamsher Ghazi, specially his war against the Hindu King of Tipperah. In this book there occur certain passages that are of interest to us, in regard to the subject dealt with here.

The Ghazi was making preparations for the coming war. One night, a Hindu goddess appeared in a dream and said to him : "Make offerings to me." The Ghazi heeded not. The second time the same dream occurred and the same injunction by the goddess. The poet describes the incident thus :—

"The goddess spoke as before. Hearing these preposterous words, the Ghazi said : I am a Mussalman, you are a Hindu goddess. How can I do what is the duty of Hindus alone ? The goddess said : Everything is to happen according to the will of God. He destroys anyone whenever He likes. Before Him, all are equal. To Him, there is no difference between a Hindu and a Muhammadan. If you do not want to give offerings to me with your own hands, call a Brahmin and have worship done by him."

It may be added here that this dream was thrice repeated, the goddess was worshipped by the Ghazi (by a Brahmin agent) and then he conquered the Hindu King of Tripura, plundering and destroying his capital. Strange indeed were the ways of this Hindu goddess, who was bent upon destroying a Hindu King by helping a Muhammadan !

V. "Hinduized" Muhammadan Poets

I call these poets "Hinduized," not because they are known to have been converts to Hinduism (for, there is no proof of this), but because these writers, though Muhammadan, were thoroughly Hindu in spirit, in ideas, in phraseology and imagery, so far as their writings were concerned. The passages quoted under in this section do not, in so many words, express the idea of religious unity, but they may be taken to be indicative of the catholic viewpoint of the writer, their respect for Hindu religion, in spite of the fact that they were Muhammadans. The first and foremost of these writers is Alawal, the famous writer of the Bengali epic poem *Padmavati* (written in fine Sanskritic Bengali but in Arabic script). The following free translation of a portion of the "Hymn to God" in the above poem will help the reader to understand this Muhammadan poet's breadth of view :

"Let me first bow to the *One Creator*—He who gave life to everything and founded the Universe. He created the nether world (patal), heaven (swarga) and Hell (naraka). He created the seven earths, seven universes and fourteen worlds."

The above are fully Hindu ideas. Only a perusal of the original Bengali passages can convince the reader of the thoroughly Hindu style and special Hindu phraseology used here and elsewhere by the poet.

The following from the "Hymn to Mahadeva" are of a similar nature :

"We creatures, are all undone, if the God of the Bull does give us salvation. O, Lord Mahadeva, please come, you are conqueror of death (mrityunjaya). Though you (*i.e.*, your images) are of stone, yet we are your followers. . . .

On His head is the river Ganges and coarse plaited hair (jata); round His neck is the wreath of bones; His body is covered with ashes; He wears the tiger's skin."

Describing the king of Chitore (Ratnasen), Alawal says :

"In beauty he surpasses the God of Fine Arrows (Cupid), in wisdom he is like Bidura, in religious piety he excels Yudhisthira, in charity he is greater than Karna . . . . . in bravery he is like Vikramaditya, in truthfulness he beats Harischandra . . . . ."

This much about Alawal. Now, let us come to the Muhammadan writers of Vaisnava devotional poems (Vaisnava padakarta). Their number is about a dozen. Here are some instances from their writings (in free English translation) :

"She who hear your (*i.e.*, Krishna's) flute, gets devine inspiration. . . . . I have no desire for domestic life. The flute is lord of my heart. The poet Aliraja says this at the feet of his Guru (Master)."—Aliraja.

Description of Krishna

"He is youthful, his appearance is charming, his face is like the moon, the colour of his body is like that of the cloud, he wears a beautiful wreath round his neck, in his face lurks Madana (Cupid). He is the essence of the Vedas and other Scriptures, he plays with the cows in the fields. Nasir Mahmud hopes that he (Krishna) will give him shelter at his feet."—Nasir Mahmud.

"Chand Kazi says : I am dying on hearing the notes of the flute. I shall not live if I do not see Hari."—Chand Kazi.

"Sayed Martuza says this at tht feet of Kanu (Krishna) : This is my prayer, O, Hari, I give up everything and take shelter at your feet, through life and death."—Sayed Martuza.

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The poet Aliraja quoted above was also the writer of many other Hindu religious songs under the pseudonym of "Kanu Fakir." He was also the author of a book in poetry named *Jnan Sagar*. In the preface of this book, published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad many years ago, Munshi Abdul Karim Sahitya Visarad said:

"Aliraja composed poems on Radha-Krishna, describing their deeds. . . . . Some say that, according to Muhammadan fakirs, the human body is Radha and the mind is Srikrishna . . . . ."

"In many poems Aliraja has described himself as 'a devotee at the feet of Radha and Krishna from birth to death.' A devotional song dedicated to the goddess Shyama (Kali) composed by him has also been discovered."

The following from Aliraja's *Jnan Sagar* (Sea of Wisdom) will illustrate his equal reverence for Hindu and Muhammadan religions. The poet describes here the Doctrine of Love and in doing so, he quotes examples impartially from Muhammadan saints and prophets on one hand and Hindu saints and gods on the other. A free translation of the relevant passages is as follows:

"The Path of Love leads to the conquest of the whole world. Therefore the Path of Love is the greatest of all and Muhammad, the devotee of God, came to preach it on earth. Narayana was a devotee and, becoming man, sported with Radha. The king of gods became a devotee of God through his love for Sachi; Brahma, by his love for the woman Sandhya, Zulekha, by her love for Yusuf, Amir Hossein, by his love for Zainab. . . . . Of the prophets, Adam first became a devotee to God and he was steeped in love for Eva. Among the gods Maheswara (Shiva) became a God's devotee and he obtained salvation by the love of Ganga and Gauri both. Muhammad loved Ayesha and became a devotee of God. Among men, women, beasts and birds, insects and trees, without love there can be no salvation."

These "Hinduised" Muhammadan poets remind us of another fact. Dr. Enamul Huq and Munshi Abdul Karim have shown in their interesting book (published under their joint name), entitled *Bengali Literature in the Royal Court of Arakan*, that Muhammadan society of East Bengal in the 17th century was, to a great extent, inclined to Hindu customs and manners. For example, the vermilion mark on the forehead among women, reception of the bride and bridegroom at marriage with clarified-butter-oil lamp (*pradeep*), paddy-and-grass (*dhan-durva*), banana trees, etc., were in vogue, as in Hindu society. Also, on auspicious occasions, use of an earthen pot full of water and with a twig of the mangoe tree (*mangal-ghat*), and belief in success and good fortune being assured by the sight of mother cow with calf, a pot of curd, etc., were common. The Hindu religious ceremony of first rice-taking of the child and the custom of making prostration or obeisance before superiors, were also common in Muhammadan society in those days, besides other similar practices. These facts were collected from the works of Moslem authors of the time.

That such customs and practices (including the practice of using Hindu names, *e.g.*, Gopal Sheikh, Ganesh Molla, etc.) continued in a great measure in the same society till, first, the Wahabi movement of the 19th century and then the political separatist movement of the 20th, have almost extinguished them, is a well-known fact.

VI. Satya Pir Literature

In all books (some of which are printed) dealing with the cult of Satya Pir, the outline of the story is the same, *viz.*:

A Brahmin is in great distress on account of poverty. A Muhammadan fakir accidentally appears before him and says that if the Brahmin worships the fakir, his sufferings will be ended. Naturally, the Brahmin objects saying that, since he is a Hindu, he cannot make offerings to a Muhammadan fakir. Then the fakir delivers a didactic lecture the purport of which is that there is no spiritual difference between the religions of Hindus and Muhammadans and that Ram and Rahim are different manifestions of the same God. In some cases, the fakir is metamorphosed into Narayana (in one case, Shiva). Then the Brahmin becomes a believer in the new god, makes offerings to him according to the prescriptions of the fakir and ultimately the worship of Satya Pir is widely propagated.

Unfortunately for me, I have not come across a book on Satya Pir (printed or in manuscript) of this type written by a Muhammadan, *i.e.*, one propagating the doctrine of equality and unity of Hindu and Muhammadan religions. It may be, there *are* books of the nature written by Muhammadan authors but that I have not been able to see any. However, all such books that I have met with are written by Hindus.

The following passages quoted from different books of this class will show how the doctrine of religious unity of Hindus and Muhammadans was preached in them:

"Khoda (or Fakir) said: Do not make a difference. I am Shiva whom you worship. . . . The Vedas say that Hari and Hara are the same Being. I (Fakir) am Shiva, the conqueror of Death."—Kaviballabha.

"Ram and Rahiman are one and the same, they are one soul, not two, which has created land and sky. Hindu and Mussalman, with Koran and the Puran, are one and the same. . . . . ."

"Then the Fakir said smiling that Satya Pir was

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present there (in the person of the Fakir); that wherever anyone thinks of Satya Pir, he finds him there; and that there is no difference between Hindu, Mussalman and Kafir."—Unpublished Manuscript of *Satya Pirer Panchali* by Poet Vidyapati.

"The Brahmin said: Sir, you don't understand; why should I worship the Pir? I worship Brahma, Vishnu, Shankar and the goddess Bhabani. I never acknowledge the yavana god Pir."

"The Pir said: He who is Rahman is also Rama, the repository of all virtues. He who makes any difference between them, incurs displeasure of God. Know this that there is no other God but Brahma. I am Satya Pir and Narayana. Seeing the power of the yavanas, I have put on the appearance of a Fakir."—Unpublished Manuscript of *The Book of Satya Pir* by Poet Gangaram.

"Let us bow to the God of gods who appears in the name of Satya Pir, in this age of Kali. . . . . The Brahman said: 'I have never worshipped any one but Hari. What does this wicked Fakir say?' But, when he cast a look at the Fakir, he saw, to his astonishment, that the Fakir was Narayana himself, with the conch, quoit, the mace and the lotus in his hands (*shankha-chakra-gada-padma-dhari*)."—*Satya Pirer Khatha* by Bharatchandra.

"The Fakir said: Listen to these words of wisdom. The same Lord has two names—Rama and Rahim. There is no difference here, this is the essence of the Scriptures. You will not do well if you make any difference. . . . . Brahma is my elder brother, Shiva, younger and I am the Four-handed Being, who wields conch, quoit, mace and lotus in his hands. For killing Kansa and the demon Keshi, I am called Keshava. At Mecca, I am Rahim, at Ayodhya, Rama."—*Satya Pirer Katha* by Rameswar Bhattacharjee.

These quotations will suffice for samples.

As to the genesis of Satya Pir literature, certain features of it incline one to the question—was it fear of Mussalmans that led a section of the Hindus to preach this cult, by way of appeasement?

There are passages in Satya Pir literature that go to strengthen the suspicion. I quote below some significant statements from two authors:

Bharatchandra, in the introduction of his *Satya Pirer Katha* says:

"In the age of Kali, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras are becoming weaker and weaker, while the yavanas are becoming more and more powerful. So, Hari incarnated himself as a Fakir."

Rameswar whose book is said to be the most popular among the current books on the subject says:

The six philosophies preach that there is but one Brahman and not two. But He takes up different names for different purposes. Seeing that in the Kali age, the wicked yavanas are destroying Hinduism, Ram appeared as Rahim."

VII. Some "Muhammadanised" Hindu Sects

Though not strictly belonging to the category of "literature," yet a few songs and sayings of some Hindu Sects, following Muhammadan practices and ways of life, may not be inappropriate here.

The late Akshoy Kumar Datta, in his Bengali work *Religious Sects of India* has noted in one place that the Vaisnava sects—Bauls, Neras and Darveshes—observe some practices of the Muhammadan fakirs. A common saying among these Vaisnavas is this: "What is the difference between Hindus and Mussalmans? Let all unite and do the work of the *Sainji* (the Lord)"

The same author says, about the *Ramballabhis* as follows:

"These people regard all scriptures as equal and consider all gods and goddesses mentioned in scriptures of all communities as one and undivided. At their annual festival (on the 14th night of the Dark Fortnight dedicated to the worship of Shiva, *i.e.*, *Shiva chaturdashi*), readings from the Bhagabatgeeta, the Koran, and the Bible, take place. It is reported that they make offerings of food of miscellaneous sorts, *e.g.*, rice cooked with pulse, beef, etc., Jesus, Muhammad and Nanak, each receives offerings. . . . Their famous song is this: 'There is no restriction with regard to the names, Kali, Krishna, God, Khoda. Don't let your mind falter on account of these differences in names. O, my mind, repeat the names of Kali, Krishna, God and Khoda.'"

In this connection, one is reminded of the fact that there are hundreds of Muhammadan graves and similar places in Bengal that receive offerings of money, flowers, sweets, milk, etc., from the generality of Hindus. In the city of Calcutta itself there are a large number of them. One such place is in the Burrabazar area, which was demolished by Hindus during the last big Hindu-Muhammadan riot. It was rebuilt, it is said, by Maharaja Pradyot Kumar Tagore, at a cost of Rs. 1,000/- and is still receiving the costly homage of the orthodox Hindus. Many pilgrims to the Kalighat temple pass by a certain holy Muhammadan grave north of the bazar and on the road side. The pilgrims present their offerings to this so-called *Satya Pir* first and then proceed to the worship of the Hindu goddess Kali. A few years ago, a certain "fakir" who had taken up his abode in a part of the Sir Stuart Hogg market in Calcutta died. The Muhammadan butchers of the market, taking him to be a Muhammadan fakir, buried him on the spot, in defiance of the authorities, it is said. At once, the place began to attract crowds of Hindus who heaped flowers, coins, sweets on the holy spot, to the material advantage of the butchers who were keepers of the place. Some time ago, I read a funny piece of news in the newspapers. In a certain village of Bengal, the Hindus used to worship an old Muhammadan grave. Muhammadans of the place later on

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began to think that this act of the Hindus was sacrilegious and came in force to prevent the Hindus from making offerings. The pious Hindus appealed to the court of law for protection in the performance of their "religious" rite! That Hindu landlords gave hundreds of plots of land for building mosques upon and some Hindu temples received gifts from Moslems is a well-known fact.

Such is the religious liberality of the Hindus. One curious thing, however, is this that these orthodox Hindus will at the same time persist in their belief in Hindu untouchability and many of them do not scruple to express hatred of Brahmo and Arya Samajists!

Conclusion

A few words of caution seem to be necessary at the conclusion for the benefit of the reader, so that he can view the propagation of religious unity in Bengali literature in its true perspective. It will be wrong to think that classical Bengali literature is full of statements like those made by the Vaisnava Saint Haridasa. A thorough and diligent search through the mass of classical Bengali literature will reveal certain curious things. From Ramai Pandit of the 15th century to Bharatchandra of mid-eighteenth, Bengali works contain only meagre references to the conquest of the country by the Turks and the administration of the Turko-Arabic and Mughal rulers. Of these meagre references, by far the majority are uncomplimentary (to use a mild word) to the rulers and their community. Another thing that is to be borne in mind is this that the specially composed Hindu-Muslim-amity literature (Satya Pir books) and the preachings of the "Muhammadanised" Hindu sects could not, in all probability, produce a lasting change in the communal mind of the country. The political condition perhaps stood in the way.

It is a historical, though regrettable, fact that the attempted *rapprochement* between Hindus and Muhammadans, by means of religious approach, definitely failed in the past.

PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By KRISHAK-BANDHU

Remarkable progress has been made in the agricultural sphere in Soviet Russia as the result of bold and vigorous execution of a well-laid policy of development. The details of the activities are naturally not easily available. But the results have been presented vividly in a publication of the Scientific Publishing Institute of Pictorial Statistics which has reached a remarkably high level in presenting facts and figures in the most attractive form. The dry bones of statistics are here brought out clothed in charming raiment of colours, pictures and symbols pleasing to the eyes of the reader. There is need of "blue books" for students of economics, legislators, public men, and the statisticians. But if a country has to be carried along in a wave of enthusiasm, riding its crest, in a mass effort at progress, the results achieved must be placed on the screen before their eyes in a form at once attractive and instructive, designed to hold their interest and fire their imagination and enthusiasm.

The first effort in agricultural development was of course directed to establishing the peasant on the land. Therefore a redistribution of land was effected. Under the old regime the total of agricultural land of 367 million hectares was distributed thus: landlords, Tsarist family and monasteries 152 million hectares; kulaks 80 million; middle and poor peasants 135 millions. This area and more that was newly broken to cultivation wholly passed into the hands of peasants cultivating the land either in their individual capacity or as collective farmers. In addition, the State established large farms of its own. Thus in 1937 out of the total area of 422 million hectares, the peasants cultivated 371 million hectares and 51 million hectares were covered by the State farms. It is significant achievement to bring under cultivation nearly 15 per cent of as much more land in a little over a decade.

Collectivization of peasants' farms against individual efforts and resources was one of the principal items in the programme of development. By the end of the last decade this object was mostly fulfilled. In 1929 barely 4 per cent of peasants' farms were collectivized. 10 years

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later 93·5 per cent of such farms were collectivized, covering 99·3 per cent of the total sowing area of the farms.

The men at the helm of affairs in Russia are strong advocates of mechanization. They saw no prospect of marked improvement in agriculture without mechanization of the farming work. Collectivization came as the inevitable sequel. The progress achieved in mechanization is reflected in the value of agricultural implements and other machines per hectare of sowing area. In the old days in peasant households the value of such implements and machineries was 6 rubles. In 1938, the corresponding figure in collective farms was 54 rubles and in State farms 122 rubles. The 54 rubles are made up of 18 rubles for tractors, 7 for harvester combines, 21 for other agricultural machines and implements and 8 rubles for automobiles. In the State farms tractors covered 51 rubles, harvester combines 15, other agricultural machines and implements 29, and automobiles 27 rubles.

The authorities claim that mechanization has not brought in its trail unemployment. Unemployment, it is stated, has been liquidated completely since 1931. What mechanization has yielded is more rest and leisure to the worker. One of the articles of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. proclaims that citizens have the right to rest and leisure. This is ensured by the reduction of the working day to 7 hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, the institution of annual vacations with full pay and the provision of wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs. Statistics compare the periods of labour, rest and sleep of a peasant—head of the family, and of a peasant woman—housewife, in private farms in 1923 and collectivized farms in 1936. The data is based on a special enquiry of peasant households selected at random. In 1923 the peasant divided his 24 hours thus: producing labour 11 hours 51 minutes, other labour expenditure 2 hours 56 minutes, rest 3 hours 15 minutes and sleep 5 hours 58 minutes. In 1936 the corresponding figures were 8 hours 23 minutes, 2 hours 28 minutes, 5 hours 27 minutes and 7 hours 42 minutes. For the housewife the periods were 7 hours 49 minutes for producing labour, 8 hours 2 minutes for other labour expenditure, 2 hours 26 minutes for rest and 5 hours 43 minutes for sleep. In collective farms in 1936, producing labour covered 4 hours 43 minutes, other labour expenditure 6 hours 50 minutes, rest 5 hours 1 minute and sleep 7 hours 26 minutes.

The State provides the means of mechanization and this alone has made its extension so rapid. There are machine and tractor stations and their number is increasing by leaps and bounds as collectivization progresses. In 1933 the number of such stations was 2916, in 1937 it rose to 6356. The number of tractors within this period rose from 123·2 thousands to 394·0 thousands; the harvest combines from 10·4 to 127·5 thousands and the number of freight cars from 12·3 to 92·6 thousands. The machine and tractors station is a State enterprise equipped with agricultural machinery. It performs various work for the collective farms, such as ploughing and harvesting, on a contract basis and receives payment for it in kind and in money.

It has already been indicated that the State has also established its own farms. Their number in 1937 was 3992 with 12·2 million hectares of land under them. The average annual number of workers was 1·5 million. 84·5 thousand tractors were in use and the number of harvester combines 24 thousands. Cattle figures largely in these State enterprises and the number of large horned cattle rose from 180 thousands in 1928 to 3·7 millions in 1937—a remarkable achievement for just a decade.

Such intensive activity has naturally resulted in more food for the country. The yield of cereals in 1913 was 80·1 million tons; in 1937 it was 120·3 million tons. The term 'technical crops' is used for sugar beet, flax and cotton. Increase in output of these crops is truly remarkable. The figures are comparative between 1913 and 1937, and are in million metric centners.

Sugar beet has risen from 109·0 to 218·6; flax from 3·3 to 5·7 and cotton from 7·4 to 25·8. The production of sugar in the country has risen from 1347 tons in 1913 to 2421 tons in 1937. The most marked increase is in cotton and there was a purpose behind it, namely, to make the country self-sufficient. Whereas in 1913, as much as 46·9 per cent of the requirement of the country was imported from abroad, the entire demand was met from the country's own production in 1937. The output of the cotton industry has made rapid strides ahead. Its value in 1913 was 1876 million rubles, in 1928 it was 2782 and in 1937 it had nearly doubled to 5144. Fodder crops have also kept pace with cereals and technical crops. The area under these rose from 2·1 million hectares in 1913 to 10·6 in 1937.

The State, as has been said owned 3·7 million heads of large horned cattle in 1937. The total stock in the country of this cattle runs to the colossal figure of 50·9 million heads. This is the number as it stood on the 1st January 1938. The increase over the period of 5 years was a little over 50 per cent. Similarly outstanding

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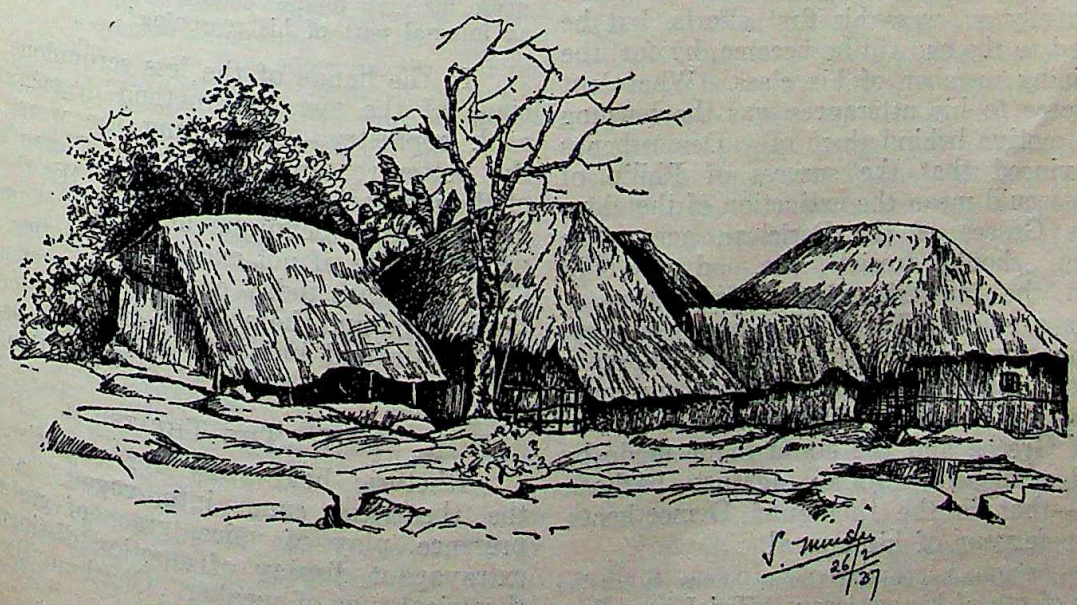
ing was the rise in sheep and goats, from 36·5 millions in 1934 to 66·6 millions in 1938.

There is one feature of interest revealed by the statistics. The women of Russia have taken a leading role in all spheres of activities of the new regime. So have they in agriculture. A woman was one of the initiators of the Stakhanov movement in agriculture. Another is the manager of a pig-breeding collective farm, a third is a doctor of veterinary science. All these women and many others in other walks of life have received State recognition by awards of orders of Honour. The recipients are called Order Bearers. Women also hold many responsible positions, both administrative and otherwise in the collective farms. But actually in point of number agriculture as a profession seems to have lost attraction with the womenfolk of Russia. Under the Tsarist regime a full 25 per cent of women workers was employed in agriculture, but in 1937 the number had dwindled to a bare 6 per cent. Education and public health have proved a greater draw and so have industry, building, transport, trade and public catering. These together now account for 55 per cent of women workers against only 13 under the old order of things.

Exhibitions form a large part in the world of education in Russia, in all spheres. On the 15th of May last the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition was opened in Moscow. The exhibition has its permanent grounds, the States under the Soviet are represented by courts. This is the second year of the exhibition and the number of courts is 12. The gigantic scale on which it is planned can be gauged by the fact that its grounds cover an area of 350 acres with 258 buildings and hundreds of experimental fields and sections. To mention one State, the Georgian Pavilion has an orchard with 200 citrus fruit trees growing in it and there are 20,000 citrus fruits—lemons, oranges, and tangerines and grapefruit on exhibition. More than 50 bamboo and eucalyptus trees are being planted in front of the pavilion and they have been brought all the way to Moscow from Georgia. In all 3,50,000 farmers are exhibiting this year. Especial stress is laid on the educative value of the exhibition, and conferences have been arranged so that the farmers who have come from the various parts of the Soviet Union may meet scientists and experienced peasants to discuss their problems, remove their doubts, learn newer and better methods of operation and exchange experiences. In opening the exhibition the People's Commissar of Agriculture announced two new record yields obtained in 1939. One was 151 bushels of wheat to the acre. The achievement goes to a woman farmer. The other record too is held by a woman, 48·7 tons of potatoes to the acre. How far behind does agriculture in India lag?

Whether or not one approves the economic structure of the State that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has built up and endorses the methods employed to gain the end, there can be no question of the remarkable achievement of Russia in growing more food for the country.



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SPEECH FROM DEMOSTHENES TO WINSTON CHURCHILL

By A. VENKAPPA SASTRI, M.A., S.T.C.

The standards of speech have varied from age to age. As conditions alter, as new problems arise, as language grows, and as the audience become more intelligent, responsive and critical new fashions of speaking follow, have their brief spell of popularity, and then fall into desuetude. For this reason an old master of speech like Demosthenes or Cicero can no longer serve as a model to a youth of today aspiring to oratorical distinction. He should rather turn for inspiration and guidance to the voices of his own time. It is the object of this article to survey the speakers down the centuries and to mark the broad fluctuations in taste and manner.

I. The Rhetorical

To begin with Demosthenes. Born to a decent inheritance but losing much the greater part of it owing to the indiscretion of his guardians, imperfectly educated, and, above all, handicapped by an impediment in speech, Demosthenes bore little promise of achieving fame as a speaker. Sheer grit did it. How he practised speaking on the beach with pebbles in his mouth to cure himself of stammer, and to cultivate the pitch of his voice, how he declaimed as he ran up-hill, how he shut himself up in a cell, how he transcribed Thucidydes eight times over to form his style, etc., are details familiar to every student of the life of Demosthenes. Laborious, indeed and painfully so, were his first efforts, but he persevered to the end till he became, by far, the most shining member of his class. What lent unique force to his utterances was the burning patriotic motive behind them all. Demosthenes was convinced that the success of Philip of Macedon would mean the extinction of the glory that was Greece of the Periclean age. The Athenians should resist the advance of Philip in the interests of the civilisation of Greece as a whole. The Philippics are at once an eloquent glorification of Hellas, a grave warning against the foe, and a rousing summons to action. "The fates of the whole commonwealth of Greece and the stand to be made by free and polished nations against barbaric tyrants"—that is the theme of Demosthenes. Hence the fervour of his appeal.

"Philip of Macedon said of Demosthenes on hearing the report of one of his orations: 'Had I been there he would have persuaded me to take up arms against myself'." (Emerson on Eloquence)

The other great representative of the old world is Cicero, the author of *De Oratore*. His tastes were all Greek. He went to Athens to learn elocution, practised declaiming in Greek and translated Greek authors into Latin to study argumentation. But he lacked the idealism of Demosthenes; his subjects are less comprehensive, mainly concerned with details of administration,—"the discussion of a law upon which the national safety could not depend, the question whether this or that general should take the command of an army, whether this or that province should be alloted to a particular minister." (Quoted by Lord Brougham in his inaugural discourse at Glasgow). Such was the limited scope of Cicero's orations.

Both Demosthenes and Cicero illustrate the rhetorical tradition of speaking. They are noted for the logical presentation of a thesis, the effective expression of their ideas, and, in general, for structural merit. As Lord Brougham characterises it:

> "While a modern orator too frequently has his speeches parcelled out into compartments, one devoted to argument, another to declamation, a third to mere ornament, as if he should say, 'Now your reason shall be convinced; now I am going to rouse your passions; and now you shall see how I can amuse your fancy', the more vigorous ancient argued in declaiming, and made his very boldest figures subservient to, or rather an integral part of his reasoning."

In the hands of the less scrupulous rhetoricians of the age, the method degenerates into rank sophistry,—of making the worse appear the better reason. Already in Cicero the flaw of the method might be noticed. His themes are less exalted; technique and style claim a disproportionate, if not exclusive, attention and the Ciceronian has today come to be a synonym for the inflated and the pedantic in expression. Lore of dialetic and intellectual subtlety apart from truth mark the decline of this tradition.

II. The Theatrical

Rhetoric held sway for centuries. Then the theatrical came into vogue. A studied presence, play of voice, grace of gesture, and extravagant display of emotion distinguish the theatrical type of speaker. Chatham, Brougham

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Sheridan occur as ready instances of the method. Chatham, says Lord Macaulay, was an actor in the closet, an actor in the council, and an actor in the parliament. He would seek to cow an opponent in debate by a flash of his eye, or a wave of his hand. The last scene of all,—when Chatham, past seventy, walked leaning on his son and son-in-law and with a crutch in his hand to the House of Lords, made a courtly bow to the assembled peers, and lifted his feeble voice in warning against the dismemberment of America, and again made a second attempt with his hand on his breast to reply to the debate that followed, but sank back in a fit of apoplexy and had to be borne out of the House in arms,—the whole is a superb storke of the device of the stage which had become almost natural to Chatham.

Brougham in commending the Reform Bill at its second reading to the acceptance of the House in 1831 went down on his knees actually, forgetting the dignity of the woolsack and continued in that posture for some minutes after the speech had closed. The spectacle afforded not a little mirth to the House.

The historic occasion of the impeachment of Warren Hastings witnessed some of the stagiest demonstrations in the annals of parliamentary eloquence. The whole setting was picturesque beyond description. The reader is referred to Macaulay's Essay on Hastings for a full account of the pageantry of the occasion. Fox, "pre-eminent among the many great orators of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries," usually indifferent to personal appearance, presented himself in form with a bag and sword hanging by his side. The effect of Burke's oration is thus set forth :

"The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor. . . . . The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such display of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling-bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit."—*Historical Essays* by Lord Macaulay, Oxford edition, page 622.

And when Sheridan had finished his elaborately turned speech on the Begum Charge against Hastings, he

"contrived, with a knowledge of stage-effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration."

In the December of 1792 when the Alien Bill was brought in by the Government, Burke himself melodramatically produced an actual dagger and threw it on the floor of the House and caused a titter. Nothing but his splendid vehemence could avail to regain the attention of the members to the rest of his perfomance after this ludicrous interlude.

These examples bear out the histrionic tradition of the speech of the age. One should not, however, suppose that these artificial modes really detracted from the sincerity of the speakers, for they were all unimpeachable patriots and voiced real feelings albeit in false tones. Of course, the decadence of this style at the hands of inferior practitioners brought with it a touch of unreality and stage spuriousness.

III. The Imaginative

Edmund Burke,—"All hail to Edmund Burke, the supreme writer of his century, the man of the largest and finest understanding,"—illustrates for us the transition to the imaginative, the poetic and the passionate type of speakers. Where he tried to *act* according to the prevailing standards in company with Fox and Sheridan, he failed. Look at the Dagger Scene alluded to above. Indeed, Burke had little art of address, delivery and enunciation. Not without reason did the wits of the House term him "the dinner-bell." He is remembered for his flights of imagination, for prophecy and vision. Reason incandescent with imagination—that is Burke's style. To get an idea of it, one has only to turn to his speech on Conciliation describing the progress and enterprise of the Americans, or the devastation of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali from the Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts which Lord Brougham regarded as the most striking passage in Burke's orations, or "that admirable picture of the degradation of Europe where he represents the different crowned heads as bidding against each other at Basle for the favour and countenance of Regicide" cited by De Quincey, and indeed a score of others from the Impeachment of Hastings, and the Reflections on the French Revolution, which though not a speech, is all through parliamentary in tone. As Hazlitt says, "Burke's eloquence was that of the poet; of the man of high and unbounded fancy." He spoke from conviction and so carried conviction to his hearers. Warren Hastings said of Burke's speech on his impeachment; "As I listened to the orator, I felt for more than half an hour as if I were the most culpable being on earth." There can be no higher testimony to the triumph of the imaginative style.

Something of the poetic strain of Burke, something of his imaginative sensibility, sobered

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down to modern proportions, of course, might be noted in Canning and more markedly in Disraeli on whom Burke's conservative mantle fell.

IV. The Rhetorical-Theatrical-Imaginative : or the Artistic

The great rival of Disraeli, Gladstone, represents a unique style combining the classical, the imaginative and what might be called the apostolic. He was a Homer scholar and knew how to impart an erudite flavour to his orations by analogies borrowed from antiquity, and by Latin and Greek quotations. An expert financier, he could light up the dry details of the budget with a human and concrete interest by a free play of imagination. He had a noble voice with an almost indefinite range which helped to keep unflagged the attention of the hearer for hours. Says Morley :

> "Among Mr. Gladstone's physical advantages for bearing the orator's sceptre were a voice of singular fulness, depth, and variety of tone; a falcon's eye with strange imperious flash; features mobile, expressive, and with lively play; a great actor's command of gestures, bold, sweeping, natural, unforced, without exaggeration or a trace of melodrama."

Again Gladstone was noted for his religious temper, the missionary ardour and exaltation of his outlook. "Be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling; not a mean and grovelling thing that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny"—was his own precept. It was his gifts of scholarship, personality and moral earnestness that united to make Gladstone an orator *sui generis* achieveing a fusion of the preceding styles.

Next to Gladstone in the line comes John Bright. The peroration of his speech on the Crimean War delivered in the House of Commons on February 23, 1855, containing "the memorable and poignant invocation of the 'Angel of of Death'" is the nearest approach to the Gladstonian style. In Bright we find the same copious command of words, the same mastery of parliamentary technique and the same serious temper.

V. The Realistic or Democratic

We catch the first note of the modern manner in Mill. There is no attempt at flourish or ornament but precise, methodical presentation of the argument with due emphasis. Not without warmth, however, Cobden, too, the compeer of Bright, fixed his eye on the facts of the case and delivered level-headed speeches in the great Anti-Corn Law Campaign and on the question of Parliamentary Reform. A plain democratic sincerity suffused with sympathy for the common man stamps the whole utterance. The great exemplar of this style is Abraham Lincoln,

> "who sprang from the masses of the people, remained through his whole career a man of the people and whose chief desire was to be in accord with the beliefs and wishes of the people, who never failed to trust in the people and to rely on their support."—Bryce.

His speech is brief and pointed; he has something to say and says it in the straightest way conceivable. His most characteristic performance was the famous Gettysburg oration, brief, pithy, couched in immortal phrases and enshrining the classic definition of democracy—"Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The late Asquith, Earl of Oxford, Stanley Baldwin, the late Neville Chamberlain, Winston Churchill, all represent with individual variations the modern style,—normally plain, matter-of-fact, easy and well-bred, emphatic and eloquent as occasion requires. Asquith was known to weigh every word of his utterance.

> "He uses words, in fact, not as a luxury, but with businesslike directness and for the simple purpose of making himself understood and no man ever succeeded better.—A. G. G.

Baldwin's speeches show a rare finish of phrase. Viscount Grey on "The End of Peace" in the early afternoon of August 3, 1914, Asquith on "The Nation at War" two days after the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 and Lloyd George on "The 'Scrap of Paper' in September 1914" are all in the best tradition of the day. Lloyd George and Churchill particularly achieve the very elements of simplicity and yet breathe passion, patriotism, and fire into every word of theirs. Their is an impetuous drive, a simple irresistible vigour in the manner of both. Mr. Churchill "polishes a speech as the lapidary polishes a stone." The recent War speeches, giving evidence of careful deliberation, are yet all addressed to the intelligence of the average man, with a hit-the-nail-on-the-head directness. This accent has come to stay in modern speech.

The present position is beautifully summed up in a few sentences by Mr. John Hayward :

> "Public speaking is no longer an art but a matter of expediency and speeches are brief and to the point, because the world is too busy to listen for very long and is quickly bored by elaborate perorations. . . . The grand manner of such men as Burke, Fox and Sheridan who lived in the golden age of British oratory has gradually been superseded by a simpler and more colloquial style of speech. This slow declension from the lofty eloquence of Brougham to the easy, almost confidential manner of Lloyd George is part of the process which began after the Reform Bill of making

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the world intelligible for democracy. . . . A hundred and fifty years ago speeches were addressed almost exclusively to small and highly cultivated assemblies."—Introduction to *Silver Tongues*.

We have thus traced how speech has progressed, through various gradations and combinations of style, from the elaborate to the simple, from the expert and the dilettante to the plain democratic manner. The oratory of divines and preachers, of scholars and men of letters, of philosophers and scientists, excluded from this enquiry, generally fall under one or other of the categories, making allowance for the individual nuance of subject and personality. The philosophy of speech, the difference between the technique of writing and speaking, the right use of speech considered ethically, speech silvern contrasted with silence golden which should form part of a much larger enquiry are all outside the scope of this article.

THE ART OF NICHOLAS AND SVETOSLAV ROERICH

By ROZIO SARAJUDDIN

Before looking at Prof. Roerich's paintings, or attempting to criticize them, you must make up your mind about one thing: Are you an admirer of the naturalistic school of painting or are you —to use an American term—a Modern Art "fan"? Do you respond to that technical realism in painting which makes a lady's dress look as if it could rustle in the wind and a tree appear as if it would literally drop its leaves in autumn, or are you prepared to overlook these textural complexities for a vital force of expression? If you are a Titianian, if Michael Angelo's plastic sense alone can satisfy your artistic faculties, yon would feel a natural antipathy for Prof. Roerich's paintings; they would seem to you frail, insipid, and fitted in like a jig-saw puzzle. In effect, you would criticize them for being too "stagey and spectacular." But, then, the paintings of Matisse and Seurat should also be condemned for their frank individualism. If an abstract symbolism can be forgiven because it has concocted a particular shell for itself, the so-called ballet technique of Prof. Roerich's paintings can be accepted because of the strong sweeping impression it creates.

Artists can be divided into two categories, if not many more. There is the fastidious draughtsman who has got into the habit of erecting flawless steel structures which are so cold and scientifically correct that they do not attract the "soul". Then there is the modern Symbolist who strives so desperately to capture the "soul," that he is prepared to do away with superfluous lines, selecting only those which are essential.

If you are one of those old-fashioned art critics who accused the Impressionists of destroying the fabric of traditional painting, I advise you to have nothing to do with Prof. Roerich's paintings. You are bound to come out of the exhibition burning with orthodox anger. I can hear you murmur under your breath, "these pieces of fancy paper stuck together." Poor Mr. Whistler, whose prejudices must have affected you, would have fainted on observing such "glaring" colours, and particularly so many offsprings of the dreaded red tint. It took you very long to arrive at an understanding with modern painting—that is to say, if you "arrived" at all; therefore, it is even more difficult for you to understand Prof. Roerich's paintings which combine symbolism with mysticism and for some inexplicable reason are painted in rainbow colours. You have become accustomed to a style of painting which implies in Art what the word "chic" applies in the world of fashion: concentrated effort without an appearance of stunning originality. Prof. Roerich is not "chic." He has an oriental eye for frank splendour. It is as a vivid impressionist and not as an orthodox painter, that he has to prove himself great.

The paintings of Van Gogh are charged with a religious intimacy. Gaugin preferred barbarism to civilization and painted nude brown Tahitians among banana leaves as a reaction. Yet they are considered great artists for placing expression above a recognized conventional technique. Does mysticism clash more violently with the medium of painting than primitive rebellion and monomaniac religiosity? To say that Gaugin has not the polish of Velazquez or that Van Gogh should have cultivated the texture of Ingres, would be as absurd as to say that coffee is not good because it lacks the flavour of pomegranates.

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We accepted the elongated distortions of Modiglianis' faces and the flimsiness of Matisse's decorative technique. Have we become so intolerant of individualism and experiment now that we cannot abide Prof. Roerich's brilliant colours and semi-cubistic style? Call him a Fauvist and a reactionary if you like, but you cannot dispute his supremacy as an artist simply because he happens to be a mystic as well.

The fact that Prof. Roerich is a sage does not necessarily imply that he is a good artist. His spiritual accomplishments should be applauded in a Buddhist Monastery or by people in some sort of a mystic circle, and not at the opening of an exhibition. Yet we must remember that painting is no longer merely a faithful reproduction of nature and natural objects. It is being used as a channel of self-expression, and therefore Prof. Roerich is perfectly justified in making mysticism felt through his symbolic paintings.

If there is a law against using the medium of painting for moral preaching and religious propaganda, all the paintings of the holy family, the Madonna, and scenes from the Testaments would become disqualified automatically. How can a man disconnect his personal experiences and his philosophies from something which is essentially an expression of himself? Belive me, a cool scientific detachment in painting might produce excellent draughtsmen, but it won't ever produce great impressionists. After looking at Professor Roerich's paintings we must ask ourselves a very vital question: do these pictures affect us in any way (those of us who are upholders of the Modern movement) and do they leave a lasting impression on our minds? The answer to this question which will be in the affirmative will prove to us that Prof. Roerich is a great impressionist artist.

To call him a genius would be to underrate him; he has risen above these worldly standards. The word genius is associated with a tortured spirit, a vicious urge, and an all-round crackheadedness. I am sure Prof. Roerich does not possess any of the characteristics of a brilliant maniac. His presence must be dignified and quiet, his gaze mellow and serene, he must have that unconscious grace of manner which we associate with noble people. This is not an attempt to draw an imaginary character sketch; you can "sense" all these things in Svetoslav Roerich's portrait of his father.

In the work of a genius like Beethoven or Strindberg, you feel a brooding melancholy; the paintings of Prof. Roerich are charged with a soothing serenity. If his soul has struggled with the elements it is not recorded in these paintings. They symbolize the event when he has passed through cosmic uncertainty into a region of higher mystical understanding, where everything is as clear as crystal, where the craggy hills, the monasteries, the mountain slopes, look as if they have been washed by a torrent of snowflakes into a dazzling purity. A sort of a chilled moonlight seems to have been captured by the layers of brilliant colours. The loveliness of these pinks and mauves and blue chiselled blocks takes your breath away. The spacious vastness of the scenes seems to unroll itself before your eyes even beyond the picture in its restricting frame. It is this sense of space in the paintings of both these artists which gives us the feeling that here nature reigns supreme, and human beings are mere particles of dust, shall I say, —jotted on this lovely expansion. One of the most striking features of Prof. Roerich's paintings is that they have a psychic atmosphere in spite of the fact that they are painted in fresh and brilliant—almost rainbow—colours; you would have thought that only browns and greys and floating mists could convey a ghostly unreality. The secret of this phenomenon lies in the theme and composition of the paintings; the frame-work or the foundation is so unearthly in itself that whichever way it is painted it will retain its element of mystery for us. We are not familiar with any of the epics of this Tibetan grandeur and whether they are shown to us in broad daylight as in "Terra Slavonica" or lit up by the firelight in the darkness as in "Shambhala" they will seem incredibly haunting dreams to us.

The clarity of the pictures is so powerful, it affects you physically. You feel, when looking at them, that a layer of film has been lifted from your brain and eyes and you can see more clearly than you have ever seen before. I do not know if anyone has tried this experiment accidentally, but I am sure your headache would go away if you were to gaze at one of Prof. Roerich's eye-opening pictures long enough.

It is customary for an ordinary artist to "dig out" things from the soil which is the common property of every one. He is slightly superior to the layman because whereas the layman only sees, the artist can also reproduce. With Prof. Roerich not even a great wordly artist can claim to have an affinity; he is a "higher" being, he brings down his experiences to us in the form of painting from a higher sphere, which we can never have the privilege of visiting. It is an honour to see these profound revelations.

The remark, "Professor Roerich's pictures look like posters," should be merely an observa-

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tion (although it would in any case be an irrelevant one). To use this as a condemnation would be as silly as to say that a great artist should not use blue and red and yellow because they are primary colours and are used for illustrating children's books.

The spirit of greatness is a thing apart; it is so complete that it can lodge itself in a plain or an elaborate shell equally effectively. Some of the greatest pieces of music are very simple technically; you could play them with one finger; the pauses in between however make them Sonatas of haunting beauty, and no technically superb composition with clever undercurrents and subdued trills can compare with their profound simplicity. The "statement" of Prof. Roerich's paintings is so forceful that they must have a very simple and direct technique, to let it assert itself. There is no scope here for textural complexities or technical virtuosities. Prof. Roerich proves himself great and exceptional as a creative mystic, and not as an accomplished draughtsman, in the realistic sense of the word.

There is essentially a contemplative mood in the paintings which makes you want to be alone with them; it is not possible to assimilate them at an opening so reminiscent of a social function. They are dignified and aloof with all their wealth of wisdom and exquisite beauty; to get to know them you must establish a personal contact with them.

Although technically they are modern and impressionistic they do not possess that spirit of rebellion which is the main feature of the pictures of Van Gogh or Matisse or Gaugin. They do not seem to bawl out in a loud voice, "Come and look at us, we have something new to say." They only remark in a mellow tone when looked at, "Those who wish to gaze at us may do so." The pictures of Svetoslav Roerich are naturally tinged with a more youthful enthusiasm for contacts.

I won't commit the unnecessary fallacy of saying that Svetoslav Roerich is a greater painter than his father. It is fashionable among pseudo-intellectual circles to declare that a disciple is greater than his master, or that a Bodhisattva is better than the Buddha. These startling statements never fail to create a sensation. I do not, however, belong to the category of these professional shockers, but I do say that the art of the son has a more direct appeal, and that he is more versatile, for the simple reason that he is still attracted by all those things which have ceased to possess any significance for his father.

The average man has more affinity with a clever artist than with a profound mystic. It is easier for him to understand the language of human figures and human faces, and flowers, and trees, than a vapourless stunning mysticism. The layman finds Svetoslav's pictures more personal, the paintings of his father would seem so only to the masters living in Shambhala. One feels that Svetoslav Roerich could paint in any style and depict any theme with equal ease and efficiency; his lines have reached that self-confident flexibility when he can bend them to his will. There is a great sense of poise and balance in his portraits. His heads and hands are flawlessly drawn, his rendering of faces is elegant and sensitive, yet his approach to them is too bold to make them insipid. Looking at Mrs. Qadir's portrait you realize that Svetoslav has great powers of adaptability. He is so sure of himself that he can feel equally at home painting a Tibetan beggar in rags or a society lady wtih all her complicated fineries, the texture of which has to be worked out so carefully. But Svetoslav is so skilled in anatomical details, that racial differences between his models do not frighten him. As an anatomist he is intellectually aware of these slight racial peculiarities, but he does not stress the point unnecessarily. He knows that the Tibetans and the Chinese have high-cheek-bones and small slanting eyes, whereas an Aryan face might often be gifted with heavy-lidded eyes like the lady meditating over the flowers in the Portrait of Miss. R. B., but he also sees points of resemblance between people belonging to different countries; he knows, for instance, that the chin of an Indian lady juts out exactly like the chin of a European lady, making the same sort of an angle between the jaw-bone and the neck. Svetoslav is imaginative enough, however, to recognize the inevitable differences produced by environment and heredity, and he expresses this fundamental difference grinding it very subtly into the coat of pigment. He depicts a characteristic pose of an Indian woman with her hair coiled at the nape of her neck, a veil flung carelessly round her throat, an ear-ring dangling from her ear, with as much finesse and sympathy as he would depict the short bobbed hair and impersonal aloofness of an English woman.

Svetoslav's figure studies though not as remarkable as his portraits, have a charming pictorial value, (a description condemned by the puritanical art critic who excludes the word "charm" from serious art criticism). Some of these studies have a sweeping rhythm, some are subtly dramatic such as "Jacob and the Angel."

Personally I have a weakness for his "Saga

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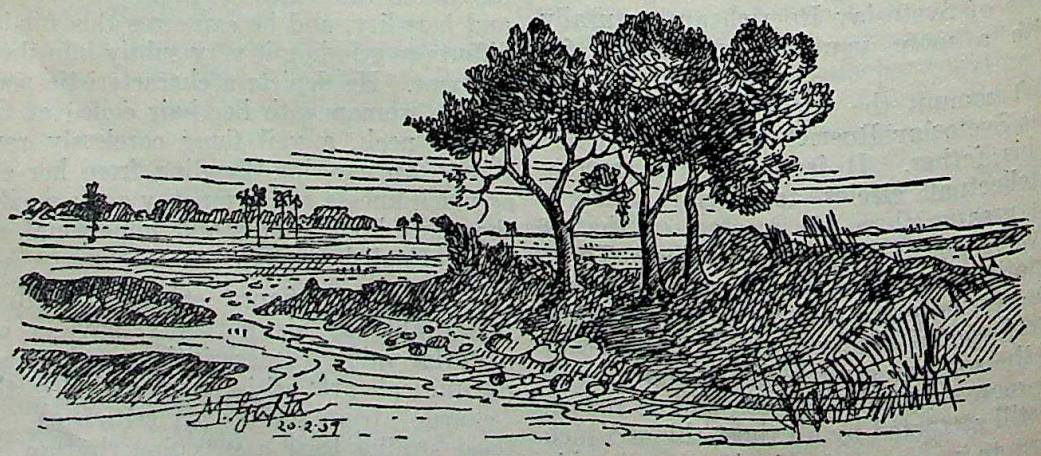
of Gessar Khan." The picture has a beautifully ethereal quality, and yet the figures seem to have an affinity with us. The figure in the centre gives the whole composition its balance and symmetry. The sky is particularly lovely, it is so luminous, and the clouds have such a golden depth, they seem to envelope the scene below. You wish you could be in such a place at such a time. It is the sort of a place we could aspire to see, as it is midway between heaven and earth; not even in our wildest dreams could we reach the lofty heights in the father's paintings.

It is obvious that Svetoslav is fond of the lovely things of the earth, he is sensitive to the texture of fruits and flowers and dress materials, in fact everything which is closely interwoven with our lives. A close proximity with his father and the admiration he has for his paintings leads him on temporary excursions to the mystic regions, his spirit roams about at large taking delight in many things. He is like an epicurean who has tasted many dishes but has not yet found one so infinitely superior that he should automatically stick to it forever and forget all else.

Like his father, Svetoslav has mastered, to perfection, the art of creating a perfect harmony between the colours and objects in his paintings. This is purely an oriental accomplishment associated with significant decorative paintings of the old Chinese or Moghul period. It would be irrelevant to look for a definite point in Nicholas and Svetoslav Roerich's paintings for the eye to rest upon. We should remember that it is not the aim of these artists to erect a hostile factor in their composition for our convenience. They seek to express through the combined efforts of every single line and tone what another artist would express by drawing our attention to some obviously conspicuous factor. The lines and tones of these paintings drift into each other by mutual consent and they do so with such grace and composure that a harmonious compactness becomes the keynote of the paintings. Each colour seems to have been trained to show the other to advantage; that is why Svetoslav and his father can use such vivid colours so amazingly successfully. Any other artist would have made a perfect "hash" of such daring colour schemes.

I wish we could see many more of Svetoslav's portraits. Through these deplorably few but very fine specimens he introduces himself as a portrait-painter of a very high calibre. We feel as if we have just listened to a very remarkable overture, but we have been denied the pleasure of listening to the whole composition, every movement of which must be thrilling and brilliant.



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A SAFETY SCHEME FOR TOWNS WITH SUPPLY OF ELECTRIC CURRENT

By LAKSMINARAYAN DAS, M.B., M.SC.

The purpose of writing this article needs explanation. We can scarcely fail to notice the reports of commission of various crimes such as murder, dacoity, communal riots, etc., that appear in the columns of newspapers from time to time. In some cases, it is found that several persons are arrested, and their guilt being proved, are served with deterrent punishment, while in others the miscreants succeed in making good their escape to the utmost terror of the people. Of the various factors that favour the escape of criminals, a very important one seems to be the utter overpowered and panic-struck state of the victims so that the Police and the people get information of the incident only too late. If we believe that the more will the offenders be caught and punished the less will be the incidence of crimes, we cannot but think of devising such a system as will make the arrest of the mischief-makers easy. The efficient Police arrangements of the present times can successfully cope with the commission of all sorts of crimes and all that we have to do is to seek immediate help of the Police as well as of neighbours when a crime is being or about to be committed. With this end in view, I dare make an attempt in the following scheme to link the people not only with the Police but with a large number of neighbours as well which can not be achieved with simple telephonic arrangement. I request the readers to judge the feasibility of the scheme.

The Scheme

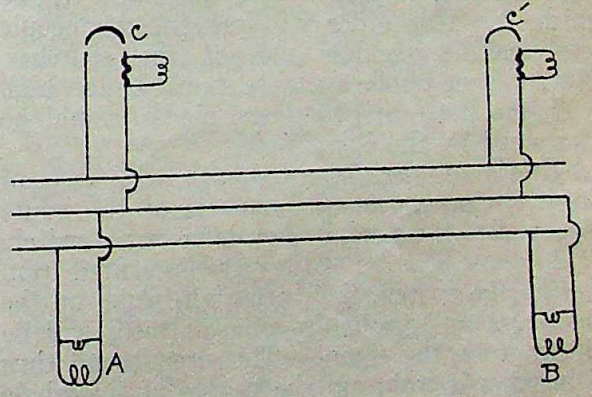
Executive Committee: There should be an Executive Committee consisting of the District Magistrate and Collector, the Superintendent of Police, the Chairman of the Municipality, the Chairman of the District Board and a few influential gentlemen of the town to give the scheme a practical shape.

The Mechanism: The Committee will divide the area of the town into suitable sections of about ½ to 1 square mile area for installation of electric Sirens and Red Lamps, one of each in each section.

A siren and a red lamp should be placed on the roof of a high building which seems to be situated at about the centre of the section. This red lamp should be visible from a distance and will serve to give an indication of danger to the inhabitants of that particular section.

By means of an extra line running throughout the whole of the section and extending up to the main Police Station, switches may be maintained at different houses of the section. The diagram of the mechanism is given below and it will be seen from it that different sections of the town will be kept in close touch with the Police Station. Extra lines extended from each section will enter the Police Station where there will be as many electric bells and red lamps as there are sirens. From each line there may be a switch at the Police Station to enable the Police authorities to operate the sirens if necessity arises.

Diagram



A—Siren and Red Lamp in parallel.
B—Police Bell and Red Lamp in parallel.
C and C'—Switches and house Red Lamps. (Two sets have been shown).

Siren Switches: Siren switches should be kept well protected within a wooden case with a glass plate in front. Whoever wants to work the siren must break the glass and press the switch. This broken glass, as in case of fire signals, will enable the Police, in case of misuse, to detect the house from which the siren had been worked. The glass should be replaced by the owner himself. It will be advantageous to make arrangements for spontaneous lighting of

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a prominently placed red lamp shunted from the switch line to locate the site of danger.

How is the Police Concerned: Immediately the siren is sounded the Police gets information of the danger. The Police gets ready and waits for a specified time previously determined by the Committee. If the siren stops within the specified time, the Police Officer may infer that there was a minor trouble which the people managed themselves and all that he should do is to send a man to enquire into the affair. If the siren is sounded for more than the specified time, the Police Officer will record a first information as "Siren calling from..... Section" and proceed to the place with constables. It is how the people can readily get the help of the Police even if they are prevented from going to the Police Station for lodging information. If necessary, special signals may be arranged for getting immediate help of the Police.

Police Control: Close control by the Police is essential. The Superintendent of Police should have a list of the houses having siren switches. He will issue cards to owners of switches having the following directions: 'The siren should be used in cases of murder, dacoity, communal riots, fire and the like. Those making improper uses are liable to be punished'. This order will prevent the people from making reckless use of the switches. Whether some public switches should be left high up on the posts at prominent places should be determined by the Committee.

Effect of the Siren Signal: In case of danger in any house the inmates of the house may operate the siren if they have got a switch. If they have none, or if they are prevented from pressing the switch, their cries will wake up the neighbours and probably some of them will be able to work the signal. The siren sound thus produced will wake up the people of the whole section even if the offence is attempted to be committed at late hours of the night and very probably scare away the mischief-makers. The Police also automatically gets information. The Police authorities will thus be saved from the trouble of putting temporary armed guards at different sections after the commission of a grave crime and at the same time they will ever be so well prepared and so much able to help the people in time of need, if their energies are not wasted in vain.

Costs: Total costs are bound to vary according to needs, but may be discussed under the following heads:

(1) Cost of a unit consisting of one siren, one Pol bell and two red lamps suiting the available voltage of the supply lines, may be had from any price-list of electrical goods. Roughly it may not exceed Rs. 200.

(2) Cost of installation of each unit should not exceed Rs. 100.

(3) Cost of total length of the extra lines and all costs of laying the same should be had from the local Electric Supply Company.

(4) Cost of house switches and red lamps and house lines must be met by the owners of the houses.

The local Electric Supply Company should be requested to make a full estimate of the installation.

Funds: Funds for the installation may be raised from the following sources:

(1) Government.
(2) Municipality.
(3) District Board.
(4) Big parties such as Zemindars, big merchants etc., residing in the town.
(5) Local public.

In the matter of raising funds official co-operation and influence are absolutely necessary.

Recurrent Expenses

(1) Cost of working:—The local Electric Supply Company should be requested to make a free gift of the current for working the sirens as business concession to the public and on the ground that the scheme will secure more house connections and trade facilities for them.

(2) Repair and maintenance:—The Municipality may be requested to maintain the sirens and to undertake repairs if necessary, as the system is concerned with the safety of the rate-payers.

Concluding Remarks

The scheme should be modified and adjusted to local needs. The engineers of the local Electric Supply Co., must always be relied upon in order that the installation may be in conformity with their particular method of distribution of current. All petty details, e.g. gauge of extra line, employment of resistance etc., should be left to the electric engineers.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE GENERAL BASIC ENGLISH DICTIONARY, *giving more than 40,000 senses of more than 30,000 words in basic English. Under the direction of C. K. Ogden, author of "Basic English," with the help of a committee of the Orthological Institute. Published for the Orthological Institute by the Times of India Press, Bombay, and Evans Brothers Limited, London. Crown 8vo. Pp. X+438. Cloth. Price Rs. 3-8.*

It is claimed that after years of patient thought and research two Cambridge scholars discovered that in 850 words only lies the golden key to the difficulties of English vocabulary—that with these 850 words only they could open up a New World of thought and feeling, expressed in English, to millions who had already struggled, or who were yet to struggle, with its subtle intricacies, its rich idiom, its wealth of meanings. These 850 words constitute Basic English.

In ordinary dictionaries it is found in some instances that words whose meanings are not known are explained with the help of words which are as unfamiliar as or sometimes more unfamiliar than the words explained. What differentiates this *General Basic English Dictionary* from other dictionaries is that in it all words are explained with help of Basic English words only, which are or can be comparatively easily understood.

It is a very useful publication and should be used by both students and their teachers.

We have a suggestion to make. The 850 words of Basic English should be printed together in alphabetical order in an appendix. They need not be explained. Some time ago we found them all printed in a Philippine monthly magazine. The publishers may also consider whether a reduction in the price of the book is not practicable. Our students come mostly from families with very limited incomes.

D.

MY BOYHOOD DAYS: An Autobiographical Sketch: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

At the ripe old age of eighty years Poet Rabindranath has recollected his boyhood days in *Chhelebela*. In his preface to the Bengali original he says that the book is mainly written for the younger readers. To our great delight, however, it has wonderfully but imperceptibly transcended that specific purpose and in so doing has immensely enriched Bengali literature with its new technique of narration and a prose style outstandingly original in its rhythmic quality and mellow freshness. Occasionally vivid and picturesque but never ornate, tinged so often with a dream-quality but never abstract, *Chhelebela* is written in the very language of child's own inner tongue. It marks a clear, long stride in the progress of our latest style in prose and has once again revealed the unexpected potentiality of Bengali language.

Regarding its narrative aspect and the facts thereof the Poet has said: "The picture that after these eighty years I retain even of myself does not correspond line for line with the reality but is largely a product of the imagination" (p. 51). That indeed makes it all the more a thing of beauty real in its own realm—the realm of heart's desire of every child. With a slight change we might very easily echo the Poet's own words and say, "We are Calcutta people and history has never lived for us here. Our visions had been confined to the narrow boundaries of the stunted times." In this book for us has been reclothed with flesh and blood the dry bones of old-world Calcutta—a Calcutta "whose business was not the breathless rush that it is now," "where hackney carriages lumbered about the city raising clouds of dust," "where there were no trams, buses or motors" and "days went by in leisurely fashion," where "women used to go about in the stifling darkness of closed palanquins, a darwan striding by its side, where there was no gas nor electric light, and kerosene lamps, newly introduced, amazed the children with their brilliance." "In those days the long-drawn wail of jackals still filled the night round some of the old houses of Calcutta." Round the life amid such an old-world setting "there lingered the aroma of a bygone village life" and no wonder that people then "were much less grown up in every way than they are now": "then we were all children alike both young and old" (p. 34).

That was the environment in which child Rabindranath lived and grew. Unlike his *Reminiscences*, the canvas of *My Boyhood Days* is stretched out within comparatively narrow boundaries. Beginning from about his seventh or eighth year he goes upto his student days in London and that too in broad sweeps. A Poet's reminiscence must always be anything but a *scientific survey* in time. Facts and incidents here receive their high-lights and shades peculiar to the personality of the Poet, and the ultimate picture thereof clearly reflect the subtle rhythm of his essential moods and temperaments.

Intensely imaginative and romantic in temperament, we find Rabindranath in his early young days roaming alone in the narrow passages and verandahs of the big Jorasanko house from his one *gypsy haunt* to another, from the grandmother's palanquin to the old granary.

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His constitution in these boyhood days is "so abominably sound" that even when the most urgent need arises for avoiding school he can never make himself ill by fair means or foul. Few years later he enters the school only to be repelled by its drab and frigid life: "As soon as I entered the class-room, the benches and tables forced themselves rudely on my attention, elbowing and jostling their way into my mind. They were always the same—stiff, cramping, and dead" (p. 33). When at last his lonely spirit is on the verge of shrinking and fading among the "faded drab-coloured days" human company and friendship enter his "lonely Bedouine life on the roof." Appearance of Jyotidada and *Bouthakrun* (sister-in-law) with their garden on the roof and a piano symbolize the changed tenor of Rabindranath's later boyhood days.

Modelled principally "from the native clay of Bengal" the most important ingredients of our Poet "were gathered from within" "though the atmosphere of the home and the home people counted for something too." To his good fortune he "escaped almost entirely the impress of the mills of learning." With a touch of humour he observes: "The masters and pundits who were charged with my education soon abandoned the thankless task" (p. 52). Towards the prime of his youth he landed in England and, as he himself puts it—"foreign workmanship began to play a part in the fashioning of my life." There his familiarity with human thought grew side by side with his knowledge of literature. Very significantly he sums up the account of his boyhood days with the following words:

"I went to England but I did not become a barrister. I received no shock calculated to shatter the original framework of my life—rather east and west met in friendship in my own person. Thus it has been given me to realise in my own life, like the sun from which I am named, the common bond which unites all lands" (p. 54).

The inimitable prose of *Chhelebela* (the Bengali original) would baffle any translator. Nevertheless, in *My Boyhood Days* we have a very lucid English rendering of the entire book done by Miss Marjorie Sykes, a distinguished student of English literature of the Cambridge University and at present a Professor of Visva-Bharati. Regard being had to the difficulty of the task the translator deserves our congratulations for what she has achieved.

We would like to add only one suggestion for those who will be responsible in bringing out a second edition of *My Boyhood Days*. Along with the translations of the quaint sacrificial *mantra*, the folk songs and the doggerels, and the well-known lines from the Vaishnava poets like Vidyapati and others, it will be well if their word for word transliterations are also given. Indeed their archaic alliterations and characteristic sound values are sure to give the foreign readers some genuine idea of the originals which they may not like to be wholly deprived of by being served with their translations alone.

NIRMAL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

COLLECTED POEMS (1894-1940): *By James H. Cousins. Kalakshetra, Adyar, Madras. Pp. xviii+472. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A poet who gives the public during his life-time a collected edition of his poems is a very brave man. Such a volume is an unconscious, unintentional and most valuable autobiography. Nothing prosy about it, it is all revealed to us in words for which the English language has been ransacked to provide the exact shade of nuance to express the thought, in which those words have been arranged into set lengths as lines and rhythms, and the rhythms are moulded into an architectural form such as lyric, ode, sonnet, ballad, etc., and the whole is made musical by the addition of rhyme, usually terminal, but in some cases also inter-linear in Dr. Cousins' poems after the manner of ancient Irish bards—all of it self-revelatory. India has known Dr. Cousins' love and work for this country for the past twenty-five years in the spheres of literature, education, appreciation of Indian philosophy and all the arts, and sympathy for its aspiration for national freedom.

There are poems in this book to please every taste. The "Irishry" of the poet, to use Meredith's expression, gives a very distinctive character to the whole work. Every Irish poet is quite at home with God, and leaps from the sod to the heavens with almost upsetting swift unexpectedness.

Not only the subject is often magical, but the words also have a glamour of their own. The lullaby, "The Bell-Branch," illustrates this:

"Shoheen, sho ho,
Birds are homeward winging.
Shoheen, she ho.
Herdsmen on the hills are singing:
'Short the night and long the day
Come ye weary flocks away.
Folded in deep shadows drowse,
And on long sweet grasses browse
Where the murmuring waters flow'."
"Shoheen, sho ho,
Hark, the Bell-branch ringing!
Shoheen, sho ho.
Danaans from the hills are singing:
'Time is old and earth is grey.
Come ye weary ones away,
Where with white untroubled brows
The immortals dream and drowse,
And the streams of quiet flow'."

The poet's themes for inspiration range right round the world, both subjective and objective, but always return to the deep questionings of life and its problems:

"The riddling, bitter—whither, whence and why?—
Of all things born to die."

Yet he is an uncompromising optimist, as witness this after he had skilfully skimmed the cream of names of the world's great painters, sculptors, musicians:

"O shining spirits lifting Beauty's light
Against the new black threat of battle's drum!
Your coming day shall drown the dark of strife!
One star denies the regnance of the night:
Many are ye, and more are yet to come.
I too shall come: I am in love with life."

How deep is his prayer for the future of Ireland!

"Yet, for the spirit's thirst,
From ancient, wise, enchanted springs
Drink, that thy Last be as thy First—
A glory sought by saints and kings."

The same love of Nature that cries out in nostalgia from almost every page in the first half of the book, written in the West, calls out even more poignantly when in the presence of the High Himalayas who "scatter sleep with ecstasy"—

"Thou hast called up the mountains in my soul,
And set high hunger throbbing in my feet."

How deftly Cousins defines the aim of Art!

"Art seeks, in script that shall endure,
To write across the page of death
Beauty's immortal signature."

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The poem in which this occurs, "Graven Images," is packed with arresting thoughts, with a review of the history of Art expression, with the union of West and East, with the paradox that the average person

"Scarce heeds the huddled human things,
But to an icon bends the knee—
So low in worth God's image stands;
So high—the labour of his hands!"

In the later half of the volume one notes the poet's reaction to meeting famous personalities and celebrated historical places and new experiences, such as the first sight of the Graf Zeppelin, Hollywood, the Pacific Ocean, the problems of Europe, and they have increased grip and a more intense sense of maturity, of affirmation of eventual Good even in garish and menacing Evil.

It is impossible in a short review to give an adequate impressions of the wealth of words and wisdom conveyed in this poet's gift to his day and generation. But first and last he is the Bard of Beauty and the Lover of Love. Out of the first comes his mastery of musical language and perfect poetical form; out of the second comes his utter tolerance, broad-mindedness sense of equality of the sexes, religions, peoples, and persons.

And to sweeten and lighten it all there is always the touch of humour, or whimsy, he cannot bear "the burden of immensity," so his birds chirp their songs, his beetles hum their "Oms," and through the air sound the Harps of Immortality.

M.

THE LAND OF THE TWO RIVERS: A STUDY OF THE AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY OF THE UPPER DOAB: *By Baljit Singh, M.A., LL.B. With an Introduction by Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji. Printed and published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. 1940. Price Rs. 3.*

The title of the publication is very interesting, and Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji's introductory remarks raise one's hopes of the volume:

"In the Doab, holdings are the largest in the Province (U. P.) and the standard of farming is the highest. Climate, irrigation, caste habits and agricultural practices, all have contributed towards a phenomenal progress in this part of India. All this have been accurately analysed and their mutual relations revealed in an attractive survey. Whether the bracing climate or the fertile soil, the phenomenal expansion of irrigation or the combination of dairy farming with agriculture, the endurance and thrift of the Jat cultivator or the large-sized undivided holdings, have played the more important role in the development of prosperity are uncertain . . . . Yet, this region . . . bristles with problems of deterioration. Soil erosion and consequent loss of moisture and fertility, deficient drainage, rise of the spring level and the falling in of "kutcha" wells, over-saturation and spread of "reh," endemic malaria, the exclusion of fallowing, and the cultivation of legunes due to the introduction of sugarcane, the vogue of ballooning, and decline in numbers and breed of dairy cattle, all these represent problems which menance progress . . . . One of the most interesting part of the book is the study of the gradual change with the increase of population from open ranch farming to dairy farming based on fodder cultivation in association with cereal growing."

Dr. Mukherji also says that it is a firsthand investigation. But a perusal of the volume leaves the reader in an anti-climax. There is little evidence of firsthand investigation, and most of the figures are from Revenue Departmental Reports and the U. P. Banking Inquiry Committee. Methods of economic inquiry, yields, prices and the general standard of life have all changed materially since these Banking Inquiry Committees' Reports, and the volume has lost a great deal by depending on such sources. Several basic terms are used vaguely and the reader is not able to understand what the author means by such terms as "cultivator," "size of holding," etc. An agricultural tenant could be classed as a cultivator in case he actually did cultivation work, but Mr. Singh maintains a distinction between the two classes. When discussing the "average" or the "economic" holding, he takes no account of the fundamental distinction as amongst dry, wet and garden lands. It is not clear whether figures with regard to landholdings take account of "hissas" which are generally ignored by the Revenue Department. The term "non-agriculturist" has been used in the tables, without any definition. No schedule of "protected" classes has been given, and we cannot understand what the author has done about (*a*) non-cultivating occupants from agricultural families, and (*b*) cultivating occupants from non-agricultural families. Most of the tables give figures of pre-depression days, a good many are pointless, and some of them have wrong headings, as for example on page 154: "Indebtedness according to size of holding in Meerut": does Mr. Singh mean the district of Meerut, or the town of Meerut, or is there a village by the same name? In this table he gives the total number of indebted families as 701 while 114 families are debt free. The figures are for 1929-30 and from the U. P. Banking Inquiry Committee Report. Eight hundred and fifteen families do not suit a city, a *tahsil* or a village. On page 46, there is another table headed "Adult workers." The purpose of the author in giving this table is to show that with increased population, the holdings have not increased. The figures given are for 1891 and 1931. But it passes one's imagination why Mr. Singh gives figures only of males! Does he mean that women could not be "non-cultivating owners," "cultivating owners," "non-cultivating tenants," cultivating tenants" or "agricultural labourers"? The figures for women excluded, the table has little value.

Many of the suggestions and theories are hazy. He suggests that in every village, some area should be earmarked for growing fuel so that cow-dung may be saved for manure. In periods of less rainfall, he suggests that some arrangement should be made for an elastic water supply. He agrees that river irrigation canals could not be capable of such elasticity, but he thinks that tubewells could be useful with hydro-electric power. It would have been very enlightening if he had collected some statistics with regard to cost of capitalisation and its relation to the possible increase in yield. In one part of the volume he points out that the western districts of the Upper Doab have shown higher standards of farming and of life although the population has increased, but in another part, he sings a tune of despair.

Dr. Mukherji wrote the Introduction in March, 1940, and we are not told when the essay under review was written. We are told that it won the gold medal for the year from the Lucknow University, but we are not told for what the medal was. An essay for a prize competition is quite different from a study of a region which can *really* help economists, legislators and even the authorities. The get-up of the volume is poor and the omission of a careful revision stares the reader on practically every page. Mr. Baljit Singh certainly deserves encouragement in his work, and it *must* be hoped that he will very soon revise the essay and bring it up-to-date on present-day standards.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

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HOUSE OF SHIVAJI : *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by S. N. Sarkar, Calcutta. 1940. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Sir Jadunath Sarkar is well-known as a careful and enthusiastic research scholar long occupied not only in interpreting materials of history but in tracing, collecting and publishing rare documents existing in many Indian and European languages and extending over a wide field from Calcutta to London. He has incorporated in this small compressed volume the vast results of his personal acquisition and study, some entirely new and some published by him in magazines and periodicals from time to time and therefore not easily available as they are scattered here and there. One special feature of this publication is the rare Rajasthani and Sanskrit documents and correspondence recently discovered by Sir Jadunath in the archives of Jaipur, a very valuable and closed source not yet open to the public. The papers and documents in the volume under notice refer to what is usually called the Shivaji period of Indian history closing with the death of Aurangzeb and illustrating the singular careers of Shahji, Shivaji and his two sons. It should be borne in mind that only English versions of rare documents are herein given and not the originals themselves, which a research student is bound to miss.

In addition to these documents Sir Jadunath has in the last fifty pages of the book given an interesting and fearless estimate of the services rendered to history by the four eminent Maratha scholars, Sane, Khare, Rajwade and Parasnis, to whom goes the credit of practically recreating the history of the 17th century India, which had made no advance since the days of Grand Duff more than a century ago.

Doubtless Sir Jadunath has laid through this valuable production the student world of India under a deep debt of gratitude.

G. S. SARDESAI

SANATANA DHARMA OR THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE : *By V. R. Sundara Raman. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1940. Price Rs. 2-8. Paper cover Re. 1-8.*

It is an advanced text-book of Hindu Religion and Ethics. The first part of the book deals with the basic Hindu Religious Ideas, the second part with the Religious Customs and Rites of the Hindus and the third part with their Ethical Teachings.

In these days when religious education is conspicuous by its absence in the curriculum of studies, such a book is immensely needed. The book is comprehensive in its scope and it has eminently fulfilled its purpose. The fundamental ideas underlying Hindu religion and culture have been very clearly explained and no important topic has been omitted. Those who think that Hindu religion has no ethical foundation will be greatly disillusioned by going through the third part of the book. Hindu Religion not only advocates morality but it alone shows us the philosophy and foundation of moral ideas. "If there is only one self, any act by which I injure my neighbour *must* injure me" (p. 281). "So the man who believes that the self is one, in him and in all others, also necessarily believes that in injuring any part he is injuring himself" (p. 282). The book removes a long-felt want and it ought to be read by all students desiring to learn the fundamentals of Hindu religion and culture.

N. K. BRAHMA

STUDIES IN GANDHISM : *By Nirmal Kumar Bose. Published by D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 112. Price Rs. 2.*

The author has brought together 14 of his essays on Gandhism, published in this and other journals. They are characterised by three welcome features : first, by the author's intense conviction in favour of Gandhian philosophy and technique; secondly, by a plethora of quotations from Gandhi with references; and thirdly, by the author's lack of aggressiveness when he discusses other creeds. It is his sincerity which must appeal even to one who might not agree to his thesis.

The most revealing chapters of the book are "The Philosophy and Technique of Satyagraha" which makes clear why so few are found fit for it; "Gandhi on Riches and Rich Men" and "The Quintessence of Gandhism." You discover the strength and weaknesses of Gandhian philosophy, the compromise between non-solvent contrarities through a spiritualistic escape, the philosophical anarchist imbued with out-of-date ideas presenting a bundle of inconsistencies to the uninitiated. Bose is aware of the position : he even traces the development of Gandhi's ideas on certain issues only to expose, it may be, the absurdity of the solution. In the opening chapter entitled "The Case for an Intellectual Movement to Support Gandhism," the author himself pleads for self-criticism, re-orientation and revitalisation. He observes : "Intellect is the perfume which enlivens our actions, without it all becomes trash." The desideratum is if there can be really such a movement to support a creed, a faith and an inspired plan of action—all bundled together !

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

SRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA : *Edited by Mr. R. Vasudeva Row. Published by Mr. T. M. Janardanam, Director, Suddha Dharma Mandalam Association, Mylapore, Madras, South India.*

The book under review is the English translation of Srimad Bhagavad Gita, Suddha Dharma Mandalam edition. It was first published by the late Dr. Sir S. Subrahmanier and the late Pandit K. T. Sreenivasacharya.

The English rendering of the Slokas has been based on the commentaries of the Suddhacharyas, of which the commentary of Sri Hamsa Yogi who flourished in the 5th century A.D. is the latest.

The words used in the Gita possess vital import and the rendering in English in this edition brings out very appropriately these vital significances in respect of concepts that are of fundamental value.

The dynamic philosophy of the Gita, according to the Suddha Dharma Mandalam Association, elevates humanity and focuses the attention to the Great Goal taught by the Gita, *viz.*, Brahma, the essence of its superb teaching and also to the grand means of Yoga Sadhana in respect of thought, word, deed and spirit on which rests the secret of salvation.

To the earnest reader the exposition would open a rich field for investigation, furnishing not only a workable hypothesis of life but providing a positive guidance for spiritual uplift.

The text comprises of 26 Chapters with 745 Slokas in the aggregate on the authority of Vyasa as mentioned in verse 5 of Chapter 43 of the Bhisma Parvan of the Mahabharata.

Twenty-four chapters, namely, from the second to the twenty-fifth form the Gita proper and the first and the last or the twenty-sixth chapter relate to the analytic and synthetic aspects of Pranava, respectively, as it is held by the Suddhacharyas that the whole Gita

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is based on the plan of the sacred Gayatri which consists of 24 syllables. Regarding the 745 Slokas in the Suddha Dharma edition of the Gita, 37 Slokas have been omitted from the current edition of the Gita, and 82 new verses culled from the various Parvans of the Mahabharata have been incorporated therein, without any rational explanation being offered for the same, except that the manuscript of this text has been taken from the archives of Suddha Kosha in the Maha Guha in Northern India known to a comparatively few.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE NEW YEAR BOOK, 1941 : *Edited by J. Guha Thakurta, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.), London, with the help of Amal C. Ghatak, M.A. Foreword by Dr. H. Sinha, M.Sc., Ph.D. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1-1-1C, College Street, Calcutta. Pp. xxxviii +528. Price Re. 1.*

It is a good sign that Indian book-selling firms have come forward to publish Year Books. In these days of national reconstruction, political changes and economic planning, one cannot do without a Year Book. It is as indispensable as a dictionary. This New Year Book of India meets with the growing desire of people to know more about things Indian and supplies information on facts, events, dates, records, statistics, chronology, and a variety of important topics. It consists of nearly a hundred sections and tables, dealing with Population, Public Health and Vital Statistics, General Business condition, Trade, Agriculture, Industry, Finance, Exchange, Currency, Life Assurance, Printing Press, Railway, Transport, Communication, Indian States, Indian Constitution, Congress, Government, Municipality, Sports, Who's Who, and various other subjects. The chapter on War is written by Nirad C. Chaudhuri. Pains have been taken to make the tables and figures up-to-date as far as possible. This handy volume will prove as much useful to public men, politicians, journalists and businessmen as to students and laymen.

S.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIALISM : *By Rohit Mehta. Published by the author from Parsee Agiari Lane, Ahmedabad, India. Pp. 308+167. Price Re. 1-12 only.*

This is an ably written treatise. It contains an interesting and instructive analysis of the different brands of socialism and points out their defects with courage and judgment. The world is so flooded with propaganda literature on socialism that it is refreshing to have a critical examination of it in which its inadequacies and its dangers also are indicated. The defects of Marxian Socialism are summed up by our author as follows :

"It is based on weak foundations, it is vitalised by dangerous activities, it is nourished by perverse emotional appeals, it is rooted in wrong scientific notions, it is guided by erroneous principles of social dialectics, it is inspired by a false outlook on life and it is incomplete inasmuch as it is not energised by spiritual powers" (p. 100).

It is not difficult to imagine that many will not agree with the author in these conclusions. And difference of opinion will also be there in regard to his criticism and estimate of other socialistic movements. Last of all, when he claims what he calls Theosophical Socialism as the panacea for all social evils, he will find many who will disagree with him.

A society based on Theosophical Socialism "will be a society that will be based on mass happiness on the one hand and wise guidance on the other" (p. 210). As an ideal, it is Platonic. That is why it is not likely to satisfy the modern ambitions of the proletariat. According to it, society still remains split up into two sections, one to guide and presumably also to rule, and the other to require such guidance. Will equalisation stop at that ? Must not the equalisation of economic means imply complete equalisation of man in every other respect, too ?

Again, Theosophical Socialism declares, the futility of material possessions (p. 203). In a world where nations are arrayed against nations and classes are warring against classes for economic advantages, this will hardly make an appeal. But it must be said in praise of the author that he has the courage to emphasise the spiritual basis of human life even in this economic age. This is the great merit of the book.

In the Second Section of the book, the author introduces us to the Theosophical theory of root-races, sub-races and branch-races. This is an interpretation of history which calls for a fuller and a more elaborate treatment. According to this theory, "humanity marches onwards in its evolution through various races and sub-races that emerge on the world-stage from time to time" (p. 13). If there is such a predestined plan of evolution, then Marxism also was timed to appear when it came. Where then, is room for any effort to check its on-rush ? Must the philosopher simply look on, and contemplate, and wait for the next advance in evolution which must take place according to plan ?

The printing of the book leaves room for improvement. The long chapters should have sub-headings and marginal notes to help the average reader. These defects have to be pointed out in order that they may be removed in the next edition. But we must conclude by saying that we have read the book with pleasure and with profit.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HOSIERY INDUSTRY IN BENGAL : *By Mukul Gupta, M.A., Personal Assistant to the Director of Industries, Bengal. Published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bengal. 1940. Pp. 83. Price annas eight.*

A conspicuous lack of dependable statistics and information about the small and cottage industries of Bengal makes it difficult to appraise precisely their actual dimension and economic importance, although the need for such facts and figures cannot be over-emphasised. Hosiery is one of the most important small industries of the Province in which she still maintains the lead she took towards the end of the last century. But until now there was available no systematic history of this industry supported by statistics and the present publication appears to be the first endeavour in this direction. The writer has traced the development of the industry since the beginning and discussed its defects and drawbacks, problems and possibilities, indicating the points on which more attention of all concerned should be bestowed if the industry were to place itself on a stable basis and thrive and prosper. All is not well with the organisation, internal competition and methods of marketing obtaining in the industry, and if the leaders amongst the manufacturers do not come to an understanding forthwith about observing rational principles for production and distribution, the industry, warns the writer, will ere long be faced with serious difficulties. We fully agree with Mr. Gupta and expect the Government to take a definite attitude about the industry instead of letting it drift as it pleases, should the situation further worsen. The author has done well to include a description of the hosiery industry of Japan

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which is bound to be found very helpful and interesting as it indicates, in considerable details, how the industry has developed there and succeeded in creating a wide export market for itself and what systems of control are exercised by the State to regulate production and maintain the standard and quality of the export trade. The brochure is replete with very useful information throughout and we recommend it to the serious attention of all who are engaged or in any way interested in this important industry of Bengal.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

THE MELA-RAGA-MALIKA OF MAHAVAIDYA-NATHA SIVAN : *Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, F. T. S. Published by the Adyar Library, Madras. 1937. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The main thesis presented in this small volume is that the Karnatic music is based on seventy-two fundamental scales and that all the current 'ragas' have been derived from these so called parent 'ragas.' This treatise, like many other text books on music, begins with the assumption of twenty-two 'Srutis' reducible generally to twelve for practical purposes.

For the presentation of the artistic aspect and applied side of music one does not require much of mathematical orientation but for the sake of gaining theoretical insight into the evolution and composition of 'ragas' it may be necessasy to enquire into the intricacies of 'Srutis' with their permutations and combinations. This, however, does not affect in anyway the attainments of a musician of the north.

In North India, music is based on different systems of classification of the 'ragas' with a different nomenclature. The 'suddha swaras' of South India may be identified with a flat note of North India and hence there is chance of confusion between the Karnatic and the North Indian 'ragas.' The tendency of the former musicians is not to use flats but to define 'ragas' in terms of the sharps whereas the musicians of the north select both sharps and flats to elucidate their system of 'ragas.' It may be admitted that the two schools sometimes meet at a common platform with certain conceptions based on the same oriental idea of the development and exposition of the melodies.

The reviewer, however, feels that the book will appeal only to a very small number of persons interested in music.

M. GANGULY

SANSKRIT

SRIMAT SANATSUJATIYAM. WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SRI VADIRAJASWAMI : *Edited by B. Gururajah Rao, B.A., B.L. Bangalore Sriman Madhva Sangha. Publications Series No. 8.*

We have here an edition of the well-known philosophical section of the *Mahabharata*, known as the *Sanatsujatiya*, with the hitherto unpublished commentary of Vadiraja (15th-16th century). The version commented on by Vadiraja, unlike the one commented on by Samkara, consists of six chapters of which the first two are amalgamated and the fifth absent in the version used by Samkara. It is, however, to be regretted that the learned editor has not given any account of, or even made a reference to, the manuscripts utilised for bringing out the edition. It is curious that occasionally the reading adopted in the Text (VI—1) does not agree with the one found in the commentary. Variant readings, sources of which are not indicated, appear to be inserted within brackets in the body of the text. Sometimes the accepted readings do not seem to be quite correct (IV—15). In spite of these defects we commend this edition to the notice of scholars in that it contains a little-known commentary of a well-known work.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

MAITRI-SADHANA : *By Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya, Cheena-bhavana, Visva-bharati. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Visva-bharati Studies No. 9. Crown 8vo. Pp. xvi+77. Price annas eight.*

Strictly speaking *ahimsa*, non-killing or non-violence, is a word of negative import. The Sanskrit word which expresses the positive, the higher, aspect of ahimsa is *maitri*, which means friendliness, love.

The highest ethical and spiritual conception realized in ancient India, and reduced to practice, too, was that of *maitri*. This virtue is inculcated in other religions, too, but not to the extent that it is emphasized in Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist scriptural literatures.

The author has brought together in this book texts from these literatures which enjoin *maitri* and show the way to its realization and practice. For this purpose he has laid under contribution Atharva Veda, Apastamva Samhita, Rig Veda, Gita, Chhandogya Upanishad, Dhammapada, Patanjalayoga Darshanna, Bodhicharyavatara, Bhagavata, Manu Smriti, Mahabharata, Mahayana-sutralankara, Maitreya Upanishad, Yajurveda, Yogavasishtha, Vishnupurana, Visuddhimagga, Sikshasamuchchaya, Suttanipata, and Hitopadesa.

Bengali translations follow all the texts, which are also in Bengali script. An Index adds to the usefulness of the work. It is a very valuable production.

The book has been most appropriately dedicated to Dwijendranath Tagore, whose life was an example of *maitri* in modern times.

D.

BENGALI

PATHA-PRACHAYA, PART I : *Edited by Kshitish Ray, Adhyapaka, Visva-bharati. With illustrations by Nandalal Bose and some girl and boy pupils of Kalabhavana, Santiniketan. Price not mentioned. Prescribed as a text-book in Bengali for the school department at Santiniketan.*

School and college text-books are not generally noticed in *The Modern Review*. An exception has been made in the case of this book, as its compiler and editor has made a new departure.

Bengali school and college text-books are written in what is known as "sadhu bhasha," the language used in books, as distinguished from Bengali as it is spoken. All the prose and poetical pieces brought together in this book are written in Bengali as it is spoken. They are all interesting. The spoken form of Bengali is not exactly the same all over Bengal—perhaps no language is spoken exactly in the same form all over the regions where it is spoken. But Bengalis of the educated and cultured classes are coming more and more to speak that form of Bengali which is used by the educated classes in and about Calcutta. All Bengalis who have anything to do with this central region of Bengal get or have to get acquainted with it. The compiler and editor of this book desires that Bengali children should be familiar with it from their early years. There is much to be said in favour of this view.

Of the 32 'lessons' of this book 17 are by Rabindra-

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nath Tagore. Some of his songs are here. Children will enjoy singing them. Apart from its use as a text-book, the book may be used for rapid reading at home.

D.

ABASYAMBHABI (THE INEVITABLE) : *By Sri Pasupati Bhattacharya. Katyayani Book Stall, 203, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a remarkable novel that commands attention. Rashbehari, the hero of the book, was a man of dispassionate nature, whose only object of attachment in the world was his little nephew Balai, whom Death soon snatched away. Deeply distressed in soul, he left home and set out on a long journey on foot. He passed through villages and towns, came across many men and women and acquired a varied experience of life. At Saranath he visited the image of Buddha and was profoundly impressed. He came back home and dedicated his life to the service of humanity. Three female characters have been nicely depicted in this story; one —of the old orthodox type, one—of the modern type and the third—an instance of the woman of all times, a curious combination of keen insight, broad sympathy, and blind convention. The chief interest of the book lies in its charming style and faithful presentation of human sentiments. The plot is rather loose, but the characters are convincing and the small incidents are imbued with the warmth of life.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEA

HINDI

ATMA MIMANSA : *By Nandalal Khanna, M.A., LL.B. Gurukul University, Kangri, Hardwar. Pp. 303. Price Rs. 2.*

The author has proved the existence of the soul from the standpoint of Western philosophy, and in this lies his uniqueness of treatment. Being well versed both in the philosophy of the East, which is essentially spiritual in its approach and outlook, and that of the West, which is mainly materialistic as well as "mind-stuffed," he has succeeded in a remarkable manner in presenting both sides of the shield of truth. In doing so, naturally he had to cover a very wide range of study as well as of scientific enquiry and experiment, for example, the phenomena of automatic writing, alternate personality, clairaudience, clairvoyance, crystal-vision, hysteria, hypnotism, intuition, multiple personality, somnambulism, self-identity, telepathy, thought transference, etc., all of which go to prove that in man there is an endless stream of subliminal consciousness.

The book, under review, blazes a new trail in Hindi literature inasmnch as it has attempted to apply principles of scientific criticism to demonstrate the reality of a spiritual truth which most of our logic-chopping young collegians, so far, delighted in doubting to the point of denial and parading of their atheism. The author will thus be able to stem not a little the tidal wave of materialism which starting from the West, has already entered our country. And once our youth is restored to a belief in the existence of the soul, their idealism will take on the integrity and integralness of the eternal, in other words, they will be in a position "to hitch their wagon to the star,"—the star of the Oversoul. The addition of a glossary of scientific Western terms with their parallels in Hindi, as an appendix, will be certainly found valuable, just as the author's lucid style will make his book eminently readable for a majority of people.

G. M.

KANNADA

SEREYA MAREYALLI (BEHIND THE PRISON BARS) : *By Shri R. R. Diwakar, M.A., LL.B. Published by Adhyatma Karyalaya, Hubli. Pp. 12+203. Size Crown 8vo. Price Re. 1.*

This book describes in detail the pains and pleasures of jail life. There is a good sprinkling of frolicsome wit and dainty humour. Shrijut Diwakar is well-known for his clarity of thought and purity of expression. His style is lucid and direct. On reading Diwakar's books the reader is convinced of the literary maxim that "style is the man." His style is "an adequate expression in language of his mode of feeling." Shrijut Diwakar, a philosopher by temperament and a practical politician by choice, is himself conscious of his shortcomings in respect of his qualifications to write a book of this kind. We do agree with him when he says that he is a graduate in going to jail having served in aggregate 6 years penal servitude and thus qualified for the task he has undertaken of his own volition.

The books written by Diwakar upto now were in a serious and thoughtful style. He himself admits that this is his first attempt to write a book in a lighter vein and that he is not adept in the style usually adopted for such an attempt. We assure Sri Diwakar that his apprehension in this respect is groundless and he has fairly succeeded in adopting rambling and gossipy style. But occasionally the philosophic moraliser in Sri Diwakar asserts himself.

The book under review vividly portrays the various vicissitudes through which jail-birds like the author have passed. The book is bristling with incidents displaying the oddities and eccentricities of jail officials and their code, jail discipline. It is a valuable addition to our literature because it represents in a full measure the genuine political and social ambitions and aspirations of the contemporary life in this luckless land. The struggle for freedom is both the cause and the effect of good literature. Sri Diwakar's present book is doubtless the pilgrim's progress of Kannada language. It is the duty of every genuine lover of Kannada life and literature to possess a copy of it.

U. B. NAIK

CHITRA-SRISHTI : A COLLECTION OF SHRI SALI'S POEMS : *Edited by Shri P. B. Desai. Published by Shri Udipirao Bidi, Dharwar. Pp. 202. Crown Octavo. Paper-bound and printed on antique paper. Price Re. 1-4.*

For a long time past Shri Sali Ramachandra has been known as a poet of the first order in Karnataka. From the beginning he has been hailed as a good poet by the literary world. His longer poems, *Ramayan* and *Abhisar* have been already published as separate books. But this is the first time that all his smaller poems, which had appeared from time to time in journals and magazines, have been collected in a decent volume called *Chitra-Srishti.*

Shri Sali shines most where pathos is the uppermost feeling. His elegy *Tilanjali* on the death of his eldest son is a masterpiece which easily reminds one of the heights that Shelley has reached in his *Adonais.* Being intensely patriotic, the highest point that he reaches in this elegy is where he says, "Mother India, what shall I offer you now that I have lost the only son born of conjugal love." It should be noted that his only son Krishna was a ltitle more than eighteen and had suffered extreme hardships during the Satyagraha campaign in 1932.

His style is a pleasant blend of the old and the

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new schools and he uses different metres both old and new but mostly sticks to what is called Dwitiya prasa in Kannada. Similarly in the use of language and words, we can say that to a certain extent his style is the meeting place of both the schools.

The publication has one special feature which is worth noting. Shri Pandurangrao Desai, M.A., has edited the book very ably by writing an exhaustive introduction and appreciative notes. He has arranged the poems according to the subjects treated. All this has added to the value of the publication and has facilitated a study of the poet's mind and his poems. It must be said that the poet is fortunate in having such and able editor.

R. R. DIWAKAR

TELUGU

CHALAM KATHALU : *By G. Venkatachalam. Published by Nammalwars. Post Box No. 251, Madras. Pp. 128. Price annas six.*

Of all the present-day writers, Mr. Chalam is perhaps the most controversial, and yet the boldest and the most polished. No one can go through his books without undergoing a gruelling experience of self-analysis. He not only says things which are enough to make the ancestors turn in their graves, but means what he says. He has that courage of his convictions. The Lawrence in him shocks many; the orthodox throw up their hands in utter despair, but nobody can say, honest to goodness, that he is insincere, and that his writings are devoid of truth. Parents forbid the children, Chalam's writings; his stories are proscribed by the orthodox; teachers brand him maliciously that he is too perverse to do any good to the sacred temple of Learning; and yet, they, these very social stalwarts, devour his writings behind closed doors. That's how Mr. Chalam triumphs.

The book under review contains one long story, and one sketch. The story *Vivaham* reflects the keen insight and genius of the writer; the psychological situations are ably dealt with. The sketch *Seshamma* is strikingly realistic and humorous.

ASAMPURNA RAMAYANAM AND ANDHRA SPIRIT : *By Malladi Avadhani. Copies can be had of the author, Natyabharathi, Vizianagram. Pp. 48. Price annas four.*

Now, now, pull up your socks for a deux temps. Here is a book that will make one laugh, sit up, then think and then read all over again. The author excels in burlesque. He levels his machine-gun at the oddities of decadent art and customs, and mows them down, raising a gale of laughter and merriment in the wake. He has an uncanny gift for joyfully harnessing the crudities of the Andhra stage. He is cyclonic in his sweep and it is well-nigh impossible to escape his blitzkrieg. He utilizes all his dynamic resources in order to demolish the stupid, dilapidated structures of the Andhra Theatrical Art; he storms with great vigour the citadel of pseudo-social values. The book is a rare sparkle. Above all it is an eye-opener. A strange compound of Wodehouse and Swift. His style ? Ask me another.

Bravo, Mr. Avadhani, you have done it ! But I pity your victims. Their digestion is sure to get upset.

A. K. ROW

GUJARATI

JIVAN ANE SAHITYA : *By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. Pp. 354. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the second part of the collection of writings of Mr. Ramanlal Desai, who is known most for his fine work in fiction. These writings, however, reveal him as a thoughtful writer, reader and observer, and, hence, the work turned out by him, in this direction, deserves appreciation at the hands of the literary public of Gujarat.

PURATAN DAKSHIN GUJARAT : *By Manibhai Dwivedi, Navsari. Printed at the Pratap Press, Surat. 1940. Pp. 216. Paper cover. Price Re. 1-4.*

As Lat Pradesh, parts in the south of present Gujarat, have an interesting history. By means of research, as an antiquarian student Mr. Dwivedi has been able in his former works, to throw a great deal of light on ancient Gujarat—Gujarat of five thousand years ago. In this small book he tries to show what sort of rule, what sort of amenity, south Gujarat enjoyed in old times. The Dang jungles are well-known, and the writer calls them as rich as the Indian Croesus, Kuber. Slavery prevailed here as far back as the eighteenth century, and a slavery bond (A.D. 1789) is reproduced in the book (p. 177). On the whole the book is informative and instructive. The foreword by Mr. M. R. Majumdar, very ably makes out the cultural unity of Gujarat at all times.

PARKAN JANYAN : *By Umashankar Joshi, M.A. Printed at the Navayuga Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Pp. 198. Paper cover. Price annas twelve.*

The title of the book means "Children of some one else." It describes in the shape of fiction, the clash of village with city life. The small-mindedness of females in a Hindu joint family, and several phases of the new life that is being led by the rising generation. Mr. Joshi to our mind is more successful in painting scenes of this character on the canvas of a play : in this story his work appears rather flat, and not so full of loveliness as in that other branch.

K. M. J.

RASHTRIKA : *By Ardeshir Framjee Khabardar. Messrs. N. M. Tripathi, Princes Street, Bombay. Pp. 230. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Rashtrika is the latest addition to the sufficiently long list of poetical works by Mr. Khabardar, who is too well-known as one of Gujarat's celebrated genius. The dominant note of his poems is simplicity and clarity, which is of sufficient credit to him. Most of the poems portray the living patriotism of the poet and inspire the readers. Though all are not of an equal standard, they bear the stamp of modern poetry with all its technique. They may claim a place for themselves. We are glad the author has not lost the spirit of keeping pace with the times and singing the new age. We sincerely congratulate him for this commendable work.

DARSHANIKA : *By Ardeshir Framjee Khabardar. Messrs. N. M. Tripathi, Princes Street, Bombay. Pp. 399. Price Rs. 3.*

Besides its colourful romanticism and fanciful effervesence, it has poetry which will console many a distressed and depressed soul and inspire them to the higher ideals of life. The book under review is more of an achievement, rather than an attempt, in this direction. With his philosophic outlook, which conveys the depth of the poet's musings and the keenness of his observations, he has ably adorned his songs of the joys and sorrows of life with spirituality. The eighth and ninth chapters are worthy of special mention. The language is chaste and metre excellent. In some of the poems excellence of poetic fervour and expression has been reached.

M. S. SENGAR

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RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

II

Miscellaneous

Sarper Asami Greptar. The Arrest of an Accused by a Serpent. By Taslim Uddin. Pp. 11. 8th August, 1938.

Thakurer Chithi. Part III. Epistles of the Spiritual Guide. A collection of 100 letters written by Svami Nigamananda Paramahansa to his disciples. Pp. 5+159. 26th December, 1938.

Vidyasagar-Granthavali. Samaj. Vidasagar's Works. Society. Contains pamphlets written by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar on social reforms including remarriage of Hindu widows and prevention of polygamy. Also includes a few anonymous pamphlets which are attributed by the editors to Iswar Chandra Vidysagar. Ed. By Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Brajendra Nath Banerjee and Sajani Kanta Das. 11th April, 1939.

Philosophy

Upanishader Alo. Light of the Upanishads. By Mahendra Nath Sarkar. Pp. 139+4. 3rd March, 1939.

Darsan Sopan. The Stepping Stone to Philosophy. By Prakas Chandra Sinha Ray, Nyayavagis. An introduction to philosophy both Eastern and Western. Pp. 2+5+7+211+2. 29th April, 1939.

Vedanta Sopan O Advaitavad. The Stepping Stone to Vedanta and Monism. By Prakas Chandra Sinha Ray. Nyayavagis. Pp. 2+4+2+75+6. 29th April, 1939.

Poetry

Biharilaler Kavya-Sangraha. A collection of the poetical works of Biharilal Chakravarty. 9th June, 1939.

Varshasesh O Anyanya Kavita. By Chanchal Kumar Chatterjee. Pp. 7+49+2. 15th April, 1939.

Khadyot Mala. A Wreath of Glow-worms. No. 1. By Chitra Mitra. Miscellaneous poems. Pp. 1+5+39. 17th June, 1939.

Chhanda-Venu. The Flute of Rhymes. By Debendra Nath Mandal Barman, Mrinal Kumar Banerji and Shashthi Dhan Sen Gupta. Short poems for children. Pp. 2+2+48. 19th April, 1939.

Lal Nisan. The Red Flag. By Gurupada Banerji. Poems describing the unfortunate conditions of the labouring classes. Pp. 1+4+38. 6th May, 1939.

Abehayat. Elixir. By Sheikh Habibar Rahaman, Kaviratna. A collection of gazals, some of which are original and other translated from Persian, with short biographical sketches of some of the eminent Persian poets of old. Pp. 8+126. 28th May. 1939. 3rd ed.

Rahasyika. The book of fun. By Krishna Gopal Bhattacharyya, M.A. Humorous verses on different topics. Pp. 4+54. 13th April, 1939.

Dip-Sikha. The Flame of a Lamp. By Manick Lal Sinha. Poems on various topics. Pp. 51. 12th May, 1939.

Tripur-Vikram Kavya. The poem depicting the Heroism of the King Tripur (Founder of Tippera). By Manmatha Kumar Ray. Pp. 48. 21st March, 1939.

Subhadrishti. The Auspicious Sight. By Mamata Ghosh. Pp. 3+108 18th May, 1939.

Rasik Gan. Humorous Song. By Mohammad Nader Ali Miah. Pp. 8. 22nd March, 1939.

Rakta-Jaba. The Red China Rose. By Nalini Mohan Chatterjee. Contains lyrical poems. Pp. 5+108. 12th April, 1939.

Jay Yatra. Triumphant March. By Rabidas Saha Ray. Miscellaneous poems. Pp. 1+1+9+39. 24th April, 1939.

Patraput. A small receptacle made of leaves. By Rabindranath Tagore. Contains "prose poems" on miscellaneous subjects. Pp. 1+69. 15th March, 1939. 2nd ed.

Isa Khan O Svarnamayoi. A poem purporting to say that Svarnamayi, who is said to be a sister of Kedar Ray, fell in love with Isa Khan and they were married and their two sons later married the two daughters of Kedar Ray. By Said Uddin. Pp. 6. 13th March, 1939.

Manush. Man. By Sarafuddin. Contains poems on miscellaneous topics relating to man, *e.g.*, man's sorrows, joys, endeavours, aesthetic, delights, death, etc. Pp. 114. 14th May, 1939.

Politics

Svadhinata. Santi, Pragati. Independence, Peace, Progress. By Bijayalal Chatterji. Pp. 12. 22nd June, 1939.

Satera Batsar Pare. Kayekti Rajnaitik Prabandha. After Seventeen years. A few Essays on politics. By Devaprasad Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

Bharate Tred-Iuniyan Andolan. The Trade Union Movement in India. By Dharani Goswami. Pp. 33. 28th March, 1939.

Kamiunisht O Kangres. The Communist and the Congress. Pp. 7.

Kangreser Katha. Information about Congress. Pp. 29. 25th December, 1939.

Kangreser Katha. Part II. Information about Congress. Pp. 31. 8th January, 1939.

Marks-vad-Lenin. Marxism by Lenin. Trs. by Purnendu Dastidar. Pp. 2+5+58. 6th March, 1939.

Krishaker Katha. Topics concerning the Agriculturist. By Muzaf-far Ahmed. Pp. 1+48. 6th March, 1939.

Samajtantravader Siksha. Teachings of Socialism. By Sanat Raha. Pp. 22. 26th January, 1939.

Bengali Drama

Srimadhusudan. By Balai Chand Mukherjee (Banaphul). A short play depicting the principal incidents in the life of the Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan Dutta. Pp. 1+2+184. 25th April, 1939.

Religion

Shahid Sammrat-Hajrat Hochhain (Rah). Hazrat Hosain, the Emperor of martyrs. By Ali Akbar Qaderi, B.A. Pp. 2+2+70. 3rd February, 1939.

Pir Khanja. By M. K. Ali. The spiritual guide. Pp. 6+59. 2nd February, 1939.

Adhyatmyatattver Alochana. Discussions on spiritual truth. By Amulya Chandra Ghosh. Pp. 3+103+88. 20th April, 1939.

Annada-Shanti. Blissful Peace. Spiritual teachings in verse. Pp. 16. 15th May, 1939.

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Ananda-vani. Joyful Message. Contains philosophical and spiritual teachings in verse. Pp. 16. 15th May, 1939.

Pauraniki. Topics derived from the Puranas. By Dines Chandra Sen (Rai Bahadur, Kavisekhar, D.Litt.). 21st March, 1939. 2nd ed.

Eslamer Siksha O Saundaryya. The Teachings and Beauty of Islam. Part I. Pp. 1+124. 10th March, 1939. 5th ed.

Sri Sri Sani O Sri Sri Satyanarayan Panchali. Verses for recitation about Sani (Saturn) and Satyanarayan. By Gagan Chandra Ghosh. Pp. 4+4. 13th March, 1939.

Radha Krishna Vilas arthat Sri Sri Radhakrishner Brajalila. Diversions of Radha and Krishna, that is the sports of Radha and Krishna at Vraja. By Jaynarayan Mukherji. Pp. 119. 11th April, 1939. 4th ed.

Keno Ami Krishchiyan Hailam. Why I became a Christian? Pp. 4. 6th April, 1939.

Mahatma Trailangaswamir Jivan charit O Tanhar Upadesh. Biography of Mahatma Trailanga Swami and his teachings. By Krishnananda Saraswati. Pp. 1+3+186. 10th May, 1939.

Khrishchiyan Dharmer Siksha Pranali O Sahachar. The method of teachings of Christianity and the companion. Part I. Pp. 1+3+69. 9th May, 1939.

Manasar Bhasan. The Immersion of Manasa (the Snake-goddess). Pp. 82. 11th April, 1939. Revised edition.

Matrivani. Words of the Mother. Trs. by Nalinikanta Gupta. Contains a Bengali version of selected pieces from a work of that name attributel to "Sri Ma" and two French works entitled "Quelques Paroles" and "Quelques Prieres." Pp. 1+31. 12th June, 1939.

Meyedar Vartakatha. Stories of vows observed by girls. Ed. by Hari Charan Deva Sarma. Pp. 2+76. 14th April, 1939.

Bangala Morsiya. Lamentation songs in Bengali. By Muhammad Muhsen Ullah. Songs lamenting the martyrdom of Hosain, grandson of Prophet Muhammad. Pp. 32. 6th April, 1939.

Nurer Haoya. Air of heavenly light. By Nuri. Praises the Quran and Prophet Muhammad. Pp. 20. 21st January, 1939.

Baudha Dharma O Sahitya. Buddhist religion and literature. By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi. Pp. 1+1+102. 27th May, 1939.

Navayuger Niti O Dharma. Morality and Religion of the new age. By Rajani Kanta Guha, M.A. Pp. 37. 13th May, 1939.

Brahma Sammilan Samaj O Milanmantra. Union of Brahmo Samaj and the "Mantra" (the mystic formula) of union. By Satis Chandra Chakravarti. Pp. 16. 2nd June, 1939.

Utsavanjali. 1939. Palmful offering at the festival. 1939. By Satish Chandra Chakravarty. Pp. 1+64. 19th April, 1939.

Satya-ratna. The jewel of truth. By Satish Chandra Chakravarty. Contains the purport of number of selected Brahmo religious lectures and sermons. Pp. 3+117. 10th April, 1939. 2nd ed.

Brahmaprema-Sudhasindhu. Aradhana-misrita Prarthanavali. The Ocean of the Nectar of Love for Brahma. Prayers combined with worships. By Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Pp. 12+214. 15th May, 1939.

Amrita-sagar. Ocean of Nectar. By Sivanarayan Swami, Srimat Paramahansa. Religious and various other instructions. Pp. 4+6+324. 22nd May, 1939. 4th ed.

Abalya-Tapasvini Bangali Meye. A Bengali girl given to asceticism from her childhood. By Suraja Devi. Life of a saintly lady named Gauri Puri Devi *alias* Sri Sri Gauri Ma. Pp. 16+224. 10th April, 1939.

Dharma-Jivaner Rathe Man Sarathi. Mind—the Charioteer in the Chariot of Religious Life. By Surendra Sasi Gupta. Pp. 12. 18th April, 1939.

Tinti Galpa. Three short stories from the Bible in Bengali. Pp. 32. 19th April, 1939.

Valmiki-Ramayan. The Ramayana by Valmiki. Part VII. Trs. by Sisir Kumar Niyogi, M.A., B.L. Pp. 293-340. 18th February, 1939.

Jisur Jivani O Kathamrita. The Life and the nectar of the words of Jesus. Trs. by Ramanath Palit. Pp. 1+162. 10th April. 1939.

SCIENCE (NATURAL AND OTHER)

Atiter Katha Pratham O Dvitiya Khanda. (Prithivi O Gachhpala). Story of the Past. Parts I and II. By Hemendra Kumar Bhattacharyya, M.A. Pp. 1+2+103. 12th May, 1939. 2nd ed.

TRAVELS AND VOYAGES

Paschimer Yatri. The Traveller bound for the West. By Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. An account of the author's visit to a few cities of Europe in the year 1935. Pp. 1+188. 1st April, 1939.

ARABIC AND BENGALI—RELIGION

Banganuvad Koran Sharif. Bengali Translation of the Holy Quran. Trs. by Muhammad Naqibuddin Khan. Para V. Pp. 217+270+2. 12th April, 1939.

Koran Sharif. The Holy Quran Para (Chapter 1). Bengali translation of the Holy Quran. Trs. by Muhammad Abdul Hakim and Muhammad Ali Hosain. Pp. 4+14+50. 15th December, 1922.

BENGALI AND ENGLISH—BIOGRAPHY

Manishi Bholanath Chandra. Bholanath Chandra, the thinker. Biography of the late Bholanath Chandra. By Manmath Nath Ghosh, M.A., F.S.S., F.R.E.S. Pp. 3+2+283+8. 28th April, 1939. 2nd ed.

BENGALI AND ENGLISH—LANGUAGE

The Beginner's Bengali-English Dictionary. By Subal Chandra Mitra. Pp. 2+1+396. 14th March, 1939. 7th ed.

BENGALI AND ENGLISH—MEDICINE

Ahater Prathamik Pratividhan. First Aids to the Injured. 12th May, 1939.

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Tirthankar. Saints. By Dilip Kumar Ray. A account of the author's conversations and correspondence with Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russel, Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo Ghosh on art, music, poetry, philosophy of life, Yoga and other topics. Pp. 6+402. 12th June, 1939.

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THE TURNING POINT IN THE WORLD WAR

By "REALIST"

Since the War has developed into a serious conflict between the Imperio-democratic Government of Britain and the Fascist dictatorships of Germany and Italy, the fondly-cherished dream of a short war has been shattered to the ground. There is no more spectacular triumph after triumph by the Nazi victors. The much expected invasion of England has proved to be too difficult a task to be attempted light-heartedly. With the opening of the perspective of a long-term war, the conflict has taken the form of a serious business. Both the parties are weighing carefully the great risk they are taking in plunging headlong into a long-drawn war by the very logic of the developing situation. But as the prospect of an early peace is fading away, there is no other alternative for the common people of Britain than to face the future with determination and alertness. Therefore, the question of choosing reliable allies in this war against the Fascist powers may well become a decisive factor in turning the scales of the war.

In order to make that choice, it would be necessary to clearly realise and precisely differentiate the forces that are being arrayed at this period of history for and against the Fascist states both objectively and subjectively. There are sufficient indications that events are moving in a direction which, if not arrested in time, may spell disaster for the remaining strongholds of capitalist democracy.

The centre of gravity of the war has shifted to the Balkans, to the Mediterranean, to the Middle East. Hitler has abandoned for the time being his previous plan of invasion of Britain. In spite of mobilising all available forces for that purpose along the entire coast lines of France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway, he changed his mind at the eleventh hour. If we can correctly account for that important change of front, we may be able to see the division of forces that is taking place behind these strategic war manoeuvres.

Although the British R.A.F. has given a splendid account of its fighting capacity and the British Navy has successfully withstood the German offensive, yet that can not be a sufficient reason to account for this change of front. Because the fact remains that Hitler in consultation with the German military command deliberately planned to invade England in spite of the known resistance of the British air and naval forces. There is no decisive fact to conclude that he would not have taken that risk if some other important factors had not interfered with his plan.

So we must find out what actually prevented him from taking that fateful step. The answer may well be found in the developing Balkan situation, in the rapid extension of the Soviet sphere of influence along the entire western frontiers of Germany. If we just look at the map, we will at once realise the strategic importance of Rumania, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, particularly after the Soviet domination of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, half of Poland, Bessarabia and Bukovina.

Although Fascist Germany was compelled by adverse circumstances to conclude a non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union, yet there are sufficient realiable facts to indicate that its dictator has been very much uneasy to find its ideological enemy gaining steadily in power and consolidating its position at its expense. The swift Sovietisation of so many neighbouring states was, indeed, an eye-opener to Hitler. As for Mussolini, he has all along been sceptical about the Soviet-German Pact. However, he had no other alternative than to swallow the bitter pill for the time being. But the occupation of Bessarabia and Bukovina and the Soviet penetration in Rumania were enough to change the Italo-German attitude of tacit acquiscence to the Soviet advance into that of active intervention.

Rumania is certainly very important for Germany not only for petroleum but also because it is the only possible direct outlet to the Black Sea. Bulgaria is also a Black Sea region. It is pro-German, too. But Germany cannot reach it without passing through either Rumania or Jugoslavia. The increasing Soviet influence in Rumania might have also persuaded Bulgaria to come to a close alliance with the Soviet Union, as its very geographical position would have made Italy and Germany helpless in giving it any effective aid except through Jugoslavia. All this would have given Russia an upper hand in the Balkans as well as in the Black Sea.

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Evidently, Germany and Italy could not permit that. Hitler saw through the Soviet game and rightly apprehended that he would be in a helpless position to resist the Soviet penetration in those regions in the event of his deadly engagement with England, which must have called forth all the combined forces of Germany and Italy.

Therefore, Hitler preferred to deal with the Balkan situation first and to ascertain the real attitude of the U.S.S.R. before he could take that fateful step which would be difficult to retrace. The Fascist Hitler did not also want to mar the prospect of a possible fascist peace with Britain before he could be assured of petroleum and other necessary resources of Rumania as well as of the continuation of the Soviet Non-aggression and Trade Pacts. The postponement of the invasion would mean that in the event of a possible Soviet hostility, he would be still in a position to choose between a decisive war with Britain and a war with the Soviet Union with the tacit support or even active support of the former. Hitler would also be in a far better position to deal with the Soviet Union, to resist its farther penetration and persuade the realist Stalin to continue his neutrality and even to enter into a closer economic co-operation with Germany to their mutual advantage. Therefore, Hitler lost no time and with his characteristic speed occupied Rumania for all practical purposes and sent a sharp note to the U.S.S.R. to proceed no farther in that direction. At the same time he was prudent enough to recognise the Soviet sphere of influence in those regions where Russia may be vitally concerned for its own objective.

Viewed in this light, the recent Italo-German military alliance with Japan assumes a greater significance in increasing the bargaining capacity of Germany. To unearth the buried anti-Comintern Pact and give it a new life even at the risk of Soviet hostility is a fine diplomatic manœuvre. Hitler may not have any illusion about the Soviet intention not to aid him to victory. But as a dispassionate realist and shrewd diplomat he may well count upon the possibility that for different reasons altogether Stalin may not stand in his way of or may even encourage him in precipitating a decisive clash with Britain while the Soviet Union would go on consolidating its position and increasing its formidable strength. There is no valid reason to believe that Hitler does not know the risk he is running by further strengthening the Soviet Union which may well intervene at any opportune moment in future in frustrating his aim. But he also knows only too well that he cannot afford to risk immediate hostility with Russia, which means not only a war on two fronts but also active participation of Turkey and possibly of Jugoslavia against Italy and Germany.

Therefore, Hitler and Mussolini, possibly at the Brener meeting, decided to precipitate matters in the Balkans by the invasion of Greece in order to persuade the Soviet Union to define more clearly its attitude towards Germany and to compel Jugoslavia and Turkey to choose between one side or the other. Hitler wanted to achieve that end by the military alliance with Japan, by presenting to the Soviet Union the gloomy possibility of a war on two fronts in Europe and Asia and a perspective of a Fascist peace with Britain sooner or later. In that eventuality, Stalin would be left to choose either an imminent clash with Germany and Japan at a great risk or a closer economic co-operation with Germany in spite of continuance of Russia's diplomatic neutrality, which may go a long way not only in gaining important concessions in the Black Sea without firing a single shot but also in driving Turkey to the arms of Russia. That would in turn lead to the Soviet guarantee of the Turkish independence and a joint Turko-Soviet control over the Dardanelles, which is so very strategically important for the safety of the U.S.S.R. as well as for the operations of the Soviet Navy. The U.S.S.R. can well adopt the latter course without compromising its ideal and objective in any way. It would not be, therefore, difficult to foresee what the shrewd Russian diplomat would choose in that eventuality, particularly if he cannot rely on any doubtful guarantee of British imperialists or on American goodwill.

Indeed, this is a very shrewd military manœuvre on the part of the fascist dictators. In spite of unexpected Italian reverses there is no fact of decisive importance to conclude that the invasion of Greece was not undertaken with the approval of Hitler. Hitler might have well counted on the eventual collapse of the pro-fascist general Metaxas following the initial success of the Italian offensive. Surely he did not expect so stiff and effective a resistance on the part of a small power like Greece and almost incredible defeats of the Italian army, however unprepared it might have been. At any rate this offensive has helped Hitler to study its reactions no the foreign policy of Jugoslavia and Bulgaria, Turkey and Russia and to estimate in time how far and under what circumstances it can count upon their neutrality or active support and rely on the fighting capacity of Italy. It is also too early to predict any lasting victory of Greece.

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The decisive fact of the situation is the real attitude of the Soviet Union towards the war and the nature of its neutrality in relation to Germany and Great Britain. Obviously Stalin is not at all sure of British support in the event of a possible clash with Germany. He still finds no valid reason to rely on any verbal guarantee by the present British Cabinet, constituted as it is and led by one who has been, throughout his career, not only a most determined imperialist and clever demagogue but also bitterly antagonistic towards the Soviet Union. He has not forgotten the role of Churchill (also of Llyod George who is still solidly behind him) in the war of intervention against the truimphant Russian Revolution. The presence in the Cabinet of some pronounced pro-fascists and well-known members of the Cleveden set does not also inspire confidence. The fact also remains that in spite of putting a stop to the appeasement policy of Chamberlain the Cabinet has not taken any effective step to disarm the Soviet suspicion and conclude an early alliance with the U.S.S.R. The mere fact of sending Sir Stafford Cripps to Russia is no indication of any radical change in the British policy towards the Soviet Union. On the contrary, his long presence in Moscow without any material achievement to his credit rather indicates that the British Government is not very anxious to effect any alliance with the U.S.S.R., although it may be interested to see that it maintains its declared neutrality.

On the other hand, clever diplomatic manœuvres to incite Russia and Germany against each other on the basis of the renewed anti-Comintern Pact and the maintenance of a huge Red army in the Rumanian frontiers and Black Sea regions, still continue. Recently, the realist *Statesman* was at a loss to understand why the British Government should protest against the Soviet participation in the Danubian Commission at this stage and jeopardise the prospect of a favourable alliance with the U.S.S.R. But the fact should be taken and interpreted as it is and not as it should be. There was nothing unusual in the latest British move if we only remember some of the well-known facts in that connection. Significantly enough, during so long a period, neither British diplomacy nor realism permitted the de facto or de jure recognition of the incorporation of those Baltic States in the U.S.S.R which was effected by unanimous democratic votes of their respective Parliaments. No charge of invasion could be levelled against Russia in their cases. No British interests were involved. Yet Britain failed to recognise the accomplished fact. However, Britain made a belated attempt to undo that blunder ostensibly. But the offer was too late and inadequate to influence the Russian policy materially. Molotov was practically on his way to Germany with a large retinue of Soviet officials to effect a closer economic co-operation with Germany to their mutual advantage. The German Economic Mission came to Moscow even before that. But nothing material was done to arrest the course. Even so late a recognition was neither preceded nor followed by actual recognition. The belated British guarantee not to participate in any war against the U.S.S.R. was backed by nothing material. It ought to have preceded at least by actual recognition of the Sovietised Baltic States and of the Soviet interests in the Black Sea and Dardenelles for its own safety. It was under British pressure that Turkey ventured to reject the Soviet proposal regarding the control of the Black Sea through the Dardenelles. If there is no British design against Russia, there is no valid reason either for Britain or even for Turkey to reject the Soviet proposal. Turkey could have well relied on the guarantee of the Soviet Union, the only country that has continuously helped her to the present position of power and vantage. But Britain did nothing to undo that blunder and disarm the Soviet suspicion. It is, therefore, no wonder that the British offer failed to achieve the desired end.

Under the circumstances the conclusion is irresistible that the present Cabinet does not really care much for an Anglo-Soviet Alliance as it still fondly hopes to combat the menace with the American alliance and does not also want to commit itself to a position which may ultimately react against its own vested interests. If Stalin is not accused of a pro-fascist tendency it is really difficult to see what else can possibly stand in the way of an early Anglo-Soviet Alliance which can decidedly turn the tables against Hitler and Mussolini and give a crushing blow to two foremost fascist states.

Therefore, if nothing material is done on the part of Britain to arrest this course, Stalin may, in the given situation, realise that he has nothing to lose but much to gain by continuing Russia's diplomatic neutrality and closer economic co-operation with Germany, which would in effect, help in prolonging the deadly war to the vital weakening of all the first class imperialist and fascist powers, while it would be quite free with its growing strength to intervene at any opportune moment according to its ideal and objective. The Russian foreign policy and the line of action recommended by the Third International make it abundantly clear that

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Stalin is extremely reluctant to join the war in favour of Britain even to turn the war into a real people's war against Fascism as such, unless and until he is, at least, sure of the British guarantee and goodwill towards the Soviet Union.

Japan has already fallen in line with the German foreign policy. An important general has also been sent to negotiate with the Soviet Union. A Japanese Military Mission is on the way to Germany. The Anglo-American Alliance to the extent of military co-operation in the Far East and in the East Indies is compelling Japan to come to an understanding with Russia despite its anti-Soviet bias and fascist outlook. But the Chinese impasse stands in the way. Without the settlement of the Chinese question there is very little possibility of any reliable understanding between Japan and Russia in the event of a war between Japan and America. That understanding will mean nothing more and nothing less than the Soviet neutrality as the U.S.S.R. cannot possibly be a party to the exploitation of any country, far less of China. But adverse circumstances may persuade Japan to pay the price of that neutrality which is vitally necessary for its safety in the event of a clash with America. Japan cannot possibly fight America and Russia at the same time. The Japanese statesmen realise it and that is why they are so eager to conclude an effective non-aggression pact with Russia. American observers in the Far East recently reported to the American Press that weighty opinion is gaining ground in high circles in Japan about the costly and profitless character of the prolonged Sino-Japanese war. The Japanese Military Command know very well that they could not break the Chinese will to fight for national independence even when China had fought almost singlehanded. The prospect of any decisive victory is as distant as ever. The opening of the Burma Road and the American loan would only stiffen the Chinese determination to continue the war. Japan, faced with a possible war with U.S.A. and Britain, cannot but view that development with alarm. No doubt, the Japanese peace terms have been rejected by the Chinese Republic and Japan, to keep up its prestige, has set up a puppet Government in China. But prestige cannot long stand in the way of a growing need of the hour. As the danger of a war with U.S.A. becomes imminent, Japan may be driven not only to conclude a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R. but also to settle the Chinese question through the Soviet mediation on terms, honourable to the nationalist China. The Japanese occupation of strategic positions in Indo-China also shows that the Japanese military attention is being drawn elsewhere. The military alliance with Italy and Germany is itself a pointer to the Japanese aspirations in the East Indies, even possibly in Australia and Burma which they may hope to fulfil with less difficulty while Britain will be engaged in a deadly conflict in Europe, in Africa, in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East. The ambitious Japan may risk even a war with the U.S.A. if it can neutralise Russia and come to terms with China. That is a possibility which cannot be easily ruled out, if we take a realistic view of the recent developments and events are allowed to move in the same direction.

Meanwhile, the Japanese failure to terrorise or pacify China and specially the unexpected Italian reverses seem to have arrested the process for the time being. The spectacular march of the Greek army and the recent British successes in some offensives might have stiffened the attitude of Bulgaria, Jugoslavia and Turkey towards Germany to a certain extent. But that is because Germany has not yet come in aid of Italy. But Germany can not long remain a spectator. Sooner or later Hitler must stem the tide of the Greek advance. Evidently, the Soviet Union does not permit the victorious march of the German army through Bulgaria in the Black Sea regions. A one-and-half-million Red Army is reported to be standing face to face with the German army of equal number across the frontiers. Yet it would be well to remember that a far-reaching economic co-operation between the two countries has just been materialised. There are indications that negotiations are still proceeding. Possibly the Soviet Union is still marking time and awaiting the fate of Greece and Hitler's next move. Hitler has already offered to recognise the Black Sea as the Soviet sphere of influence. But the Soviet Union is said to have replied that it is interested "not in sphere of influence but in sphere of security." So the gulf is obviously not so unbridgeable. If Hitler can succeed in neutralising Russia in his next offensive in these regions, it would be an uphill task for Britain to defend Greece. Meanwhile, he may compel Jugoslavia to permit the passage of German army to Greece. Therefore, ere long the defence of Greece would be the most vital problem for Britain, as it is almost certain that the breakdown of the Greek resistance would drive not only Bulgaria and Jugoslavia in the arms of Hitler but also Turkey in a closer alliance with the Soviet Union. However, Britain need not be afraid of a closer alliance

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between Turkey and Russia if it can secure the latter's goodwill.

Therefore, if the British people be not sufficiently conscious of the grave dangers of this course of development, of the disastrous consequences of the British policy towards the Soviet Union and fail to assert and make their voice felt, it may be too late to arrest this course. The British Cabinet, dominated by the Conservative Party, may well hesitate to prefer an alliance with the Soviet Union. They may fear to strengthen even their own people lest they endanger the vested interests of the privileged few whose spokesmen many of them are. They may well dread the consequences of democratisation of war efforts in India which cannot be made effective without a radical revision of the colonial imperialist policy. But the British people who would really suffer, in the ultimate analysis, in the event of a possible military collapse, should not fail to see the grave risk their Government is running by antagonising the Soviet Union, by failing to win over the peoples of their own Empire owing to the continuation of their imperialist policy. They should realise that they are endangering their very freedom by permitting anti-Soviet elements to dominate the situation. Nothing should stand in the way of an immediate alliance with the Soviet Union, as it can alone save Greece, Turkey and the Balkan States from the iron embrace of the fascist aggressors and give a crushing defeat to the fascist designs. Even if America can be ultimately persuaded to declare war against the Fascist states, surely it would take time to persuade the American people to that course and secure their full co-operation, which may well culminate in a war with Japan as well. Meanwhile, Britain would have to fight almost singlehanded against the combined offensives of Italy and Germany commanding the resources of Europe. If the British ministers are half as convinced realists as the anti-Soviet Hitler, they ought to ponder deeply before allowing their anti-Soviet bias to gain the upperhand in taking that grave risk. The future would show whether the deeper class antagonism would prevail and they would prefer to take all the risk to have a victory, if possible, with the American aid, or a fascist peace, if not, but without the aid of the Soviet Union and other revolutionary forces. In any case, the British people should realise the gravity of the situation and exert sufficient pressure for the elimination of pro-fascist and anti-Soviet elements from all key-positions and reconstruction of the Cabinet and for the conclusion of an effective Anglo-Soviet alliance, which alone can be a safe and sure guarantee not only against a possible defeat but also against a possible fascist peace which would seal their fate for a long time to come. They must, therefore, act and act courageously before it is too late.

31st January, 1941

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A FEW VESTIGES OF OLD TRIBAL FORMS IN THE KHASI HILLS

The Khasi Habitat

By TARANATH LAHIRI, B.A.

Everybody, familiar with the A B C of the aboriginal peoples of India, knows the Khasis, at least by name. They number about two and a half lakhs and reside in what is known as the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District. This region is an irregular mass of hills and plateau thrown up during the early convulsions of the earth some million years ago. The capital of Assam is situated at the centre of these hills at Shillong which draws a fair number of visitors from outside every year. Cherrapunji, having the highest record of rainfall, is also in this district. Studded with orchards and verdure, beautiful waterfalls and long vistas of trees, it hums with fashionable sight-seers each autumn and spring. To most of these pleasure-seekers, the thick-calved, square-built people who inhabit this land, are often no more than a part of the show-room of Nature which they come to see.

An Old Tribe

But they are no mere curios. They have been living and moving on the earth from time immemorial and bear on them the stamp of social forms through which humanity has passed in the course of its long and chequered career. Excepting what we gather from obscure legends nothing is known about their abode before they came to live on these hills. Lt. Colonel P. R. T. Gurdon, C.S.I., who served for a considerable period as Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts and also acted as Honorary Director of Ethnography, is of opinion that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India who migrated into Assam long long ago. Whatever that may be, the Khasis supply a glaring instance which completely nullifies the pet idea of some scholars who assert that the present form of property is eternal and coeval with the world. It has been shown by many writers on tribal life in different parts of the world that property, as understood today, is neither eternal nor inherent in the *possessive instinct* of man. In *Ancient Society*, that brilliant study of the American tribes, Lewis Morgan reveals this truth in dealing with the details of tribal life. The Iroquois of Morgan may not be within our reach, but there are numerous tribal communities in India whom we frequently come in contact with, the story of whose life will corroborate this fact.

To peep into the Khasi life one should, however, step out from Shillong. Shillong is of recent growth, and the tribal forms there have broken down and have got mixed up with other forms due to the play of powerful extraneous forces. But, away from Shillong, in remote parts of the hills, in the depths of the yawning gorges, scattered throughout the Siemships or Khasi States, there are still vestiges of tribal life, though pure forms are nowhere to be seen as a result of the operation of direct and indirect influences of sophisticated civilisation.

Hunting

The individual cannot be differentiated from the community. This is the chief characteristic of tribal life. Everything is owned and done in common. Hunting was man's chief means of livelihood at an stage of society known sociologically as "savage." Survival of this state, though very rare, is still to be found in a few isolated places in the Khasi Hills. This does not imply that the Khasis are a hunting tribe. They outgrew that stage ages ago. Even with them hunting is a relic of the past. Lt. Colonel P. R. T. Gurdon has given an account of these hunts.

Having performed the egg-breaking ceremony for selecting an auspicious day, a party of Khasis start for hunting with a number of dogs trained for the chase. There is division of labour. Some hold the dogs by leashes, some serve as *ki ktem*, *i.e.*, stops, at points of vantage in the jungle. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores the hit is called *u nongban*. These hunting parties are indefatiguable and occasionally the chase lasts longer than a day. The weapons used by Khasi huntsmen consist of bows and arrows and spears. The game when secured is divided among the members composing the party, each getting a piece of meat, the *u nongsiat* and *u nongban* getting larger shares than the rest as rewards for their skill.

Tenure of Land

Land is an important factor with people who live a settled agricultural life. With agri-

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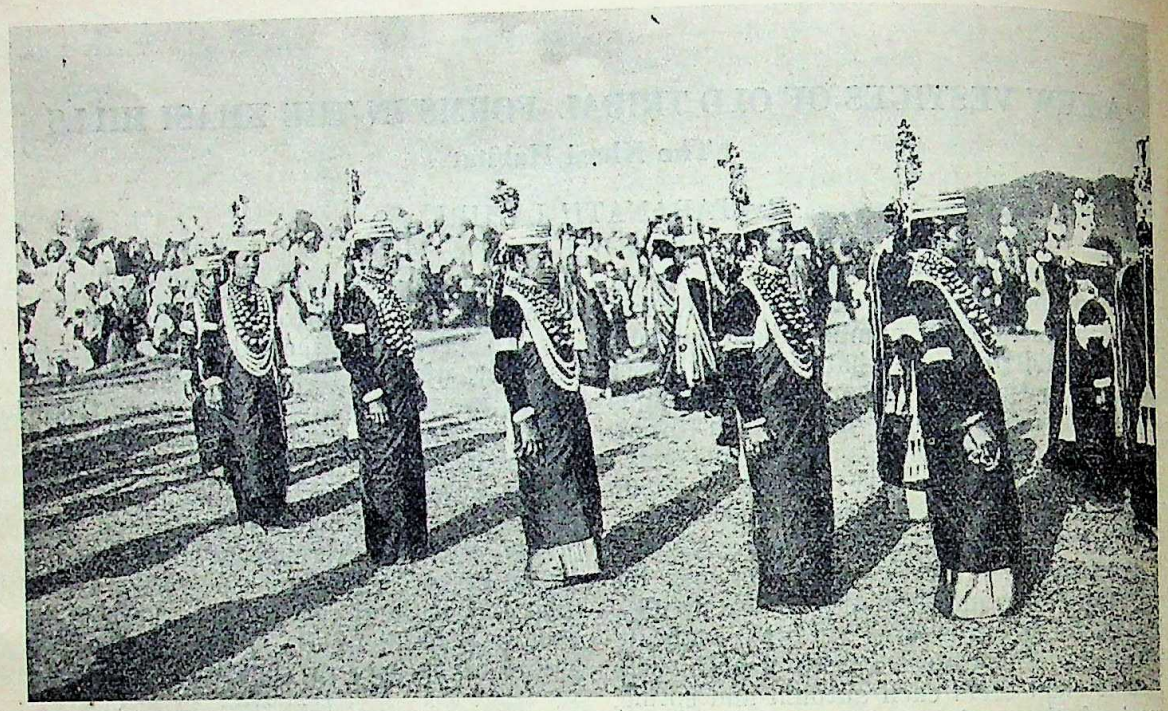

Khasi girls dancing : Shillong

culture primitive communism begins to disappear and the life of the tribe enters upon the phase of collectivism. Individualism slowly creeps in and the ground is prepared for the appearance of the state of private property or ownership. Relics of this collectivism as regards ownership of land are to be found everywhere in the Khasi Hills. Lt. Colonel Gurdon has given an account of it in his book, *The Khasis*. Land is classified by him as (*a*) public and (*b*) private. The former includes :

(1) *Ka ri Raj* or *Ka ri Siem* or Crown Land meant for the support of the King's family and cannot be alienated. Persons who cultivate this land are not to pay any tax; "the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown."

(2) *Ka ri Lyngdoh* or land meant for the support of the *Lyngdohs* or priests, and for the State pujahs.

(3) *Ri Shong* or village land is the property of the village over which inhabitants of other villages have no right. This is set apart for the supply of fire wood, thatching grass, etc. "Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them."

(4) *Ki'lawkyndtang* are sacred groves from which timber cannot be cut except for cremation purposes. "They are the property of the villages."

Private land consists of :

(1) *Rai Kynti*, private land which has been acquired by individuals and which are to be distinguished from clan lands described below. They can be inherited according to the Khasi law of entail.

(2) *Ri Kur* is the land belonging to a whole clan. The Khasis can be divided into three main sub-tribes, the Khasi proper, the Synteng and the Lyngam. Each in turn consists of numerous clans (*kur or jaid*). The lands of such clans—"a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan,"—are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks.

"The manager of the clan lands is the *kui* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family or the branch of the clan). . . . All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands, they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a *durbar* of the whole clan."

The system of land tenure in the Synteng, Lyngam or War regions is similar to the above system with variation in matters of detail.

Absence of the Sense of Proprietary Right in Land

Proprietary right, involving free sale and purchase of land, is still unknown in many places in these hills. At Cherrapunji, for example, one can enclose any unoccupied land and use it for the purpose of building houses or growing crops without any let or hindrance. The most striking feature about this is that this arouses nobody's jealousy and none takes more land than is necessary. People do not build a mansion even if their means permit them to do so. All people, rich and poor, live together, with little outer marks of distinction, in houses scattered throughout the village. How long this state of things will last, it is difficult to state, in view of the changing conditions in the hills.

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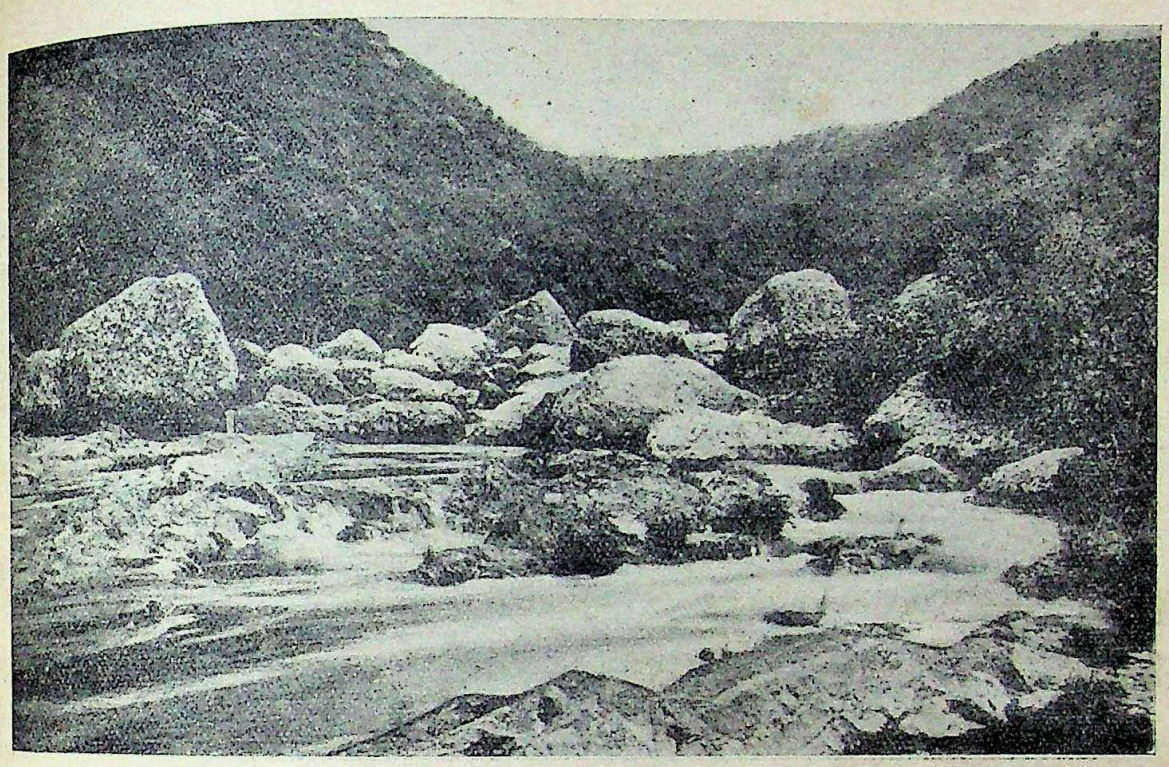

Umkrah stream near Mawlai

Khasi States

Another noteworthy feature of the primitive peoples is their strong love of self-rule. All the members take a direct part in the management of the communal affairs. We know that the ancient Indo-Aryans used democratic methods in running their polity. Their *sabhas* and *samities* wielded considerable influence. And similar was the case with many other primitive peoples of India even within historic times. They have all passed into oblivion. But the Khasis, isolated in the north-east corner of India, have somehow managed to exist and retain much of their democratic old forms. And this has been possible largely because they have been allowed to live with their distinctive internal systems outside the limits of British India.

But the numerous *Siemships* or states which are in the Khasi hills cannot strictly be called states. Apart from the question of the all important sovereignty, none of them possess either a police force or a standing army—the two invariable features representing the coercive limbs of civilized states. Indeed these have existed so inseparably with the organisation of all the historic states and been used in the interest of the dominant propertied class in society, that all states within historic period cannot but be viewed as the weapons of class domination—protecting the sanctity of extant forms of property and perpetuating the relation between the exploiter and the exploited. But in these hills, even today, a ruling propertied class cannot very well be distinguished from the rest of the population. Cultivation in the hills is carried on by all the members of a family employing practically no hired hands, although in the orange orchards hired labour is employed now-a-days in an increasingly larger scale. Agriculture and a little of trade, however, have brought some inequality of wealth in the community. Then, there is the clan aristocracy. Certain clans on account of their ancient lineage and closeness to the parent-stock and also for their distinguished service in some remote past are held in greater esteem and enjoy higher status and honour in the state *durbars*. The Khasi society marks the later transitional period of primitive collectivism when communal ownership begins to give way to private property. The Khasi states reflect this character. They are simply the mouthpiece of the organised clans and are chiefly concerned with the administration of things which are of particular concern to the whole community. Necessarily their function and scope are rather limited.

The clan or *kur* is the basis of these states. A number of clans occupying a definite territory make up a state. The right of taking part in the management of the state is not forfeited even

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A group of Khasi girls with their *khoh* (loading basket)

if a clan-member migrates to a different state. In the words of Mr. K. Cantlie, the present Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District :

> "Khasis who leave a State and settle in another State do not as a rule abandon their ties with their *kurs*. They retain their privileges in their old State, such as the right of voting and of attending *durbar*."—*Notes on Khasi Law.*

Now-a-days, due to the infiltration of new ideas the territorial basis of the state is supplementing the clan basis. Citizenship on residential qualification is now extended to all Khasis. Conditions of naturalisation were formulated and duly accepted by the Khasi National Durbar held at Shillong in March, 1925.

The head of the Khasi state is the *Siem* or chief. The things which he is called upon to look after cannot be many in the very nature of things. Formerly he led his people in battles. But that is a thing of the past. His powers are limited. There is no written law among the Khasis. Everything must conform to age-old tradition and custom which prevents the Chief from doing anything of consequence without the consent of the executive council or *durbar*. The term *durbar* is used to denote not only the executive council but also the much bigger electoral body. The *Siemship* is not hereditary and heir-apparents are not recognised. The Siem is elected from certain venerable families, the method of election differing in different states. In some states the voters do no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. In others, the entire adult male population take part in it. There is however a recognised rule of succession and this is followed as closely as possible. The *durbar* or state executive also act as the representative of the clans that compose the state. In Cherra state all the adult males vote to elect the electoral *durbar* which in turn elect the Chief. The general members of the clans living in this state are represented in the state *durbar* by the *mantries* of 12 aristocratic clans or *Khadar Kur* which consist of the following :

1. Nongtraw
2. Diengdoh
3. Khongwir
4. Dohling
5. Nongtariang
6. Majaw
7. Jaidkhar
8. Shrieh
9. Mawdkhap
10. Tham
11. Nongrum
12. Umdor

The formal investiture of the Chief takes place after the election and then he is endued in all solemnity with his powers and office. He can cause a man to be imprisoned and impose fines as penalty. In matters judicial, he acts as the judge while the durbar, where also assemble all grown-up members of the clans, acts as the jury. It is strictly enjoined that the *Siem* is to carry on the state business through the *mantries* of the durbar. The *Siem* is also the religious

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head or *lyngdoh*, in most of the states, and as such he performs sacerdotal duties at different religious ceremonies. He has no legislative powers. The clans are governed in accordance with tradition and time-honoured customs.

The state budget, in most cases, compared with that of any modern state is an impecunious affair. The items of expediture include a paltry sum for repairs of bridle-paths and by-paths, charges for the upkeep of bazars, the cost of different ceremonies and functions and expenses for the support of the Chief and his family. The items of income also are not very imposing. The *khrong* or market toll forms one of the chief sources of income, as there are a fair number of traders among the Khasis who regularly attend the important markets with their baskets of fruits, vegetables and sundry articles. The *Siem* of most of the states also receive what is known as *pynsuk*, literally meaning "gatification," but it is supposed to be a voluntary contribution. The income from the *raj* lands goes entirely to support the Chief's family. But this is not considerable. Most of the Chiefs however have acquired extensive zamindaries in the British Indian plains and the income from them is often considerable. But the most striking feature of the public finance is that in these states there is no system of taxation and hence no land revenue.

Khasi Mothers

The narrative will remain incomplete without an account of the Khasi mothers even if that be no better than a mere sketch. The status and authority of women in Khasi society is very remarkable. One is agreeably surprised at the free movement of the Khasi woman, her self-confident bearing and the active and dignified part she plays in all the spheres of social life. The Khasi daughter is no burden to the family. On the contrary, it is she who bears the family burden on her firm shoulders. At markets and shopping centres one will be amazed at the overwhelming preponderance of women over men. The Khasi woman is not only the mistress in the family but the substance behind the shadow of men's activity in political affairs. The school of thinkers who opine that all communities have passed through the matriarchal stage of society will find strong evidence in their favour among the Khasis. The following facts give an index as to the position of women in Khasi society : (1) The clans trace their descent from an ancestress, literally meaning grandmother at the root. (2) The *Siem* is called *U Kmie* or male mother, and the law of succession lays down that the son of the eldest uterine sister has the first claim to the Siemship. (3) The temporal power in some states, *e.g.*, Kyrim, is delegated by the High Priestess to the Siem. (4) The Khasi law of inheritance follows the principle that women should inherit property (*Ri-Kynti*) and not men.

The position of Khasi women is aptly described by Mr. C. J. Lyall in these words :

> "Not only is the mother the head and source and only bond of union of the family, in the most primitive part of the hills . . . she is the only owner of real property and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to the mother's clan; what he earns goes to his matriarchal stock and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. . . . . In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iawbei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded."

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DR. K. B. HEDGEWAR

By Dr. AMULYA RATNA GHOSH

About 30 years ago I had the good fortune of acquaintance with Dr. Hedgewar. The Swadeshi Movement and Anti-Partition agitation of Bengal was then in full swing. A National University, called "The National Council of Education," was founded by the then leaders to provide for the education of those students who were either expelled from the Government or Government-aided schools for joining the national movement or of those who wished to be educated in institutions free from Government influence and control so that they might freely join the national movement. Students who had their preliminary education in this national university were debarred from entering Government Medical Schools and Colleges; and to provide for the Medical education of such students the late Dr. S. K. Mullick, M.D., M.S. (Edin.), the late Maharajah Monindra Chandra Nandi and other renowned leaders established a medical college. If was denominated as "The National Medical College of India and the College of Physicians and Surgeons." I entered this college in 1910 along with Hedgewar, Aney Saverkar and other Maharatta students. This institution had truly an all-India character. Here flocked together from every part of India, Burma and Ceylon students of a nationalistic turn of mind. Those who have seen the college in those days will admit that the designation of the college was apt and appropriate.

I came to be very intimate with the Maharatta students. They lived in Calcutta in a two-storied building in Kanai Dhar Lane near the College. Very frequently I used to go there and attend their political and literary debates and physical exercises. They also used to come to my place. I vividly recollect an incident of that period. One day during the absence of the professor from the class I challenged Hedgewar to punch upon my arm with all his might as long as he liked, he counter-challenged me on the same term and stiffened the muscles of his arms. I went on fisting upon his brawny arms, with the whole class watching the result of the contest. Hedgewar did not budge an inch. I failed to inflict a defeat on him. I was astonished at the strength of endurance and cool courage of Hedgewar. Hedgewar was the most intimate of my Maharatta friends. Once there was a quarrel, after which many non-Bengali students left the college but Hedgewar and other Maharatta students did not leave the College nor became unfriendly to me. Political meetings and gatherings were then a frequent occurance in Calcutta and the Maharatta students used to attend these meetings regularly. They had the profoundest respect for Bepin Chandra Pal, Shyam Sunder Chakravarti, Jitendralal Banerjee, Moulvi Liakat Hossain and other leaders of the time. They were lovers of Bengali literature; the works of Bankim Chandra specially appealed to them. Some of them could sing "Bande Mataram" well and loved to hear the

Dr. K. B. Hedgewar

national song sung by others. After four years of college life, on completion of their medical course they returned to their respective provinces.

Probably in the year 1926 Dr. Hedgewar along with another young man who, if I remember aright, was introduced to me as Dr. Moonje's son, came to Calcutta. Last year in a sitting of the Anti-Communal Award Conference held in Calcutta I chanced to meet Dr. Aney. He spoke to me about Dr. Hedgewar and other Marahatta friends. It was from him that I got the information that Dr. Hedgewar was still a

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bachelor and he never took to medical practice but dedicated his life, like a true Brahmachari and Karmayogin, to organising the Rashtriya-Swayamsewak Sangh and this great sacrfiice had brought unto him the recognition as an All-India leader. On December 1939, Dr. Hedgewar, Dr. Aney, Dr. Saverkar came along with Veer Savarkar to join the All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Calcutta and asked me over the phone to meet them at the Mahasabha pandal. Accordingly I met them at the Mahasabha pandal little knowing that that meeting with Dr. Hedgewar will be the last. I invited Dr. Hedgewar to my place but he promised to pay me a visit after two months when, he said, he would be coming down to Calcutta to organise the R.S.S. in Bengal. After the All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta had been over he fell ill and went for a change to Rajgir (Rajagriha). Before he could fully recoup his health the call of duty took him away to Poona. He thought it urgent to be present at the Central Camp of the R.S.S. at Poona, where he was kept busy for a month in spite of the low condition of his health. Later on he returned to Nagpur where his condition grew worse till at last he succumbed to his illness. I would never have the good fortune of entertaining that great soul any more in this mortal life. The smiling face, the patriotic soul and the heroic heart is lost to this world. It is a national calamity, a misfortune for the whole Hindu community.

Dr. K. B. Hedgewar was born in Nagpur in the same house he lived and died, near Raja's (Bhonsla's) Kothi in 1889 A.D. He came of a cultured Brahmin family well-versed in the Vedas. At the age of six he lost both the parents on the same day. They were victims of plague. He was brought up by his elder brother Madheo Hedgewar who later on died of the same malady. They were three brothers of whom one is still living and is an erudite Vedic scholar.

Hedgewar was a student of the Neill City High School at Nagpur till 1907. At that time the Risley Circular banned the singing of the national anthem "Bande Mataram" in schools. He could not bear this and left school. He intended to appear in the National University Entrance Final Examination in Calcutta. During this time he was living with Sj. Y. S. Aney at Yeotmal under the guardianship of Loknayak M. S. Aney. Later he took admission in the National Medical College, Calcutta. He was from his very early years extremely patriotic, determined, brave and sincere. In his daily dealings he was kind and sympathetic to others. One day in 1911 at Yeotmal he along with some friends went out for a walk in the city near the Civil Lines. A European Deputy Commissioner had a bad habit of expecting salam from every Indian who happened to pass by. This Deputy Commissioner accompanied by a European Civil Surgeon and a Circle Inspector of Police was also passing by. Hedgewar was warned by his friends that the "Salamphobia" Sahib was coming and it was better to avoid him by diverting their route. Dr. Hedgewar did not pay any heed to the suggestion of his friends and sauntered on straight through the middle of the road. He was stopped on the road by the D. C. who inetrrogated him about his name and whereabouts and whether it was not known to him that he should meekly salam any European he should chance to meet on the road and make way for him respectfully. Hedgewar replied that he was an inhabitant of the capital city of the place where this sort of salam was unknown and hated by every self-respecting gentleman, and that his culture and education taught him equality of man and not to bow down to any one. The bold answer and courageous stand bewildered the D.C., but the Civil Surgeon and the Inspector threatened Hedgewar of consequences and advised him to apologise, but Hedgewar went away without paying any attention to that advice. He was a true devotee of Lokmanya Tilak. He followed in his foot-steps till the last day of his life. He was the real worshiper of *Sakti* and under the inspiration of *Sakti* created his famous 'Sangh' which has become the foremost Hindu Volunteer Organisation imparting military training and discipline.

Dr. Hedgewar took his inspiration from Bengal during the Partition days. After the death of Lokmanya Tilak and the Congress Session at Nagpur in 1920, Dr. Hedgewar in 1921 courted imprisonment by joining the Civil Disobedience Movement. From 1925 onward he applied himself solely to the task of organising the Hindus. His aim was Hindu solidarity and Hindu Rashtra. He did the spade work himself. Within this short period of 15 years his Sangh has achieved so much that it can now boast of 750 branches spread all over India and 1,25,000 units (Swayamsewaks)

From 1909 to 1911 while he was in Calcutta his "Shantiniketan Lodge" at Kanai Dhar Lane was frequently visited by the late Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, the late Bepin Chandra Pal and other renowned personalities. He was intimately connected with the activities of the late Moulavi Liakat Hossain, the old veteran Muslim patriot of that age. He was greatly attached to the Ramkrishna Mission for its

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humanitarian work. He also worked as volunteer during the great Damodar flood and for Ganga Sagar pilgrims. He had come to be acquainted with the youths of Bengal and been attracted by their ideal.

Dr. Hedgewar died in Nagpur of high blood pressure at the age of 51 only. Just one day before his death Subhas Chandra Bose went to see him. News of his death soon spread like wild fire. In spite of heavy shower and storm a vast number of people soon collected and carried his mortal frame in a huge procession which started towards the cremation ground at 5 P.M. His funeral pyre was laid by special permision in the Reshim Bag garden. Fire soon consumed up his mortal remains, leaving behind his glorious example to be followed by his countrymen, and his invaluable organisation, his gift to Hindudom—the Rashtria Swayamsewak Sangh.

The *Maharatta* of Nagpur writes under the heading, "Maharashtra in Mourning":

Dr. K. B. Hedgewar, the founder of the R. S. S., expired on Friday the 21st at Nagpur. The news spread like wild fire. Early on Thursday Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose had called on him but could not talk to him as his condition was serious. Dr. Hedgewar's funeral procession was the most impressing procession Nagpur had ever witntssed. Inspite of heavy rains the procession had started at 5 p.m. and was attended by all the prominent citizens of Nagpur. . . . The pyre was laid by special permission on the grounds of Rashmi Bagh. Barrister Savarkar, Dr. Moonje, Loknayak Aney, M.L.A., Dr. Varadarajlu Naidu, Sanjiv Kamath, Mr. A. S. Bhide, Dr. Aney and other prominent people sent their condolence messages to the relatives of Dr. Hedgewar. Public condolence meetings were held throughout Maharashtra. . .

It is indeed a great blow to the fate of the entire Hindu nation that the man who understood the real meaning of Sangathan and achieved the R.S.S. should pass away so early leaving his work unfinished..... "Nearly a decade before the Hindu Mahasabha adopted the ideal of Hindu Rashtra, indifferently translated as Hindu Nation, the R. S. S. had adopted it. It was Dr. Hedgewar who awakened the Hindus to appreciate the common bond of Hindusthan and Hindutwa; it was he who made it a living tie to bind the young Hindu generation....." Veer Saverkar, after the first shock of grief was over, exclaimed, "Dr. Hedgewar is dead—Long live Dr. Hedgewar—Long live R.S.S."

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

THE P. E. N. All-India Executive Committee passed the following resolution unanimously at its meeting held at Bombay on the 30th January last under the presidency of Srimati Sarojini Naidu, who personally seconded it: "Be it resolved that

The All-India Executive Committee of the P. E. N. hereby puts on record its sense of the loss which the P. E. N. All-India Centre has sustained, since the last meeting of the Committee, in the death of a valued member of the P. E. N., the late Shrimati Anindita Debi ("Banganārī") of Puri. On behalf of the All-India Centre the Committee extends sincere sympathy to her son, Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, a member of the P. E. N. All-India Centre, as well as to his father and to his brother."

Srimati Anindita Devi generally wrote under her pen-name "Banganārī." The book by which she is best known is *Agamani*. She generally wrote on the disabilities and sufferings of Indian women and the various problems relating to her sex. What she wrote bore marks of original thinking, scholarship and a keen intellect. Her writings were free from the acerbity which is a characteristic of the productions of some feminists. She was connected with many institutions which have for their object the welfare of orphans, friendless widows and other destitute women.

Srimati Anindita Devi

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

THE STATES AND DEFENCE

By B. P. SHARMA

The defence of India as a whole includes the defence of what is described as both red and yellow India. There appears to be a misunderstanding among some of the British Indians that the whole burden of defence of India is borne by the Central Government and the States are immune from the burden of defence. That is why it is being asked whether the Government of India was taking steps to have a fair burden of taxation in every part of India which gets protection.

Some of the critics of Indian States ignore the valuable part played by some of the Indian States in the defence of India. The *Hindu* of Madras in a recent editorial has discussed the problem and says that "the burden of the defence of India—British and Indian—should be distributed among all Indians, whether they reside in British India or are States subjects." The *Hindu* has rightly said that while some of the States are spending huge amounts on maintaining armies, others are enjoying protection at the cost of British India or these States.

The problem of defence of India and the responsibility of the Indian States, was visualised by Lord Curzon, who in 1904, commending the Imperial Service scheme to the Indian States wrote :

"It rests upon the unassailable proposition that the Chiefs and peoples of the Native States profit equally with the inhabitants of British India, by the protection accorded to them by the British Government, and in the last resort by British arms; that the interests of these States and of the British Government are absolutely identical; and that there is no reason in equity why the people of British India should support the whole, or at any rate, by far the greater part of a charge that is equally applicable to all."

It is no use telling the rulers of Indian States that "if Imperial Service Troops are offered and successfully maintained Your Highness can see, from the case of other Chiefs, what benefits can be expected : military rank, visit to the Court in England, the personal friendship of the King and the Royal Family, and appointments on His Majesty's personal staff,"—as was done by a Political Agent, quoted in the *Scraps of Paper*.

Col. Sir K. N. Haksar, writing in the *Twentieth Century* has rightly said that

"In all emergencies a large proportion of the troops (Imperial Service Troops) previously earmarked for that purpose, are utilised by the British Government for the defence of the Empire. The position is that the maintenance of these forces materially lightens the burden of British India under the head "Army Expenditure." . . . At present there is a glaring inconsistency that subventions are provided to the deficit Provinces while the States are left to shoulder the burden of their own defence."

As an instance of the heavy burden of defence of India shouldered by the Indian States, I would quote a specific instance—Kashmir.

The Imperial Service Troops were created in Kashmir as early as April, 1890, when a Brigade of all three arms selected men numbering 2,656 combatants and 225 non-combatants were placed at the disposal of the Government of India, by His Highness the Maharaja, as contribution made by him towards the defence of Indian Empire. The re-organization was entrusted to two British Officers, Major Drummond and Captain Hogge.

Of all the Indian States, Kashmir occupies a peculiar position and has taken up upon itself the huge duty of the defence of a comomon Frontier of India. Describing the peculiar condition of the Kashmir Frontier, Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, in his famous book *Indian States and Princes* says :

"The inception of the Imperial Service system coincided more or less with a sudden blossoming into importance of the Pamirs, and the line of Hindu Kush. . . . It was desirable that Kashmir's control over her more distant tributaries should be rather more definite and the Gilgit garrison more effective."

Writing about the utility of Kashmir troops, the same author says :

"There followed the brilliant Hunza Campaign almost on the roof of the world. Kashmir troops followed British Officers as heartily as the few British Indian sepoys available. Nilt was stormed under sensational circumstances and incredible heights climbed. The Jammu and Kashmir Army was on the map anew. . . . Then followed the astounding Chitral drama, still so well known, in which the Jammu and Kashmir Army won renown, taking part in the defence of Chitral and Kelly's famous march."

Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn admitted that "the expenses of this Frontier Army were said to be more than a fair charge in their entirety on the Kashmir revenues."

The brilliant services of the Jammu and Kashmir State Forces in the Black Mountain, Agror Valley and Tirah expeditions are too well-known. The contribution of the State during the last Great War in man power was the highest (31,000) among all Indian States. The State bore the cost of maintaining its troops sent overseas which came to Rs. 1,11,00,000, *i.e.*, about half of the State's ordinary revenue for one year.

At the outbreak of the present war, the Maharaja of Kashmir offered his loyal help to the British Government by placing his troops at their disposal. There has been an increase in the Army Budget amounting to Rs. 20 lakhs on account of the War. The sanctioned strength of the First-Line troops in the State at present is 7,352 and the Army is maintained by the State at a huge expense of about Rs. 50 lakhs a year.

Little do the critics realise that here is the instance of a State which is spending 1/5th of its total revenue on the defence of India, a percentage which is much higher than that of British India itself. To quote the exact figures, the expense on the State Army amounted to Rs. 49,16,700 in 1938-39 out of the total estimated income of Rs. 2,50,89,500.

This can hardly be said to be a fair charge on the revenues of the State. This is a matter which should receive the serious attention of the British Government and the Indian politicians after the present war. It might be argued by some that the maintenance of the

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armies by the States is a matter of their option. Sir K. N. Haksar has aptly replied to this by saying that "they cannot abolish them if they choose."

Kashmir is a glaring instance among the Indian States which is described by some British Indian politicians as "backward" in several respects. But where is the money to come from for the nation-building departments when the State is spending more than three annas in a rupee of its total revenues, on the defence of India?

In any scheme of the future Government of India, let us hope that the question of defence of India and the liability of Indian States will be settled, and the burden evenly distributed among all Indians, whether they reside in red or yellow India.

INDIAN SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY

Sir,

I have read with great interest your notes on the subject of *Indian Scientific Terminology* which appeared in your September (p. 260), December, 1940 (p. 606), and in January (p. 13) and February, 1941 (p. 141) numbers. I find myself in substantial agreement with the viewpoint you have yourself represented. I write this to request you kindly to arrange to publish for the benefit of the Indian readers in general in *The Modern Review*, the substance of the articles by Principal K. S. Sastri, published in the Paush number of *Prabasi*, to which you have referred in your note on Scientific Terminology in China and Japan, on p. 14 in the January, 1941 number of *The Modern Review*.*

You have referred to Marathi in more than one places in your Notes. I want to inform you that there has long existed in our Marathi Literature a class of books on scientific subjects which have profusely coined Sanskritic technical terms for the exposition of the subjects concerned. The name of the late Prof. Balaji Prabhakar Modak may particularly be mentioned in this connection as a pioneer and a reputed author of Scientific Marathi books. There has also been in existence in Maharashtra for some years past an organised body by name the *Maharashtra Shastriya Paribhasha Mandala* working under the auspices of the *Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad* (All-Maharashtra Literary Academy) and the *Mandala* has worked and published terms on a variety of scientific subjects like Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Meteorology, Anatomy, Physiology, Mathematics, etc. Special mention in this connection may also be made of the work of Dr. N. S. Sahasrabuddhe of Nagpur on Anatomical Terms. Needless to say that our current school books on scientific subjects are making a profuse use of these terms. Messrs. Oxford University Press of Bombay have recently brought out a volume on scientific terms.

I hope enough has been said above to give you at least a meagre idea that we in Maharashtra have been quite alive to the problem of Indian Scientific Terminology and have been trying in our own way to meet it.

Personally I hold not only that (1) it is necessary for Indian languages to evolve their won terminology for scientific subjects, and that (2) wholesale adoption of English terminology is unnecessary, undesirable and impracticable, but also that (3) Indian languages, at least those with historical and philological kinship, must come together and co-operate for the evolution of a common terminology for scientific and cultural subjects. I believe these are also the views of all interested in the growth and development of modern Indian languages. The views of Mr. B. N. Seal embodied in the Note you refer to in your comments do not appear to be in consonance with the views of the leaders of our thought; and I believe the Government will be well advised to proceed in this matter very cautiously and in close compliance with the advice of popular leaders on the subject.

I am sending you herewith a copy of the proceedings of a private meeting which was held in Madras in December last; and it will give you an idea of what we, teachers of Philosophy, have been desirous of doing, in the matter of meeting the problem of terminology for the exposition and teaching of philosophical subjects. May I request you to help us in this connection. If you have the inclination and time, I shall on hearing from you write to you again to say in what concrete ways we would like you to help us.

Hoping to be excused.

Yours truly,

D. D. Vadekar,
Professor of Logic and Philosophy
Willingdon College, Sangli

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE FOR INDIAN TERMINOLOGY FOR PHILOSOPHY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCES

The occasion of the Sixteenth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress at Madras was taken by a few friends from among the Delegates of the Congress, to discuss in a private and informal meeting held at 3, Leadbeater Chambers, Theosophical Society, Adyar, on the 22nd December, 1940, the question of evolving, in the interest of the preservation of the cultural unity of India, a common inter-provincial Indian Terminology for the teaching and propagation of Philosophy and the Philosophical Sciences.

The desirability of undertaking and furthering such a work on a systematic basis was unanimously accepted by the meeting. But it was felt that it was necessary in the first instance, with a view to avoid reduplication as also to enlist a wider sympathy, support and help for the work, to collect information about and ascertain the nature and extent of such a kind of work already done whether by private individual effort or by corporate bodies. It was accordingly agreed to constitute the following persons, *viz.*,

(1) Dr. B. L. Atreya, Hindu University, Benares
(2) Dr. D. M. Datta, Patna College, Patna
(3) Prof. K. C. Varadachari, Oriental Institute, Tirupati
(4) Principal A. N. Parasu Ram, Minerva College, Madras, and
(5) Prof. D. D. Vedekar, Willingdon College, Sangli, Convenor, into a Provisional Committee, and to authorise the Convener to take, in the name of the Provisional Committee, the necessary steps for the purpose and to present a report at the time of the next Session of the Philosophical Congress with a view to enable the Committee to place some suitable form of proposals before the Members of the Congress in order to further the cause that the Committee has in view.

D. D. Vadekar, Convener

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* We gave in *The Modern Review* the substance of what Principal Kshitimohan Sen Sastri wrote in *Prabasi*. —EDITOR, *M. R.*

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EXAMPLES OF CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL CONFLICT LEADING TO RENASCENCE

Dear Sir,

In your note on "Examples of Cultural and Spiritual Conflict Leading to Renascence" in the February, 1941, issue of *The Modern Review*, you say on page 136, first column: "The Punjab having been for centuries the gateway through which successive hordes of Muslim invaders entered India and being also in the immediate vicinity of Muslim countries had been all but de-Indianized and Arabo-Persianized when Swami Dayanand Saraswati rose and chanted his Vedic spell. It was stupor, not death, which had overtaken the Land of the Five Rivers. So there was an immediate response, and Indian culture has been flourishing there again." By using the term Arabo-Persianized you further explain the word de-Indianized or, at least, you indicate the direction in which the process of de-Indianization took place. Immediately before these two terms you refer to "the immediate vicinity of Muslim countries" and the entry of "successive hordes of Muslim invaders" in the country. Your meaning is therefore clear that by de-Indianization you are referring to cultural influences which the Hindus imbibed from Islam. This is further clarified when you say that "when Swami Dayanand Saraswati rose and chanted his Vedic spell" . . . . "Indian culture has been flourishing there again." Vedic spell has exorcised Islamic spell and there is a Hindu renascence. If this is so why use the word Indian for the word Hindu? I think I know your argument. The culture of a country should reflect the life of the majority of the people of that country and as India has a vast majority of Hindu population its culture should be predominantly Hindu or to use the terminology of modern nationalism Indian. I say modern nationalism because the Nationalism as it is known in Europe and has been copied by the other continents dates from the revolutionary wars of the middle of the nineteenth century. However, that may be I have raised this point to ask you that if I have read your meaning correctly what place is to be assigned to the Mussalmans and their culture in India and things Indian. Not very long ago, that is, before you accepted the presidency of the Hindu Mahasabha, you used to argue that it was in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence that first the Mussalmans and later the Christians came into the country and that the India which was to rise out of the mingling of these influences should be a new country which should reflect the good which is contained in the newcomers and the old settlers. You were, if I understood you then correctly, arguing in favour of developing if not exactly a synthetic culture at least a cosmopolitan one which everybody could call Indian without feeling that he has adopted something which is foreign to his fundamental conceptions of life. Some such process seems to have taken shape in India before. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has in one of his books indicated pretty clearly what influences the Hindus imbibed from the Mussalmans and which of these survive to this day. As I write this letter I cannot lay my hand on this book hence I cannot quote the exact reference. But every one has a right to outgrow his earlier opinion and develop new conceptions.

I am not unware of the fact that among certain classes of Mussalmans there has grown up an idea that cultural affinities and not geographical contiguity make a nation. Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal gave this notion a philosophy and today Mr. Jinnah has given it a political content. If in the meantime Indian is to be made synonymous with Hindu even those Mussalmans who are not the followers of either Sir Mohd. Iqbal or Mr. Jinnah will find themselves in a compromising position to be called an Indian. Surely the matter requires further elucidation. It is an evasion of the issue to be told that as in America every Indian is called a Hindu irrespective of the particular religion which he may confess and all Indian Mussalmans in Islamic countries are called Hindu, the Mussalmans in India should not object to be called Indian (synonymous with Hindu) when the appelation is traced to the virtues of the Vedic spell.

Yours sincerely,
Ahmad Shafi

Editor's Note.—Mr. Ahmad Shafi has raised questions in his comments, some of them large, which cannot be discussed here in full. I shall make only a few remarks bearing on them.

What Mr. Shafi calls "your (my) argument," is *his*, not mine. I am not concerned either to repudiate or to accept or to discuss it.

Mr. Shafi's summing up of what he considers my line of argument before I accepted the presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha for one term, is *his*, not mine. It is not necessary for me either to repudiate it or to accept responsibility for it, or even to discuss it.

By "de-Indianization" I did *not* refer to "cultural influences which the Hindus imbibed from Islam." Ever since Muslims set foot on Indian soil the Hindus and other non-Muslims have been influenced by Islam, and have influenced Mussalmans in their turn. So long as that Islamic influence did not or does not destroy or overwhelm Hindu and other non-Muslim Indian culture, it was not or is not de-Indianizing. Hindu and Indian are not synonymous words. An Indian Mussalman is and remains Indian if he believes that, not his body alone, but his mind and spirit also owe something to India, past and present. Those Indians, whether Hindu, or Christian, or Muslim,. . . .who think that their minds and souls owe nothing to India or are unaware of such debt, cannot complain if they are regarded as culturally un-Indian or de-Indianized.

Those Indian Muslims who think that they are a separate nation by themselves and that their culture is an entirely separate and distinct culture, not in the least indebted to or influenced by Hindu and other Indian cultures, are culturally un-Indian by their own confession. Every culture is embodied in great part in a language and its literature. To prove that they are a separate nation with a distinct culture of their own, these Indian Muslims must show that they have a mother-tongue and a literature in it created by them, separate from those of the Hindus and brought from outside India.

As regards the last sentence in Mr. Shafi's comments, may I say that I did not raise the issue that he refers to, nor did I seek to evade it, in the way insinuated by him or in any other way?

Kemal Ata-Turk banned the Arabic script, ordered all Arabic words to be eliminated from the Turkish language, abolished the caliphate, and did many other things to de-Arabianize Turkey. Yet Turkey remains Turkey and Turks do not "find themselves in a compromising position," to use Mr. Shafi's words. Similarly, even if Indian Muslimdom ceases to be an annexe of Arabia and Iran, Indian Muslims may not necessarily "find themselves in a compromising position."

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FORECAST OF THE POPULATION OF BENGAL IN 1941

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L.,
Secretary, All-Bengal Census Board

RIGHTLY or wrongly the Hindus boycotted the Census of 1931, and their number, as recorded in that Census, became less than it really was; while there is evidence that the Muhammadans inflated their number. After the Krishnagore session of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha Conference in the middle of November last, the All-Bengal Census Board was formed on non-party lines. Prominent Congressmen, like Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, and non-Congressmen, like Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, have joined the Board. The object was to make the people census-minded; and to have correct enumeration of all. The Board made enquiries and took test censuses in a large number of places. Although the enquiries were made by different sets of persons of unequal efficiency and intelligence, and as such not strictly comparable with each other, the results are some indication of the growth of population. We give below the increase observed, Division by Division. Probably they are not inaccurate by more than 1 or 2 per cent. Still the growth of population is significant. The results are :

		Increase Per Cent
Burdwan	..	20
Presidency	..	23
Rajshahi	..	6
Dacca	..	16
Chittagong	..	13
Bengal	..	15·9

However wrong our figures for increase for the whole of Bengal may be, it will not be inaccurate by more than 1 per cent. In no decade previously there has been such an increase of population. The inter-censal increase for the several decades are given below :

Decade		Increase Per Cent
1872-1881	..	+ 6·7
1881-1891	..	+ 7·5
1891-1901	..	+ 7·7
1901-1911	..	+ 8·0
1911-1921	..	+ 2·8
1921-1931	..	+ 7·3
1931-1941	..	+15·9

There have been large increases in every Division excepting Rajshahi, which is a matter of great concern. The total population is about 59 millions.

Assuming that there has been a correct census in 1931; and assuming further that the growth of the Hindus and Muhammadans to be the same within the division, the proportion of the Hindus (including others) : Muhammadans is 46:54 now in 1941.

But we think the relative proportion of the Hindus to be much greater, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee has estimated that about 6 to 8 per cent of the Hindus escaped enumeration at the last Census. These Hindus have now been counted. Part of the large increase in the Presidency and the Burdwan Divisions is due to the inclusion of the "uncounted" Hindus of 1931. If Mr. N. C. Chatterjee is right, the proportion of the Muhammadans in 1931 was between 52 and 53. This time it would come down still further by 1 or 2 per cent.

Another result noticed is the increase in the urban population. Many Hindus have migrated with their families from villages to towns on account of the general insecurity of life and property in villages. In one Eastern Bengal district town, where our enquiries were comparatively more thorough, the entire increase in population is due to the migration of Hindus from villages. The sex-proportion in such towns is more normal than it was in 1931.

The Muhammadans are migrating to Assam and to Cooch Bihar and to Burma; while the trek of the Hindus, especially of the *Bhadralok* castes, is to the westward on account of the frequent communal disturbances. The Dacca district as a local centre is also attracting the Hindus; the relative proportion of Hindus there is likely to increase.

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A NEW HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE :

Bharatiya Itihas Parisad

The prospectus of the Indian History of India projected by the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad or Anjuman-i-Tarikh-i-Hind has been published on the *Vasant Panchami* (Saraswati Puja) day (February 1, 1941). The history will be a comprehensive work of 20 volumes, a tentative plan of which has been given. About a hundred scholars, both Hindu and Mohammedan, from all parts of India and Ceylon has promised their co-operation to the Parisad and more than 80 out of them have formally joined it as associate-members. A General Board of Editors has been appointed with the following as its members :

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, D.Litt., Chairman
2. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archæology
3. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri
4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar
5. Prof. Md. Habib
6. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, and
7. Prof. Jay Chandra Vidyalankar, Secretary

A small foreword is attached to the prospectus explaining the scope and the method of the work and why it should be done by the Indian scholars only.

Foreword

A comprehensive history of India written on the co-operative plan by Indian scholars, has long been felt to be a prime necessity for the enlightenment and gudiance of our nation, and the subject has been discussed privately among our research workers for many years past. The question has assumed an urgent character from the immense and daily increasing mass of newly discovered materials and ascertained facts relating to India's past, from the hands of numberless specialist workers in all the different provinces of India and published in many different languages and periodicals scattered over the country. A foreigner, however, scholarly and detached in attitude, cannot possibly know all these, nor can he keep touch with the growing volume of printed books, articles and brochures on Indian historical subjects. That work can be done only by a syndicate of Indian scholars from the different provinces, possessing the necessary linguistic equipment and access to the local periodical literature. Moreover, that intimate knowledge of the social and cultural background of India which is indispensable for the correct interpretation of our past life and the documents relating to it, can come from a native only and not from a foreigner. It is this combination of the most accurate knowledge and the most responsive sympathy of spirit that can raise history from the rank of a mere bundle of dry facts to that of a piece of "philosophy teaching by example."

The principle that our National History shall be written by our own people has, therefore, been adopted in no narrow spirit of national pride. The scope and method we have agreed to follow in this work will be clear from the letter of Sir Jadunath Sarkar to Babu Rajendra Prasad (and the reply of the latter), printed as Appendix I. We seek to bring out, as far as human endeavour can bring it out, the whole truth about the evolution of the Indian people through the recorded ages, concealing nothing, belittling nothing, but trying to understand fully the reasons why our ancestors rose in certain ages and fell in others, what contributions to the complex national life of India as it is today have been made by the different races or creeds that have made India their home and the different civilizations that have impinged upon this receptive land. We shall endeavour to paint the whole picture, the good things as well as the bad things, in our past record. We shall attempt neither a chauvinistic eulogy of our ancestors nor a "drain inspector's report" about the faults of India and the Indians . . . .

This National History, being meant for all the different provinces of India, will be published simultaneously in Hindi and English; but it is intended to have each volume published later in other Indian languages also as soon as arrangements can be made and finances provided for the purpose . . . .

Appendix I

Letter of Sir Jadunath Sarkar to Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the latter's reply.

A—From Sir J. Sarkar to Dr. Rajendra Prasad

C/o Alienation Office, Poona.
November, 19, 1937

Dear Babu Rajendra Prasad,

. . . It is also necessary to have a clear understanding beforehand as to how your co-adjutors interpret the term "national history"; I have not asked for your own opinion on this point because I know that a man who has shown such transparent devotion to truth all his life will agree with me in insisting on the fullest truth in the writing of history too.

National history, like every history worthy of the name and deserving to endure, must be true as regards the facts and reasonable in the interpretation of them. It will be national not in the sense that it will try to suppress or white-wash everything in our country's past that is disgraceful, but because it will admit them and at the same time point out that there were other and nobler aspects in the stages of our nation's evolution which offset the former, that a "drain inspector's report" is not the whole truth about any race.

The first duty of our national historian will be to depict all the aspects of our nation's life in the past usually ignored by foreign writers, who merely give us an unrelieved picture of bloodshed and dynastic change. Social life and thought, art and culture, will have no less importance in the history to be written by us. In addition, we should try to explain, with that sympathetic insight which only a native can possess,—or a rare foreigner like the gifted sister Nivedita,—why things happened with our ancestors as they did actually happen. In this task of appraisement of moral values in the recorded biography of a race,—the historian must be a judge, weighing out the due meed of praise or blame

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even to his own progenitors. He will not suppress any defect of the national character, but add to his portraiture those higher qualities which, taken together with the former, help to constitute the entire individual. Any other metnod would land us in futility. सत्यमेव जयते नानृतम् ।

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Jadunath Sarkar

B—From Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Sir J. Sarkar

Sadakat Ashram, Patna
November 22, 1937

My dear Sir Jadunath,

I thank you very much for your letter. . . . . I entirely agree with you that no history is worth the name which suppresses or distorts facts. A historian who purposely or intentionally does so under the impression that he thereby does good to his native country really harms it in the end. Much more so in the case of a country like ours which has suffered much on account of its national defects and which must know and understand them to be able to remedy them. Therefore, the whole object is to gather together in one compendious form the latest authoritative facts relating not only to Kings and their wars but also to the growth of art, science, philosophy, as also to the general life of the people. My belief is that an inspiring history of our country can be written without distorting facts, minimising defects or suppressing truth and I wish the Academy to take up this work. . . .

With kindest rgeards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Rajendra Prasad

The prospectus concludes with an appeal by Dr. Rajendra Prasad which is as follows :

Our national regeneration requires that we should have a true and accurate picture of our past history before us. Foreign scholars have attempted to write Indian history, but a nation's history is best written by its own sons and daughters and it should be a matter of humiliation for us if we depended upon foreigners for the knowledge of our own past. Fortunately we have amongst us today scholars who can write and produce an authoritative history of India and they have promised us whole-hearted co-operation. To get this work done by them we are in need of funds. I appeal to my countrymen to contribute liberally for this great national cause.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Content of Social Welfare

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes in *The Triveni Quarterly* :

What exactly is social welfare ? The well-being of society, I take it. If so, it includes almost everything that one can think of—spiritual, cultural, political, economic, social. It covers thus the entire field of human activity and relationships. And yet, this wide and all-embracing sense is seldom applied to it, and we use the words in a far more restricted sense. The social worker, often enough, considers himself or herself as working in a field which is strictly separated from political action or economic theory. He or she will try to bring relief to suffering humanity, will fight disease and slum conditions, deal with unemployment, prostitution and the like. He may also seek to bring about some changes in the law in order to remedy present-day injustice. But he will seldom go down to the roots of the problem, for he accepts the general structure of society as it is, and seeks only to tone down its glaring injustices.

The lady who visits the slums occasionally to relieve her conscience by the performance of good and charitable deeds is a type we need not consider.

Yet, it seems to me, that all this good work is largely wasted, because it deals with the surface of the problem only.

Social evils have a history and a background, roots in our past, and intimate connections with the economic structure under which we live. Many of them are indeed the direct products of that economic system, just as many others are of religious superstition and harmful custom.

Any scientific consideration of the problem of social welfare must therefore inevitably go down to these roots and seek out the causes. It must have the courage to look deep down into the well of truth and to proclaim fearlessly what it finds there. If it avoids politics and economics, and all that goes by the name of religion, for fear of treading on dangerous ground, then it moves on the surface only and can neither command much respect, nor achieve results.

For nearly two years now I have been associated with the National Planning Committee, and the conviction has grown upon me that it is not possible to solve any major problem separately by itself; they all hang together and they depend greatly on the economic structures. To social problems, in the limited sense, this applies with equal force. Recently, the Planning Committee considered the report of their Sub-Committee, on Woman's role in Planned Economy. This Sub-Committee, more than any other, had to deal with social problems, and it tackled them in all earnestness and with great ability.

In doing so it was all the time coming up against political conditions and even more so economic aspects and religious injunctions, or just prejudices with the force of custom.

It is not easy to say which is more difficult to deal with—economic vested interests or religious vested interests. Both these series of vested interests want to maintain the *status quo* and are opponents of change. The path of the real reformer is thus a difficult one.

Inheritance, marriage, divorce are all supposed to be parts of the personal law of various communities, and this personal law is supposed to be part of religion. It is obvious that no change can be imposed from the top. It will become the duty of the Government of the day to try to educate public opinion so as to make it accept the changes proposed. It should be clearly laid down, in order to avoid suspicion, that any change of this type will only apply to a community when that community itself accepts it.

It seems to me that a uniform Civil Code for the whole of India is essential. Yet I realise that this cannot be imposed on unwilling people. It should, therefore, be made optional to begin with, and individuals and groups may voluntarily accept it and come within its scope. The State should meanwhile carry on propaganda in its favour.

One urgent need is the extension of the Civil Marriage Act to cover marriages between any two persons, to whatever religion they may belong, without any renunciation of religion as at present. This will of necessity be optional.

Another desirable step is to have records kept of all marriages. This will be useful in many ways and it will gradually make people think in terms of civil marriages. The sacramental forms of marriage should certainlly continue for all who want them, but it will be desirable later to have a civil registration also which the State will recognise.

Divorce laws, especially for the Hindus, are a crying need, and so indeed are so many other chnages. We want changes which apply to both men and women, we want changes also especially applicable to women who have suffered for ages past under a double burden. Let us accept the democratic principle of equal rights and equal obligations as between man and man and woman and woman, and frame our laws and social structure accordingly.

The New Ideal to Re-build the Nation

In the course of his article on the new ideal to re-build the nation in *India To-morrow* Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee observes :

Universities in British India owed their foundation mainly to a desire on the part of the authorities to secure the loyal services of administrators and service-holders who could keep going the complex machinery of a bureaucratic Government in an orderly and efficient manner. There was also the idea of spreading in a conquered territory, through the agency of the Universities, a system of Western education which in those days of

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benevolent despotism was regarded by the rulers as a path of duty and the sure means of elevating India to what they thought to be a higher standard of life.

Universities were not established as seats of learning nor was education attempted to be organised for the highest development of Indian culture and civilization.

Nearly half a century after the establishment of the first University in India, the ideal of a teaching University where scholars might meet for the dissemination and advancement of knowledge was first formulated. But the general system of education was not even then closely linked up with those essential problems which called for early fulfilment, so that India might reach her destiny through education and regain her supremacy in the domain of culture and enlightenment as also in the social, economic and political spheres of activity.

While I shall be the last person to minimise the value and importance of the work which Indian Universities have done to advance educational progress in this country, to spread wholesome ideas among the people, to widen the outlook of millions of men, to instil in their minds fundamental ideas of progress and liberty, and to rouse the national consciousness of the citizens, I shall yet say that the time has come when a re-orientation of University education is urgently called for in order to suit the changing conditions of our country.

Our Universities should no longer continue to be regarded principally as training grounds for the professions and services.

The professions are overcrowded and recruitment to public services is now based on a variety of considerations where merit does not always play the most prominent part.

The colleges should provide at the base what has been known for generations as a sound liberal education that is catholic, expansive, free from narrowness and bigotry in ideas or doctrines, appropriate for a broad and enlightened mind. That education should be imparted through the medium of our own languages. The acceptance of this principle may raise initial difficulties but such difficulties have been overcome in free countries and India must also face and surmount them. In Eire, the Irish language, once said to be unsuited to the needs of modern civilisation, has been introduced with success. This is of fundamental value in the true building up of national life. It is more than a mere means of communicating ideas : it is the expression of the national spirit. The other day a vigorous attack was launched on the Nazi policy of attempting to destroy the language and literature of some of the countries over which Hitler holds his sway today.

In India also, for more than a century, education imparted through the medium of a foreign language has unduly dominated its academic life.

It has now produced a class of men who are unconsciously so de-nationalised that any far-reaching proposal for the recognition of the Indian languages as the vehicle of teaching and examination up to the highest University stage is either ridiculed as impossible or branded as reactionary. But I plead earnestly for the acceptance of this fundamental principle not on account of any blind adherence to things that I claim as my own but out of a firm conviction that the fullest development of the mind of a learner is possible only by this natural approach and also that by this process alone can there be a great revival of the glory and richness of the Indian languages.

While I plead for the due recognition of our own languages, I recognise that English shoult remain a compulsory second-language. . . . Provision should also be made for the study of other important languages, both Eastern and Western.

The writer is not one of those who favour University students remaining aloof from the burning questions of the day. He would not, however, like them to be engrossed in party politics.

I believe they should maintain their independence of outlook and zealously cultivate that spirit of clear and critical thinking, that free power of reasoning, which should be their main asset as they enter upon public life on the completion of their educational career. . . . . Frankly speaking, occasional outbursts of youthful feelings should not worry educational administrators.

I have noticed recently a notification issued by a Provincial Government laying down severe penalties for the maintenance of discipline amongst students.

One threat held out is that such students as may come under the purview of the order will be debarred from Government service.

To my mind, threats of punitive action will defeat the very object which the authors of the order themselves allege to have in view. Besides this particular threat is an idle one. For today admission to public services is controlled by various non-academic considerations and in any case it absorbs only a fraction of University-trained youths. Again, no words can be too strong to condemn any policy of espionage which encourages secret reports of the activities of the students to be supplied by the teachers themselves. Any attempted transformation of the free and sacred temple of learning into a branch of the Intelligence Department is a sure method of destroying the soul of India's manhood.

The Illusion of Progress

According to Dr. D. G. Londhe, the widely-held belief in the continuous progress of mankind through the ages is nothing more than a sweet sentiment and does not stand a critical and searching analysis of its arguments and implications. He writes in *The Aryan Path* :

A culture is nothing if it is not individual. Oswald Spengler would even regard every culture as being so individual as a botanical organism. Every culture develops a characteristic individuality, is inimitable and unique. The technique of building Pyramids was a peculiar property of the Egyptian culture. Similarly the art of preserving mummies has ever remained a unique achievement of the Egyptians. The individuality of the Greek culture consisted in the harmonious development of body and mind in the individual, in political institutions, in literature, in arts and in architecture. The Greek culture became a model and a source of inspiration to many European nations and from time to time many a leader of a cultural movement came forward with the watchword : "Back to Hellas !" Ancient Indian culture bore an unmistakable mark of inwardness and spirituality. At a very early stage of its historical

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velopment, Indian thought took a psychological turn. The characteristic feature of Indian culture is Yoga. In the entire available history of human achievement we come across nothing approaching the Indian Yoga. The modern culture of Europe and of America has found its characteristic expression in the theory and the practice of electricity in all its forms. The radio and the aeroplane are its characteristic twin symbols. Electricity and the internal-combustion engine sum up the triumphs and glories of the twentieth-century science.

Now, if we try to compare the Egyptian, the Greek, the Indian and the European cultures with a view to discovering evidence of progress, we meet with an initial difficulty, *viz.*, their characteristic features and expressions are so diverse and heterogeneous that we cannot place them along one line so as to be able to say, "This particular culture marks a further stage of progress than that other one." We cannot compare pyramids with political institutions and Yoga with the radio and the aeroplane! Those enthusiasts who affirm their faith in progress must take upon themselves the responsibility of pointing out unmistakable signs of progress from one era to another. We fail to detect any such signs which compel us to recognise that every succeeding cultural era shows humanity happier and better.

Are we moderns physically better than our predecessors? No one can honestly answer this question in the affirmative.

The anthropologists find the so-called civilized men positively inferior to primitive peoples in beauty and symmetry of bodily form, in muscular strength, in power of endurance, in resistance to fatigue, in agility of movement and in speed and grace of gait.

Morally also we are not nearer perfection than our ancestors. In modern civilized society we meet with sophistication, hypocrisy and mutual distrust, in place of truthfulness, straightforwardness and candidness which are the acknowledged virtues of the ancients.

Science is neutral as regards the possibility of progress. The world which physics and astronomy picture is indifferent to human hopes, sentiments and aspirations. The belief in progress implies a rationalistic view of history. Accident plays an overwhelming part in the determination of events. Voltaire said: "King Hazard rules three-fourths of the events in his miserable world."

Civilizations rise and fall. The course of cultures is cyclic and not linear.

The movements in history are but ripples on the surface of a timeless Reality. If we stand on the seashore and, from this vantage-ground of philosophy, watch the waves rolling forwards and backwards, we cannot help remarking: "Movement there is here, no doubt, but Progress in the ocean as a whole there is none!" It was the discerning Disraeli who rightly remarked: "The European talks of progress because by the aid of scientific discoveries he has established a society which has mistaken comfort for civilization." The running horse tied to a post only *thinks* that it is going ahead.

The Poor As World-Conquerors

In the course of his article under the above caption in *The Hindustan Review* Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarker observes:

Poverty can be no excuse for pessimism, despondency and inactivity. It is the poor that have

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conquered in the past and it is the poor that bid fair to conquer in the present. My futurism declares the prospects of world-conquests by the poor. Let me be perfectly clear and definite in my pronouncement. Bengali society and culture today are not being governed by the millionaire of the modern capitalistic bourgeoisie type, by the feudalistic zamindari aristocracy, or by the higher rungs of the administrative bureaucracy, although certain members of these groups are often in evidence through newspapers and public functions. The men and women who have conquered the hearts and heads of the Bengali people, who have been rendering Bengal and Bengali culture a world force, and by whom the Bengali people is slowly but steadily being lifted to the level of a power among the powers of mankind are the *adh-peta khawa* (half-mealer), non-income-tax-paying, poverty-stricken people, the children of clerks, peasants and artisans, born and bred in mud hovels and under leaking thatched roofs.

The Decline of the New Roman Empire

The disappearance of the whole Italian Empire in Africa seems imminent. In the course of an article under the above caption in *The Indian Review* G. A. Johnson observes :

An Italian collapse seems to be on the way, but it would be unwise to put a date to it in advance. Germany may consider that Italy will hold out until she has time to prepare and launch her diversion. The most obvious forms of diversions are : (1) A flank attack on Greece, (2) An attack on the Suez Canal, (3) An attack on Gibraltar, and (4) The invasion of Britain.

Greece might be attacked either by the shorter, but hilly, route through Yugoslavia or by way of Bulgaria and the Thracian plain. The second route gives opportunity for the use of Germany's mechanised forces and has the advantage of taking Greece in the rear. (A third form of "flank attack," persuading the Greeks to accept an armistice, has also been discussed). A march through Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria and Palestine would bring the Germans to the Suez Canal. But this ambitious programme would be resisted by the Turks and probably also by the French forces in Syria. Allowing for the difference of climate, it would seem to have all the disadvantages of Napoleon's march on Moscow. Moreover, it would have to be undertaken very quickly if it was to give relief to Italy's armies in Africa. An attack on Gibraltar might offer better prospects of a quick diversion. These plans are conditioned to some extent by the attitude of the Spanish in one case, of the Balkan States not yet at war in the others. If two or more of the plans were combined (and, perhaps, a threat to Iraq thrown in) the force of the conditioning factors would be greatly increased.

The situation in the Balkans is, as usual, complicated.

Recent and at the time of writing, still obscure, developments suggest that Rumanians may be getting tired of kissing the rod. The attide of Bulgaria to the passage of German troops is equivocal. The Bulgarian Premier's speech which, in the summary cabled to this country, appeared to be an invitation to the Germans to march in, had an unexpectedly favourable reception in Greece. Russia continues to assert her neutrality. But it seems unlikely that she would sit idly by if her interests were threatened. But, again, what are those interests ? And who can be sure that, if Germany makes a move, Russia's interests will not have b secured by prior arrangements between them ?

It would be a mistake to regard German strateg ingenuity as limited to the three forms of diversion already discussed or the fourth which will be consider later. There is, for example, the possibility of a div sion, not in Italy's interest, but of interest from Italy The situation at Vichy may be cleared up by the t this article appears in print. Will the egregi M. Laval be restored to office ? It is not, perhaps, wi ly known that, at the outbreak of war in 1914, M. Lav then a Socialist, was one of the people whom the Fre Government had marked down for arrest for disloy activities. If Laval gets back, will Germany get cont of the French fleet and the French colonial armies? such circumstances, the Italians might be let go th doom. France would be at least equally capable sustaining the task of diverting British attention to th Mediterranean.

It is very doubtful whether even Laval co work a voluntary transformation of Fre policy on these lines. There remains : invasio

Many people doubt whether the invasion of Brit has ever been seriously contemplated and ask whet the massing of troops and the concentration of barg in continental ports are not mere bluff. Others conte that the opportunity for invasion has passed and th the Germans know it has passed. Moreover, the in ence of sea power is even more important in the No Sea and English Channel than in the Mediterran But it is plain that Germany's sole hope of defea Britain lies in a successful invasion.

Both Italian difficulties, and the probability o large increase in American aid to Britain, suggest th if the attempt is to be made, it must be made soon.

World Order

War is not an unmixed evil. The Secon European War of the twentieth century h provided men of genius at least with an oppo tunity for speculation about the future of hum society and the world order that is to emer from the present struggle. In the course of a article in the *Curent Thought*, Dr. Monin Mohan Moulik observes :

World order means international order, and can achieved only through some form of international orga zation and collaboration in the diverse fields of hum activity. The dream of a world order is nothing n in history, nor is it a speciality of the modern Since the dawn of political history in the world, hope of establishing a universal conduct of life a universal pattern of society has successively adva and receded. Political feuds and religious conflicts played an equally significant part in the destiny o evolution as economic rivalries and racial jealous The ground gained by one generation has often b lost by another, and the world order still remains, centuries of longing and striving, a far cry and a th A universal empire such as was contemplated by ancient Hindus and Romans, a world-church such as sought to be established by the Papacy, a univ society based on the fabric of Roman Law such as was ambition of Napoleon have all been frustrated by historical process which makes political speculation a dangerous pastime. The Roman Empire gave to the invading hordes of the Teutonic world; the G

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Church was separated from the Roman Church, and the Reformation intensified the ecclesiastical rupture by dividing Christians into Catholics and Protestants. Religious wars of the sixteenth century, dynastic wars of the seventeenth century and colonial wars of the eighteenth century helped only to deepen the cleft which had already divided the European peoples. The humanitarian ideas of French illuminism raised once more high hopes of the advent of a society untarnished by schisms, but they were again baffled by the fall of Napoleon. There seem to be no *Pax Napoleonica* since the nations of Europe were already too strong and power-conscious to submit to a French hegemony. The League of Nations was established at Geneva with a magnificent ideal; the covenant inspired hope and confidence in many but was distrusted by those few whose co-operation most mattered in the stability of an international order. Seen against the broad canvas of history, the present struggle would appear to be one for supremacy between *Pax Britannica* and *Pax Germanica*, first on the continent of Europe and then in other spheres.

If the aim of world order is peace, peace cannot be established by victory in war. Nor can it be secured by treaties, dictated or negotiated.

The dynamism of history has proved it frequently that humanity's political evolution follows its natural course, that hasty attempts to canalize it before its main direction becomes evident have sometimes resulted in disaster. A world order that aspires after securing lasting peace must be based on social justice within States and political and economic justice between States. Harmonizing the various conflicting interests that lead to war would produce a kind of stability which is the basis of lasting peace. International statemanship will be required to think in terms of harmony and stability before it can think in terms of peace. War-weariness or exhaustion which has so often in history given the illusion of peace is not real peace. . . . The evolution of National-Socialism itself demonstrates how political ideologies transform themselves to answer the necessities of *Weltpolitik*. Formerly Socialism and Nationalism were firm friends and never allies. The Socialist was usually an Internationalist, and the patriot, with militarist tendencies, was usually an anti-Socialist. Now Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin have shown how to combine elements of real Socialism with full-blooded Nationalism, Walter Lippmann says: "The fascist appeal combines the emotions of patriotism with the grievences of the proletariat. Those who have been Socialists have become National-Socialists. The class-war is diverted into international war."

Europe has been a perpetual victim of treaty, revisionism, war, and war, treaty, revisionism revisioning in an endless cycle. The problem, therefore, needs a new approach.

Such an approach is offered by Sir William Beveridge, one of the chief exponents of the idea of international federalism, who seems to have seized the crux of the problem when he says: "Left to herself, Germany will always produce Hitlers." So Germany must be integrated into a European system on the terms of partnership. Sir William further pleads: "Granted that dictatorships are more likely than democracies to go to war, what leads to dictatorship? Historically, Nazi dictatorship is the channel through which the German people have expressed their sense of economic

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suffering and national injustice. Germany may ultimately be made peaceful in accord with her own desires and not against them. She must be allowed to share the economic opportunities which in her view make peace easy for the democracies." (*The Deeper Causes of the War*, Unwin, London, 1940, p. 169). Although the type of Federation which Sir William Beveridge advocates has many attractive points for its general acceptance, it is, he concedes, meant only for Europe. World federation is for the millennium. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that the proposed Federation cannot come into force unless Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin decide to return to democracy, and Spain, Portugal and most of the Balkan States shed their autocratic forms of government. Such an anticipation, however, is anti-historic, and is more a pious wish, a learned conjecture than a possibility warranted by the political experience of Europe. Yet, the British Empire needs peace and a Federation of European States for its safety and survival.

No other country depends for its existence more on the tranquillity and general welfare of the world than England.

The British Empire contains within itself the most explosive elements of disintegration, and the reason why British foreign policy is so vitally concerned with the preservation of peace in the world may be realized from the following observations of Professor Gilbert Murray: "She (England) presents the contrast of white rulers and coloured subjects on the greatest scale. If there is a war of civilizations, if Moslem ever rises against Christian, or Hindu against either, it is inside the Empire that the explosion will take place. If a war

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breaks out on the emigration question, the Empire contains to a high degree both the territories that demand emigration as a necessity of existence and the territory that will never admit immigrants. We are tied to the most disturbed of continents, Europe; to the most dangerous of oceans, the Pacific. We are interpenetrated by the most formidable of subject civilizations, Islam. We are the chief representatives of the most hotly disputed of international principles, the rule of one race of men over another." (*The Deeper Causes of the War*, p. 38).

Another familiar approach to the problem of world order is that which is represented by the declaration of President Wilson in August, 1917, while replying to the Pope as to the intentions of the belligerents: "Equal rights for all peoples, great and small, to share, on just conditions in the economic wealth of the world."

World order is a myth.

It does not exist except in the wishful thinking of political speculators and heretical humanists. It is more or less as real and as elusive as truth itself. The world order may come or may not come. There are as many good reasons for its coming as for its not coming at all.

How Far Census in Bengal is Accurate ?

Jatindra Mohan Datta writes in *Science and Culture*:

We all know what sensus is. "A census in modern times is an official enumeration of the inhabitants of a State or a country, with details of sex and age, family occupation, possession, etc.," says the *Cyclopaedia of Law*. In Bouvier's *Law Dictionary* it has been defined as "an official reckoning or enumeration of the inhabitants and wealth of a country." The plain dictionary meaning of census is "an official registration of the number of the people, the value of their estate and other general stitistics of the country." (Webster). In the Indian Census Act, 1939, census has not been defined; but from the tenor of the several sections it may be taken to mean primarily an official enumeration through direct visitation of all the people with various data concerning the persons enumerated, such as religion, caste, marital condition, etc.

A census is a sort of photographic record of population group at a given moment, and resembles a periodic taking account of stock in business. The scientific importance of a census lies in large part in the fact that it furnishes the needed basis for a study of changes in the number of people through births and deaths, immigration and emigration, and of changes in their status through marriage and divorce, etc. Speaking of the utility of taking census, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edition) says, "Census statistics are the common tools and materials of the business of Government in ways too numerous to detail; but they are equally indespensible to the direction of State policy."

Our Census is not accurate :

The British Imperialists at Whitehall want to d[illegible] a new instrument of 'Divide et Impera'; and they h[illegible] not failed to manipulate the census for their own p[illegible]pose. They manufacture castes and classes among t[illegible] Hindus; wrongly include certain castes and c[illegible] among the Muhammadans; convert the untouch[illegible] Muhammadan Halalkhors of 1901 into Depressed Hi[illegible] of 1931; and put them as one of the Scheduled C[illegible] under the new Government of India Act, 1935. T[illegible] main purpose is to see that there can never be [illegible] amongst the different sections of the population, [illegible] thus sabotage the growth of the Nationalist spirit. T[illegible] result is that our Censuses are not accurate picture[illegible]

Why the Indian Census is likely to be [illegible] accurate ?

In the special circumstances of India, partic[illegible] of Bengal about which the author can speak from [illegible]sonal knowledge, especially in view of the unpaid, t[illegible]porary, non-official agency employed for enumer[illegible] and collecting data, the *de jure* census is less likel[illegible] record true facts, and as such will be more inaccu[illegible] The *Supervisors* are equally unpaid, temporarily imp[illegible]ed non-officials. The *Charge Superintendents* in [illegible] interior of rural Bengal are the local Union Board P[illegible]dents this time. Some of them are scarcely liter[illegible] and most of them lack the zeal and public spirit ne[illegible]sary for correct enumeration and proper collection [illegible] data regarding the persons enumerated. Imagine [illegible] men conducting the census enumeration—the importa[illegible] of which they do not realise and a thing which th[illegible] appreciate.

On A Steamship

All night, without the gates of slumber lying
I listen to the joy of falling water,
And to the throbbing of an iron heart.

In ages past, men went upon the sea,
Waiting the pleasure of chainless winds;
But now the course is laid, the billows part,
Mankind has spoken: "Let the ship go th[illegible]

I am grown haggard and forlorn, from dream[illegible]
That haunt me, of the time that is to be,
When man shall cease from wantonness and [illegible]
And lay his law upon the course of things.

Then shall he live no more on sufferance,
An accident, the prey of powers blind;
The untamed giants of nature shall bow do[illegible]
The tides, the tempest and the lightning cease[illegible]
From mockery and destruction, and be turn[illegible]
Unto the making of the soul of man.

UPTON SINCLAIR
in *The Scholar Anarch[illegible]*

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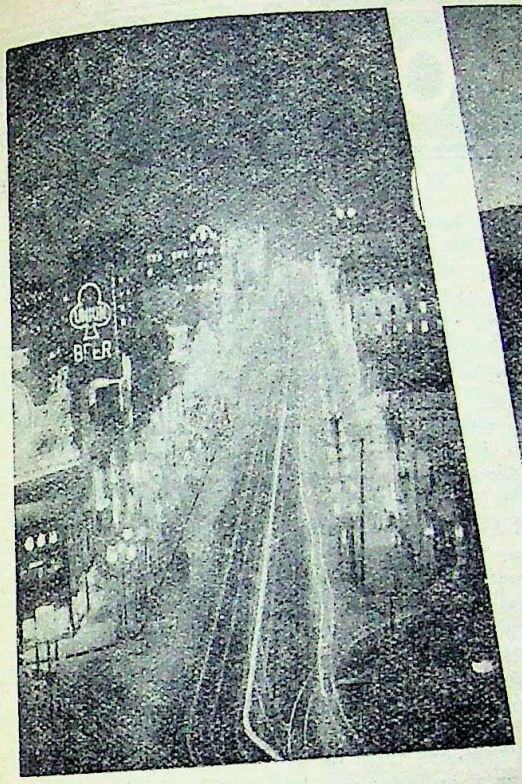
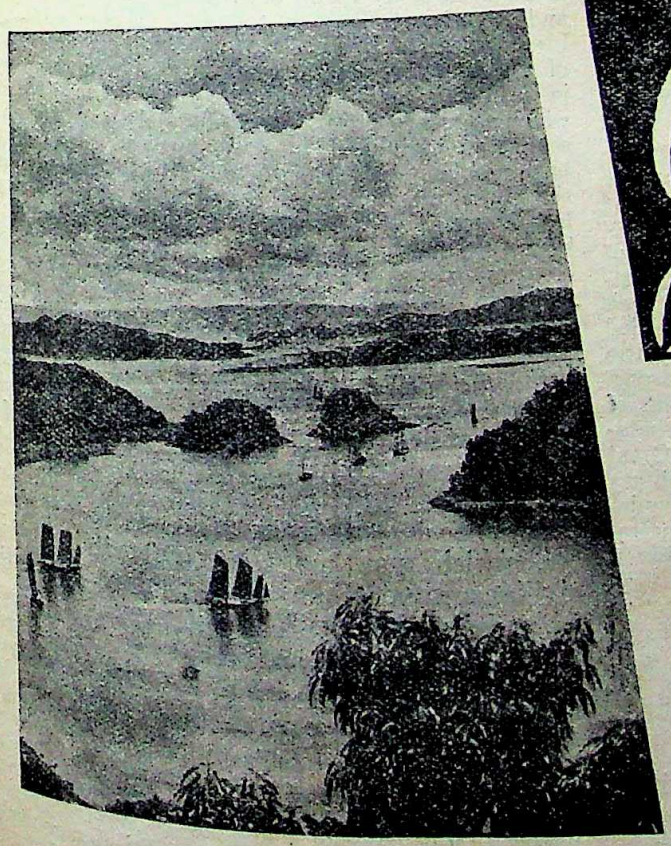


SEE

Japan

GEM OF THE EAST



Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land—and sea-scapes.

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY, JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

National Defence and Scholars

Living in a war-like world, it is a paradox for any nation to shut its eyes to the problem of defence in the face of foreign agression. Many are under the delusion that the organisation of defence is solely the concern of the soldier, this lack of interest on the part of the intelligentsia on military questions can never be conducive to the successful organisation of national defence. Edward Mead Earle in his article in the *Political Science Quarterly* stresses the need of collaboration of civilians, especially political and social scientists, in planning the national defence.

The problems of national defense have a claim upon the political and social sciences. The need of security against aggression is, as Hamilton said, "the most powerful dictator of national conduct." It involves one of the most delicate of political problems—the reconciliation of liberty and authority, the provision of the maximum degree of security with the highest degree of freedom. It is, indeed, intimately related with all other objectives of organized society; in the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, the "common defense" is significantly enough linked with the establishment of justice, the insurance of domestic tranquillity, the promotion of the general welfare, and the preservation of "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." In short, national defense is a basic function of government in a world of competitive national states; the world being as it is, perhaps it is *the* basic function. As one American student of government has put it: "By general consent this is the supreme consideration of every Government. At all events, no other appeal commands such widespread popular support, receives such undivided allegiance. Those who resist it are loaded with the heaviest social opprobrium and those who betray it are stamped with the highest of crimes, treason."

Nor is the organization of defense the problem of the soldier alone. Under parliamentary and representative Government, particularly as exemplified by Great Britain and the United States, the control of military affairs by civilian authority has been one of the foundation stones of the arch of freedom. This does not necessarily imply that there is any inherent conflict between two mutually antagonistic forces, civil and military. On the contrary, it is essential that there be effective collaboration between the civilian, military and naval authorities in the interest of maximum efficiency and, of co-ordinate importance, that there be adequate and intelligent military implementation of national policies.

There is ample evidence that civilians and soldiers alike have come to recognize that it is vital both to military efficiency and to national integrity that war and the costly and elaborate preparation for war shall not be reserved either to technicians alone or to civilians alone.

The organization of security and, in the event of war, the organization of victory require that there be sympathetic, intelligent and unreserved collaboration between the several groups which contribute to the total military effort. A blunt civilian Clemenceau said: "War is much too important a business to be left to the soldiers." A distinguished British officer, Sir Frederick Maurice, agreed that as war requires the employment of the whole resources and the maximum power of the nation, it is "clearly not a matter to be left to soldiers or sailors, nor would any responsible soldier desire it to be so left." The mere mention of the names Rathenau, Lloyd George and Baruch will suggest what civilian influence meant in the last war. Even in the realm of military technology, one can point to innumerable instances in which civilian contributions concerning even the employment of weapons of war—as well as their invention, development and supply—were outstanding and sometimes controlling: this was notably the case in questions involving tanks, convoys, artillery fire, machine guns and submarine detection.

What was true in the war of 1914-1918 is likely to be even more true in the present struggle. No modern war can be waged without the national effort going far beyond the boundaries of technical military efficiency into almost every realm of civilian activity. The British and American officer of today is encouraged to widen his horizons of knowledge to include an understanding of social and economic questions. There is no reason, in turn, why the civilian should not bring military affairs, which so vitally affect the nation at large and even himself as an individual, into his purview. After all, military problems do not dwell in the realm of the occult, the supra-temporal, or the recondite, for "secrecy" is largely confined to matters of *materiel*. Military problems are susceptible of analysis, criticism and practical contributions by informed laymen, and factual data upon which to base sound scholarship are generally accessible. Indeed, it is imperative that laymen, especially scholars, concern themselves with the problem of national defense, for failure to do so may be disastrous to the success of rearmament or of the war effort.

What led to Germany becoming one of the foremost military power, is not only the technical efficiency of her armed forces but also comprehensive studies of a non-technical character, which was more a responsiblity of the civilians rather than of the military. Hitler's "bloodless victories" amply proves this.

The truth of the matter is that, in a democratic society, it is imperative that we have the widest possible discussion of military problems, conducted on the highest possible plane. In the absence of such discussion, we cannot formulate intelligent and practicable foreign policies or, for that matter, domestic policies. Few military decisions (such, for example, as the acquisition and fortification of bases or the choice of types of ships and aircraft) are without widespread political repercussions. Likewise, political decisions—hemispheric defense, the Monroe Doctrine, the balance of power, alliances, aid to

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Britain and China—must be susceptible of military and also of economic implementation unless they are to be largely devoid of result. There must be an understanding of the impact of a vast armament program—what amounts in fact to national mobilization before M-day—upon the normal activities of a peaceful people: economics, education, psychology and morale, the standard of living, the social services. It must be clearly comprehended that in and of itself the financing of the military effort will have portentous effects upon capitalism and democracy. It must be kept in mind that vested economic interests within the nation do not always coincide with the national interest vis-a-vis foreign powers and that the resulting conflicts of interest must be frankly faced and intelligently and fairly resolved.

Strategy is not merely a concept of war time but an inseparable element in statecraft at all times; as such it is a legitimate and, indeed, an unavoidable concern of the social scientist. Only a narrowly restricted terminology would define strategy as the science and art of military command. If this be true, as it seems to be, then the scholar and the soldier have indispensable and mutually complementary tasks to perform. The mere appropriation of vast sums for armaments will not give assurance of effective defense. These arms must be supplemented by and related to a comprehensive national policy. And the formulation of such policy is a function of the executive and legislative branches of the Government. If they are to arrive at the desired goal, they must have clearly before them the facts upon which alternatives may be weighed and decisions arrived at. It is the function of scholarship to make the facts available and, over a period of years, to provide by education a trained personnel which will understand the essential place of military affairs in the science and operation of Government.

It must be admitted that political and social scientists have not heretofore undertaken adequate systematic inquiry into the problems of defense and strategy. An examination of contemporary textbooks on politics, economics and international relations reveals that military affairs are a conspicuous lacuna or, at best, have been treated as incidental and peripheral in character. This is not surprising, for although writers on politics, since the days of Aristotle and Plato, have given some attention to military subjects, and although Machiavelli, Sir Francis Bacon, Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin, among others, have shown an acute understanding of the role of strategy in statecraft, the treatment of military affairs throughout the nineteenth century and until recently in the twentieth has been left to soldiers writing for soldiers rather than civilians writing for civilians.

The armament programme, the question of hemispheric defense, balance of power, alliances, foreign policies have far-reaching repercussions on economics, education, psychology and morale, the standard of living, etc. In fact only from effective collaboration between the civilian and the soldier can emerge a successful defence. It is imperative that military problems should have the widest possible discussion, conducted on the highest possible plain.

Military critics are few in number, and not all of them possess an adequate knowledge of history, economics psychology and politics, nor should they be expected to possess such knowledge in a position where different skills are called for. But the avidity with which military journalism is read is an indication of the potentialities which exist for more adequate treatises on defense, written in accordance with the canons of scholarship. The influence of the writer on military affairs may be widespread, far transcending the bounds of the casual public and reaching into high places. What is essential to the national interest is that the writing be above the transitory and the superficial.

The study of military affairs is not an emergency matter, although the emergency gives it added importance and, indeed, a character of importunity. If we now had on hand a reserve of trained scholars who had devoted any considerable portion of their lives to problems of strategy, they could be of inestimable service to the nation. Staff officers have been transferred to service with troops, and the Army War College has been closed because of the shortage of commissioned personnel in the higher ranks. There is now no group of trained personnel engaged in theoretical studies—a deficiency which expert scholars might overcome were they available in any number.

There are certain subjects which the civilian can take within his purview but which the professional officer can deal with not at all or only with the greatest reserve. Every commissioned officer is subject to severe restrictions, explicit or implied, in dealing with questions which border on the political. In time of crisis, as at present, official orders make it difficult for officers to write or speak on anything but the purely technical, military aspects of international relations and national policy. This is probably as it should be. But it would seem to be in the public interest that competent persons be free to speak with authority at all times, and particularly in times of emergency, and that they speak as individuals without official fear, favor, or bias. This the scholar can do.

This healthy state of affairs cannot be brought about, it may confidently be predicted, unless there be an entirely new approach to the problem of national defense. The professional officer is powerless to deal with the phenomenon, because, in the public eye and in the Congressional mind, he is associated with a vested interest. In times of apathy he is regarded with suspicion, in time of crisis with undue reverence. Only the scholar is capable of maintaining a *continuous, objective* and *documented* study of the problem. Experience shows that comparable results cannot be expected from the public, the politician, the Government, or even the armed services. Furthermore, only the scholar can create a vast reservoir of competence in the field. The people whom he teaches and for whom he writes today will be the voters, teachers, reserve officers and statesmen of tomorrow. No such reservoir of competence now exists, but it requires no great imagination to see, did it exist, what it would mean to the national morale, the national economy and the national security in the existing crisis. Studies now undertaken will have some influence, of course, before the present emergency is passed. But their greatest importance will be in laying sound and broad foundations for a national military policy in the longer future which will not merely be concerned with a passing crisis—however menacing and prolonged—but will be intimately related to our political ideals, geographical position, industrial resources, governmental institutions, standard of living, and long-run national objectives.

War and Pacifism

In a brief article in *The Commonweal*, R.G.M. analyses the foundations of pacifism thus:

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Briefly, pacifism has a double foundation; on one side it is personal, on the other public. On the personal side, there is a man's feeling of the part he should play in life. A man asks himself what his relation to other men ought to be, as man to man. He sees men as men, with feelings and hopes like his own. He wishes to keep on seeing them like that. But if he takes part in war he has to stop seeing men like that. "The enemy" is there to be killed or disabled, and he has to do to him all the things he does not like to have happen to himself. If his feeling of the enemy as a man like himself is very strong he cannot kill him directly with any happiness to himself, or any belief that he is doing good. So he is likely to be a pacifist on that ground. For fully effective pacifism it is a necessary ground. Not all can feel that way; they simply go with the crowd, and are peace lovers in peace time and war lovers in war time. But a pacifist has to stand on his own legs, with as much sympathy for those who can't as may be.

The other ground for pacifism is public. It is broadly that war does nothing for humanity but lead to later wars. Every war fought is traceable, historically, to some former war or wars. One war following another like that, down the ages, has bred a tradition of war, and all cultured people have been bred to worship the tradition, while all the uncultured have grown up to see it as necessary. The pacifist on public grounds sees that the first need is to break this tradition. It can only be broken by individuals refusing openly to take part in war. Such refusal may convince few, but it makes many ask questions. And all question asking is good, for in war most take the attitude, "theirs not to reason why."

A second public ground is that war is ineffective for anything fit to be done in our time. It belongs to a past that people in high places, particularly, are reluctant to grow out of, for to such it offers power and prestige and wealth. It can still prove which of two empires is the tougher, or which is willing to suffer most for empire. Perhaps it can still keep one country from dominating another, though that is doubtful. The age of Bannockburns is past, and the money lender is a subtle conqueror. Modern empire is the power to lend to backward peoples at high rates, and wars are fought for exclusive rights to do this.

Even in defending democracy, or establishing it, or founding a new social order war is useless. It solves one evil by creating a greater, as such war can never end war.

1918 gave the world's democracies as complete a military victory as possible. Why did they do so little with it? In 1913, all forward-looking peoples saw in parliamentary democracy the world's hope. By 1933, nearly all Europe was under dictators, and the world at large had lost faith in parliaments. Hitlerism was the crowning of a movement, not its origin. But why the movement?

Most who fought in the World War felt a fury of faith and hope in theoretic democracy, but years of war meant years of anti-democratic practice, in an intense form. There was a universal habit of violence and intolerance. A win-the-war atmosphere pervaded everything. In that atmosphere the spirit of democracy died. It had to die, for there was no air to keep it alive.

This happening is not new. All the great wars for democracy illustrate it. The Puritan democratic victory in 1649 was spoiled by the fact that while the Puritans knew how to win a war they were incapable of ruling a nation. The broad result was that they and their descendants were shut out of English public life for more than 150 years.

The promise of the French Revolution was also spoiled by war, and the aspirations of the French people were diverted to Napoleon worship, which, reviving again under Napoleon III, led to 1870, which led to 1914, which led to 1939. And so it has gone on.

The Civil War in U. S. A. eighty years ago freed the slaves, but in a way to create a racial bitterness to last a century, while in the old rough-and-ready, equalitarian, democratic North it launched an unlimited dollar worship, which remained the dominant American characteristic till the Slump in 1930. And this slump, going round the world, destroyed the Wiemar Republic, and made Hitler overlord of Europe.

Man and Machine

With the advancement of scientific knowledge the technique of warfare has changed immensely. With the invention of scientific machineries of destruction, individual prowess has given place to skilful handling of these machines. The following extract is reproduced from *The Inquirer*:

The whole tension of the war at the moment, perhaps the whole fate of the war, is involved not in the actions of millions of potential combatants, but in the combats that take place between a few hundred, at the most a few thousand men, using weapons of destruction. The never-ceasing air struggle taking place over this country is a struggle for the whole issue of the war. True it is that this struggle takes place upon the basis of the organisation of millions of men for warfare, but just as in ancient warfare combats were sometimes decided by picked men fighting in front of the embattled hosts, so this combat is being decided at the moment by a few picked men. But the analogy breaks down at the machine; it is not so much individual prowess that counts, as individual prowess manipulating more or better machines.

Thus destruction staring at the face men are helpless. Their life and welfare depends upon the creation of machines and controlling them:

Thus the whole organisation of modern life ascends to this peak point (or descends to the nadir, according as to how one chooses to look at it); the whole intricate assembly of men living in community depends for its life and welfare upon the use it shall make of the machine. Two million Frenchmen are in prison, many of them held captive in their own land, marched to whatever work they do under the eyes of their captors, and, superfiially at least, this state has been created by the manipulation of a few machines. Superficially, because there were whole vast processes at work in the minds and souls of men before that hideous state of affairs was created. In this world struggle, for it is in fact now a world struggle, the issue rests, not on this diplomatic move or that, not essentially on the movement of this vast body of men or that, but on the capacity of the arrayed forces to use their civilisations to create the machine, and control it when it has been created.

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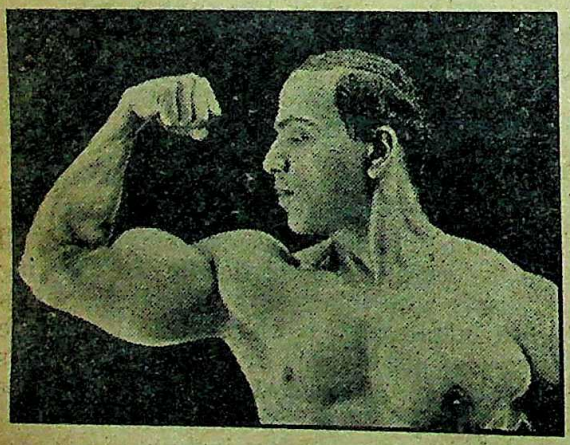

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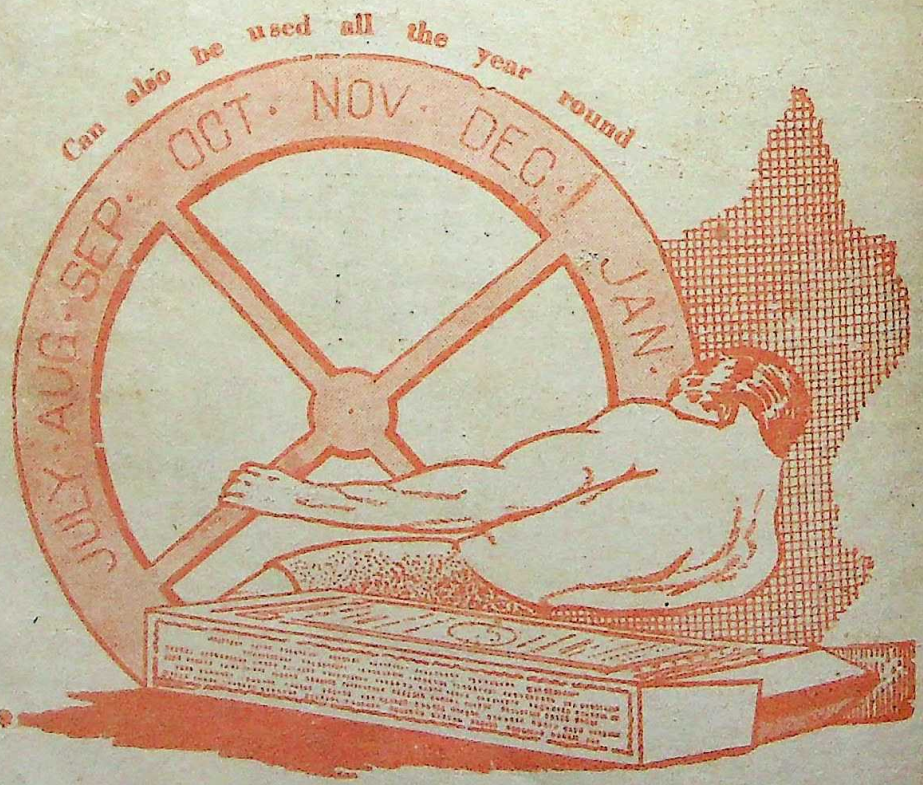

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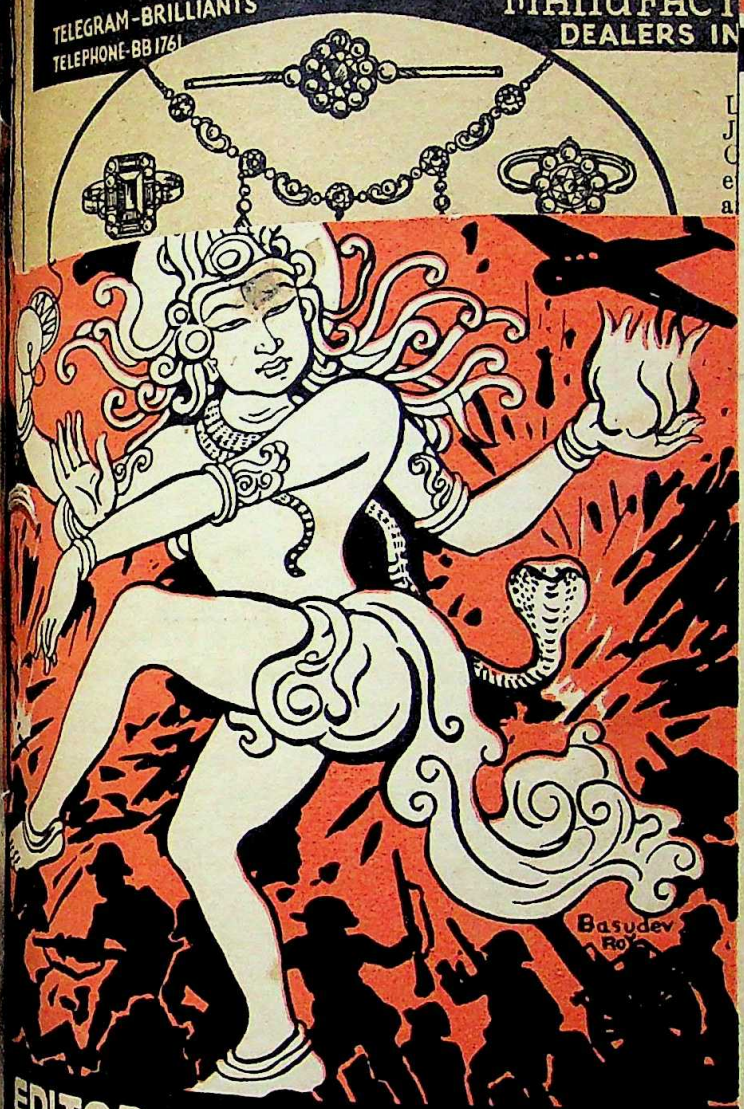

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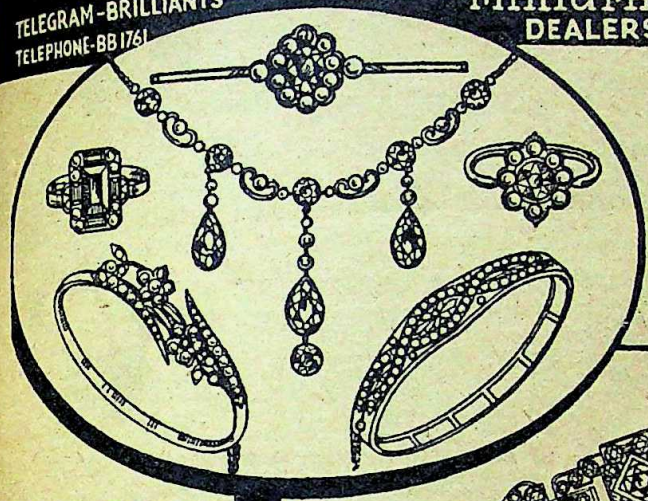

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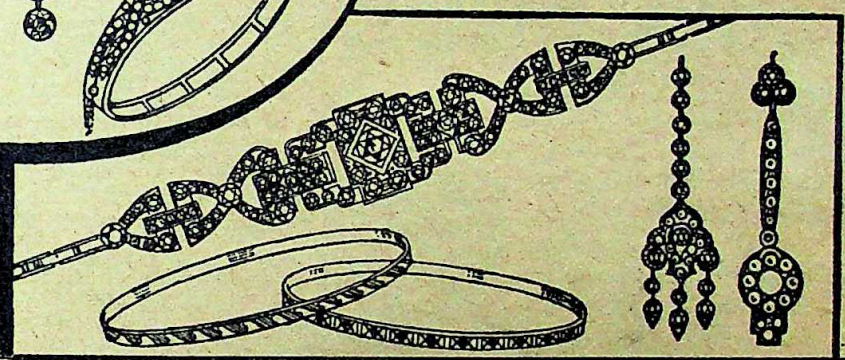

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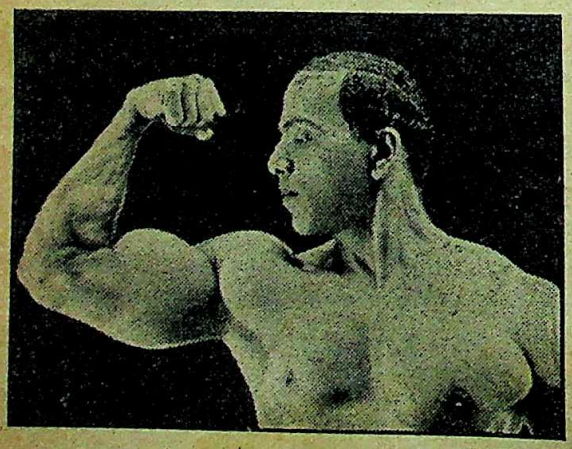

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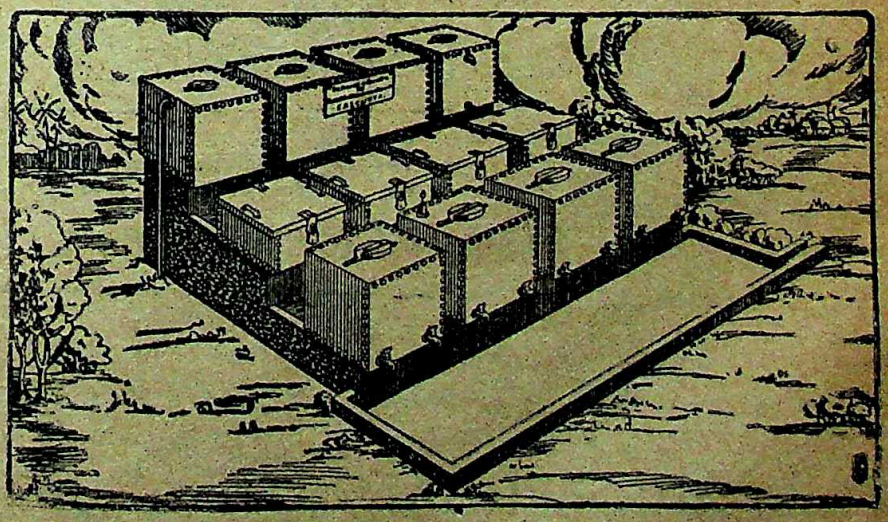

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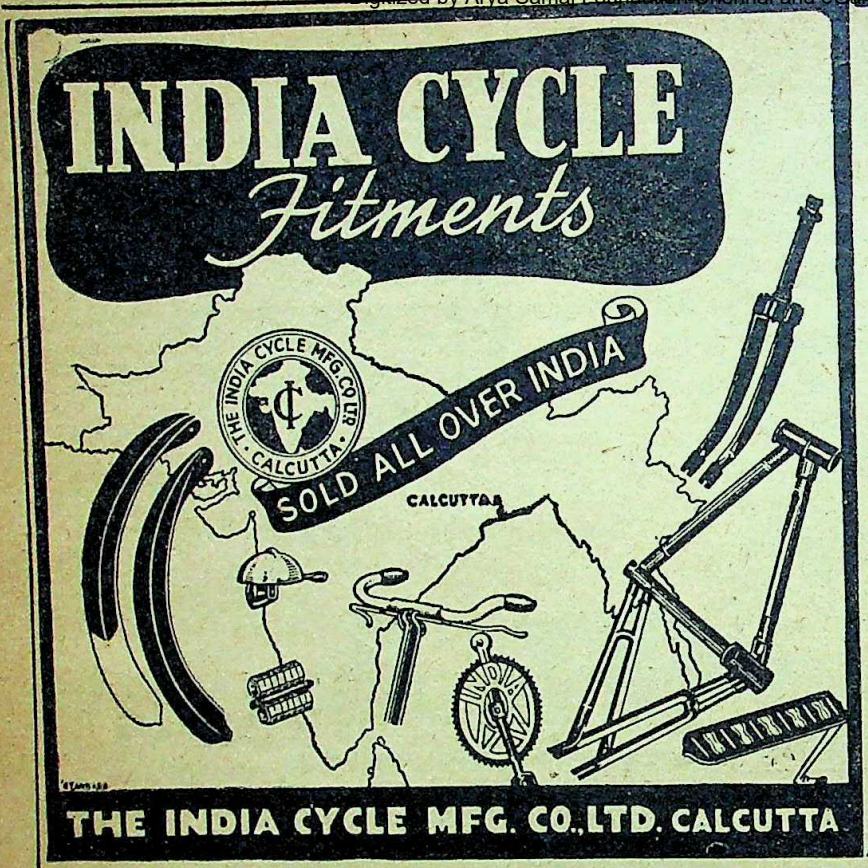

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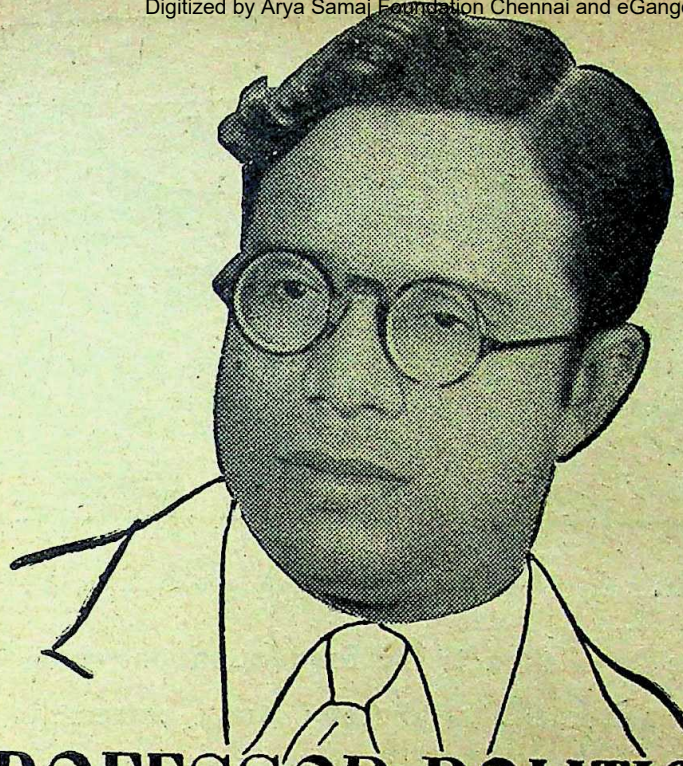

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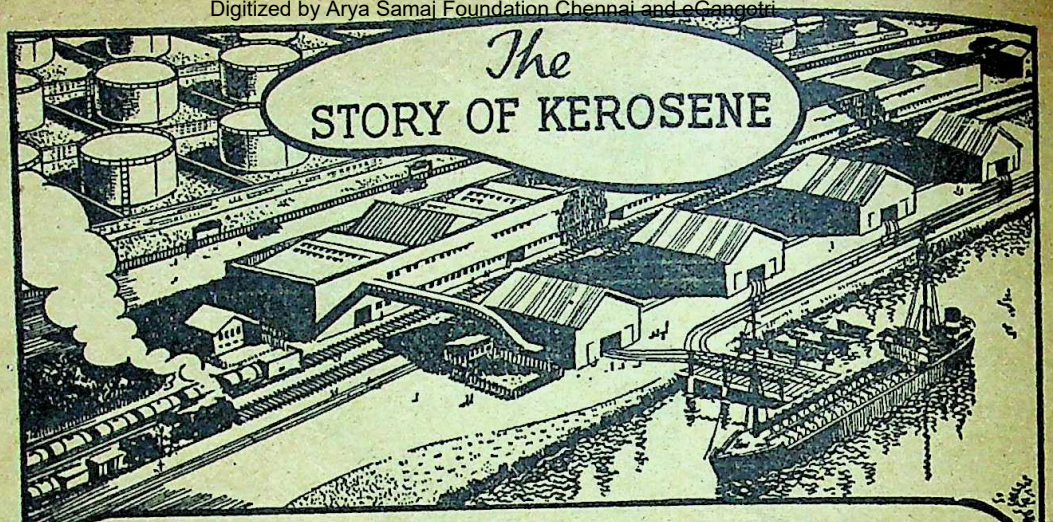

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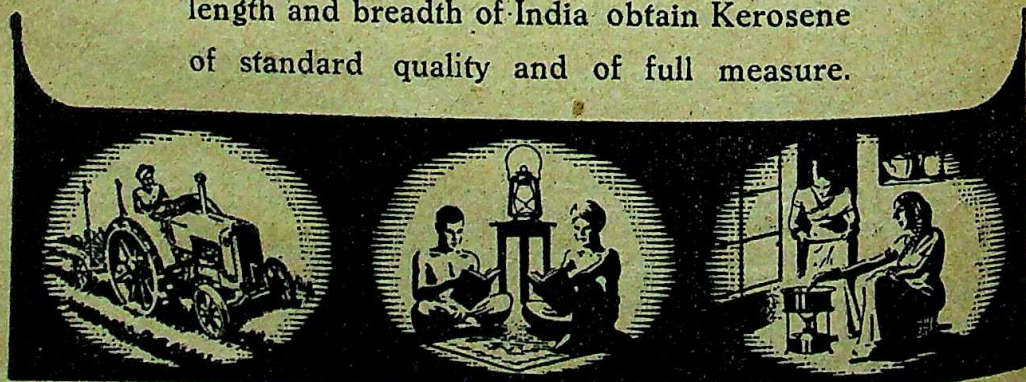

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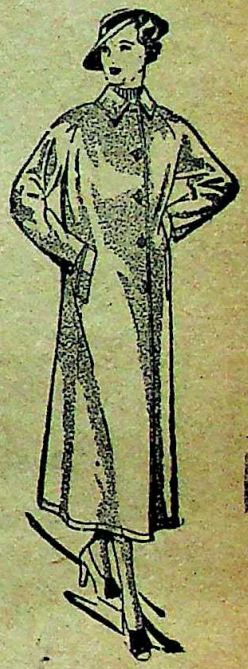

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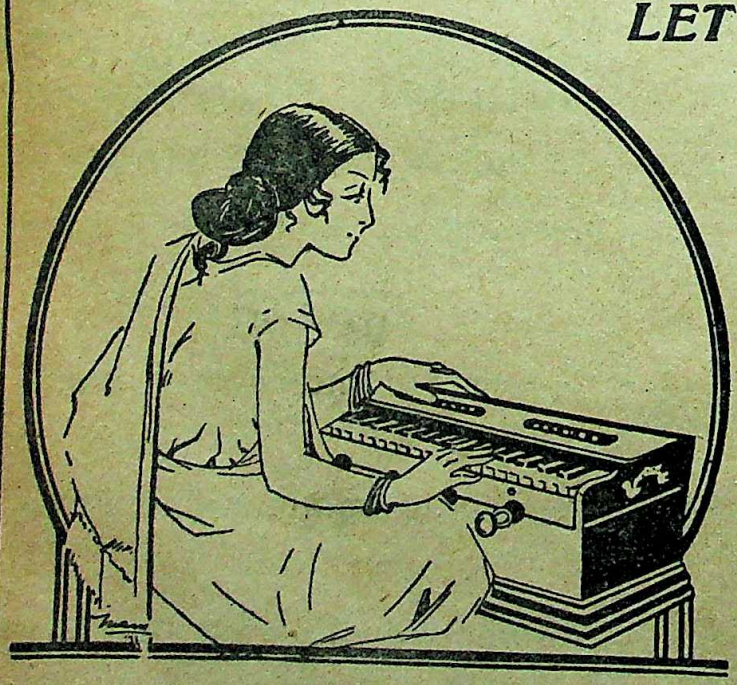

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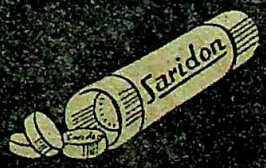

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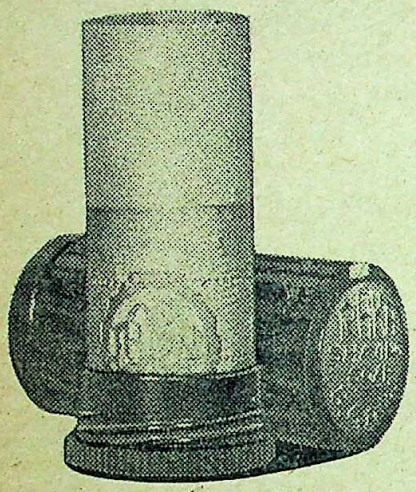

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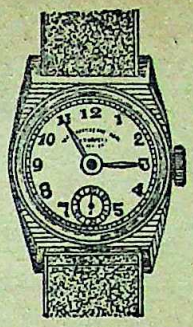

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THE PASSING AWAY OF YAVANA HARIDASA
By Kshitindranath Mazumdar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

India "Is Morally In Revolt"

Very few foreign papers are nowadays received in India. The few which are received, including British papers, are received very late. After the receipt of *The New Statesman And Nation* of the 14th December last, the present number of *The Modern Review* is its first issue. Hence this rather late reference to an article in that British weekly in its mid-December issue. In the course of it it observes :—

"The news that penetrates the curtain of the censorship behind which lies India grows steadily more painful and disturbing. This peninsula is morally in revolt and the answer of our Government is repression. The tactics of coercion were adopted long before Mr. Gandhi resorted to his campaign of verbal opposition. The Defence of India Act was used to round up everyone whom the Anglo-Indian police viewed with suspicion, or disapproved—Trade Union officials, the devoted men who try to organise the helpless peasantry, the followers of Mr. Subhas Bose and other similar groups, to a total of many thousands. To these less conspicuous and involuntary prisoners are now added the leaders of the Congress Party, beginning with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. There are now among them no less than six Prime Ministers of provincial governments, including the sober and moderate ex-premier of Madras, Mr. Rajagopalachari. Twelve members of their Cabinets are also in prison. It is fair to point out that these men challenged authority by delivering anti-war speeches. That only adds to the gravity of our situation : we shall soon have in prison all the men who ruled over eight of the eleven provinces of India, and it may be assumed that in opposing us today they still have behind them the electorate that gave them a majority three years ago. The same attitude of revolt was expressed in a less dramatic but more disquieting form, when the All-India Legislative Assembly threw out the new taxes designed to finance India's share in our war. The majority was a narrow one, but it must be remembered that this Assembly is packed with nominated and official members. That the Congress members voted against our war taxes is not surprising : what is startling is that the Muslim League helped by its abstention to deal this blow to our moral standing. Bitterly as they differ, Congress and the Muslim League agree in exposing any pretension on our part that we rule India and conduct this war with her consent."

It is but fair to state here that those Indians who are "anti-war" belong to the ranks of the Congress. But that India "is morally in revolt" is proved by the fact that there is not a single political party in India which has accepted the Viceroy's and Secretary of States' offer and statements of August and November last year. A handful of Indian princes may have declared their acceptance of that "offer." But in the welter of world forces, these princes do not count, though their help in the war is not negligible.

So, it is a substantially correct statement that India is morally in revolt, though it is passive revolt.

India's Man-power and the War

The British Government in India has got all the recruits which it wants. With reference to that fact *The New Statesman* observes :—

"In this abysmally poor country we can always hire troops and munition workers, though for this latter purpose we have had to make use of a measure of industrial conscription. But all that is most intelligent

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and self-respecting in this nation stands aloof; the best of it neither volunteers for our army nor throws itself into the industrial offer.....Mr. Rajagopalachariar, who is now in prison, said that if we would grant India a national government, she would make good for us what we had lost by the defection of France. We shrink from attempting to estimate precisely the contribution of a willing India, but it is certain that we are throwing away the services of a great ally."

Harm Done By German Anti-British Propaganda

The New Statesman continues :—

"When we turn to the imponderables in this situation, our loss may be even greater. Few Englishmen listen to the German wireless : it has been our unpleasant experience to hear it gloating in all the languages of Europe over our Indian record. Some of its statements were exaggerated and all of them were malicious, but in the main its facts were correct. Steadily these facts, that admit of no contradiction, have sunk into the minds of its hearers, Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, Italians and the rest. There could be no worse preparation for the message we may one day send out, when we are ready to undertake the liberation of Europe."

Moral Effects of Liberation and Subjection of India

The British weekly adds :

"Nothing would so certainly win Europe," said an able American refugee in our hearing, "as the news that India was free." The same news of arrests and opposition, told without exaggeration and without malice, goes to the American press. . . . If Britain fights on, whatever happens in India, that is because the issue is still survival and the preservation of our island liberties. But when we try to hope that the suffering and ruin of this war will be compensated by something better than mere survival and something happier than the world-wide anarchy out of which this struggle arose, this failure in India sets us doubting the creative capacity of our statesmen, if not their sincerity. As surely, the reconciliation of India would give us courage to expect success in the immense constructive task that will one day face us in Europe."

The Viceroy as Patron of the Muslim League

The New Statesman writes :—

"Lord Linlithgow selected the Muslim League as the sole spokesman of all the Muslims of India. It is a powerful organisation and it has in Mr. Jinnah an able and dynamic leader. But it has (or until the other day it had) virtually no following in the provinces where the Muslims are strongest—the Punjab, Sindh and the Frontier Province. Less than a quarter of the members elected by Muslim constituencies at the provincial elections belonged to it. It claims that in the recent months it has greatly increased its membership, and this may well be true. Under the distinguished patronage of the Viceroy it has become, after Congress, the greatest political power in India. We have chosen to standardise the extremist position of Mr. Jinnah as the sole Muslim opinion we recognise. Now between the views of Mr. Jinnah and those of every other Indian party, including those of other Muslim organisations, no compromise is possible. Mr. Jinnah denies that there is an Indian nation : for him there are "two nations," Muslims and Hindus. He demands their separation, and the creation of an independent Muslim Ulster. This scheme appears to have no mass support behind it in the main Muslim area of the North-West. Failing this solution, Mr. Jinnah's demand is for parity with the Hindus, not in rights but in actual power. He will have no truck with democracy, if that means that a Hindu majority can always vote down a Muslim minority.

"Stated in these terms the controversy is insoluble. It is also in our view unreal—only our policy, in the past, which stressed this classification of men by creeds, has caused it to overshadow every substantial issue in Indian politics. No one has ever questioned the claim of Muslims to equal rights, civil, political and cultural : for these the Hindus offer every imaginable guarantee. Theirs was never a persecuting religion."

"Recent Pose of Muslim Extremists" "Merely Ridiculous"

The New Statesman adds :

"The recent pose of the Muslim extremists, that they are an oppressed minority, is merely ridiculous : they govern four provinces and have a share in the government of all the rest. A scholarly Muslim theologian is actually the president of Congress. In every burning issue of Indian politics, whether agrarian reform, taxation, or the improvement of the social services, creed is an irrelevance : the real divisions lie between peasants, labourers and debtors, landlords, employers and usurers. It would be possible, given goodwill, to circumvent this feud."

"The New Statesman's" Suggested Offer

The New Statesman thinks that "there can be no progress till we make a new offer." Accordingly it advances four proposals, of which the last runs as follows :

The pledge to grant Indians the right to determine their own Constitution immediately after the war should be embodied in a resolution to be passed at once by Parliament. The text of it must satisfy reasonable Indians before publication. It should stipulate that all Indian creeds are entitled to equal rights, but it must arm no minority with a veto. In the meanwhile, India, through her National Government, should enjoy all the rights and dignities of a Dominion in determining the policy of the Commonwealth during war and at the settlement. Better still, we might confer on her the name and privileges of a Dominion now, leaving to the early future the elaboration of the Constitution.

It will be observed that *The New Statesman* has proposed that "*the pledge.....should be embodied in a resolution to be passed at once by Parliament.*"

Our readers know that we have repeatedly insisted that the pledge should be embodied either in a Parliamentary statute or in a Parliamentary resolution ; for we have shown repeatedly by quoting passages from Hansard

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that no pledge even of the British Sovereign can bind Parliament against its judgment.

To commend its proposals to the British public, the British weekly observes :—

"Something of this kind we shall do, if our offer to make India a Dominion at the peace was sincere. *We shall not do it, if we were merely using Mr. Jinnah as a tool who will always relieve us from the obligation to fulfil an awkward pledge.* But if we expose ourselves much longer to the suspicion that we are playing the old game of *divide et impera*, we shall risk the loss of India at a far from distant future, and in the meantime we shall postpone and cloud our victory in this war."

Non-Party Leaders' Conference Resolution at Bombay

The Non-Party Leaders' Conference at Bombay on the 13th and 14th March last adopted the following resolution moved by Sir N. N. Sircar :

"While India dislikes the idea of taking advantage of Britain's difficulties in her heroic struggle, the Conference demands that India's domestic problems should not be pressed to her disadvantage. As a first step towards the removal of the present deadlock and until a permanent constitution is brought into force, the Conference desires to emphasize the immediate need for the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

"The Conference considers that the present Council, which consists of 3 European members from the Indian Civil Service, and 3 Indians, of whom 2 are non-officials and one is a member of the Indian Civil Service, in addition to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-inChief, is neither adequate nor sufficiently representative to organize and direct India's war efforts at this moment of grave peril. This Conference is anxious that India's defences should be put on a firm basis and that the resources of this great country in men and material should be used to the fullest advantage not only for defending her own frontiers but for helping the British people to the fullest extent possible consistently with the best interests of India.

"For the reasons mentioned above, this Conference is of the opinion that the whole Executive Council should consist of non-official Indians drawn from important elements in the public life of the country. This would naturally involve the transfer of all portfolios, including the vital ones of Finance and Defence, to Indians while the Conference is willing during the period of the war that the reconstructed centre may remain responsible to the Crown; and so far as defence is concerned, the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the Executive head of the defence forces of the country may not be in any way prejudiced. At the same time the Conference is strongly of the view that the reconstructed Government should not merely be a collection of departmental heads, but should deal with all important matters of policy on a basis of joint and collective responsibility. In regard to all Inter-Imperial and international matters, the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as the Dominion Governments.

"The Conference is further of the opinion that with a view to create a favourable atmosphere for the working of the reconstructed Central Government, it is necessary to remove the doubts and misgivings of the people of this country as regards the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government by making a declaration simultaneously with the reconstruction of the Government that within a specified time limit after the conclusion of the war, India will enjoy the same measure of freedom as will be enjoyed by Britain and the Dominions.

"The Conference authorizes its President, the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to communicate the terms of the resolutions to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and to take such other steps as may be necessary to achieve its objects."

This resolution is undoubtedly open to the criticism that it is not sufficiently heroic. It does not ask that Britishers should clear out of India, bag and baggage, immediately or after the war, or even after India has enjoyed Dominion Status for a number of years. But it has one merit. It has been drafted and adopted by men many of whom have had practical experience of governance. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir N. N. Sircar and Sir Jagdish Prasad have distinguished themselves as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. It cannot be said that they are arm-chair politicians or mere doctrinaires. We may take it that what their resolution asks for is practicable. And what is requested therein is not any revolutionary change but a moderate step in advance. Therefore we shall wait to see what Government does with respect to it. Not with trembling hope, of course.

Is there really any probability of Government accepting the advice offered in the resolution ? We shall be surprised, though it will be a pleasant surprise, if Government acts according to the resolution.

Who Is To Make The Declaration ?

The penultimate paragraph of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference resolution stated that

"The Conference is further of the opinion that with a view to creating a favourable atmosphere for the working of the reconstructed Central Government, it is necessary to remove the doubts and misgivings of the people of this country as regards the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government by making a declaration simultaneously with the reconstruction of the Government that within a specified time limit after the conclusion of the war, India will enjoy the same measure of freedom as will be enjoyed by Britain and the Dominions."

But it is not made quite clear *who*, in the opinion of the Conference, should make the declaration.

There was some plain speaking in the Conference. So, on this point, too, there ought to have been perfectly plain speaking. It ought to have been stated that the declaration should be embodied either in a short Parliamentary statute

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or in a Parliamentary resolution—preferably the former.

How And Why Autocracy Parts With Power—When It Does

Notwithstanding some changes in form the British Government in India continues to be substantially autocratic. The Non-Party Leaders' Conference resolution, like some Congress, Hindu Mahasabha and Liberal Federation resolutions of previous dates, asks that government to become democratic, that is, to part with power and transfer it to representatives of the people of India. But autocracy seldom parts with power from generous instincts or because justice and righteousness require it to do so. From the days of Dadabhai Naoroji downwards there have been plenty of appeals to the sense of justice and the generosity of the British nation, but to little effect.

Autocracy parts with power when it feels compelled to do so—when it finds that those who want to wrest power from its hands are growing unbearably troublesome. So in order to wrest power from the hands of autocrats, pressure—non-violent pressure in the case of India—has to be brought to bear upon them.

Power is sweet. The sense of possession of power is a pleasant feeling. But it is not merely the enjoyment of this pleasant feeling which stands in the way of imperialistic nations parting with power. Political and economic advantages accrue from the possession of power to its possessors. If you can convince the possessors that their interests will be better served or at least equally well served if they transfer power to the subject people, they may be prevailed upon to do so. Dadabhai Naoroji and many succeeding Indian publicists tried to prove that it would be more profitable to trade with a free and therefore prosperous India than with a subject and therefore poverty-stricken India. But the hard-headed British capitalists have not been convinced.

So far as the present situation is concerned, the British Government must see that victory is won and won as quickly as possible. The very existence of the British people as a free nation depends upon it. So, with reference to India, Government has to ask itself, Will the democratization of the government of the country result in intensifying the war-effort here and making it more effective? Or will the result be its opposite?

Those who ask for constitutional advance have to satisfy Government that such advance will not result in the relaxation of the war effort.

We do not say that the British masters of India are justly entitled to lay down such a condition precedent for constitutional advance in India;—clearly they are not. But we have to understand their point of view.

The British masters of India are likely also to ask themselves whether those Indians who demand freemen's rights for the people of India are in a position to put obstacles in the way of the war-effort if their demand is not conceded.

Briefly and plainly the representatives of British Imperialism may ask the protagonists of India's freedom of all parties two questions: If we meet your demands, what *can* you do and what *will* you do to push *our* cause? On the contrary, if we reject your demands as we have the power to do, what *can* you do and what *will* you do to thwart us? Of course in a non-violent way.

We do not say that any British men in authority will ever put such blunt questions;—they are too diplomatic to do so. But the Non-Party Leaders—and for that matter, the Party Leaders, too— may profitably put themselves these questions and write out answers to them in their very private note-books or diaries.

Sir N. N. Sircar's Speech In Bombay Conference

In moving the resolution which was adopted at the Non-Party Leaders' Conference at Bombay, Sir N. N. Sircar spoke as effectively as he cornered Sir Samuel Hoare by his cross-examination at the so-called Round Table Conference—so far, of course, as speaking goes.

He said that repeated statements had been made during the war and was repeated for the last time on February 24 by Mr. Amery, that some constitutional advance would be granted to India, but up to date nothing had been done. The policy of drift had continued and the desire to do something was reiterated without doing anything whatsoever, and this had created the present deadlock between India and Great Britain.

Sir Nripendranath pointed out the great change in policy that had occurred in the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the question of Indian constitutional advance.

He recalled that in the past, British Government spokesmen had declared that constitutional progress would not be held up even if no agreement could be found on the communal question and a scheme would be applied by the British Government. But now, after the war had broken out, he regretted that the British Government were now insisting on settlement of the communal differences and the differences between the various parties before any constitutional advance was made. While he regretted and was ashamed of their inability to settle their own differences, he urged that this inability should not be held up as a bar to the grant of further constitutional advance.

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Sir N. N. Sircar was sorry to note that the British people, who were showing great courage, tenacity and resourcefulness on the field of battle, were afraid to evince the same courage and singlemindedness to the Indian constitutional question. He compared the present unhelpful attitude of the British Government to one who offered three million pounds to one pound of *Hot Ice*.

Strongly refuting the condition that internal differences should be composed before any constitutional progress was made, Sir N. N. Sircar asked :

"Is there any important provision in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is the result of agreement between parties ? What about the joint and separate electorate, and federation and so on ? In spite of vital differences was not the Government of India Act enacted ? If His Majesty's Government had insisted on substantial agreement between the parties on the material questions involved, there would have been no Government of India Act at all."

Sir N. N. Sircar did not want to belittle either the Congress or the League. But it was curious how at different times different views were taken by His Majesty's Government of the magnitude of those two organisations.

They had been repeating that India was with them in the war. But the Congress, every one knew, was not in the war effort. The Congress, therefore, would become at least a not too serious factor in the country. When it came to constitutional advance, the Congress was stated to wield considerable power. What about the Muslim League ? The League was saying that it was not hampering war effort but at the same time, the League as such was unable to offer any help to Great Britain. The difference between the Congress and the League with regard to war was the same as between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. "The Congress or the League is looked upon as a giant or a dwarf as it suits them."

When the demand for Pakistan was made, Mr. Amery sat on the fence.

Without stating whether he wanted it or did not want it, Mr. Amery gave the slogan "India First." But as soon as this slogan was heard, a "thrill of horror" went through the frame of some politicians here and they cried that India consisted of two nations and it was a geographical blunder that it was made one. Mr. Amery hastily dropped his slogan and said instead : "We have got to consider the ninety million Muslims." Immediately, the Muslim League had become the synonym of 90 million Muslims.

Referring to the criticism against the resolution before the conference that the Congress and the League would make a combination and oppose any new Executive Council, Sir N. N. Sircar said that

The assumption was incorrect. The declared policy of the Muslim League was known but in spite of that, appeals were made by Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal and other members of his Cabinet to support the war efforts. The attitude of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan also needed no elucidation but, Sir Sircar said, the leader of the party put the blind eye to the telescope, got hold of "minor fry" because they had joined war committees and disqualified them from the League. He did not believe that once the Cabinet was reconstructed, the Muslims would start opposition to it, or that the Muslims of the Punjab would refuse to enlist in the army, and give way to Sikhs and Hindus. He added that it would be equally wrong to conclude that the Congress would be against the new Executive Council. It might well be that the Congress might change its attitude or it might say "this is not a Government based on the doctrines of non-violence" and go its way.

After explaining the resolution, Sir N. N. Sircar said,

"We are making this demand not on behalf of the Hindus, the Muslims or the Sikhs, but on behalf of India as a whole. The crux of the matter is, are we to be told that India minus the Congress and the Muslim League is equal to zero ? Are you British Government not causing resentment to very large sections by making day after day nothing but promises ? And these promises are made subject to conditions which cannot be fulfilled. The drift which is continuing intensifies the differences among the various communities."

Urging the British Government to act up to the suggestions made in the resolution, the speaker warned the British people and their statesmen against the attitude of saying we are carrying on things very smoothly. There is no obstruction from anybody and we need give no explanation to anybody. This indeed, concluded Sir N. N. Sircar, was a short-sighted policy.

Sir Jagdish Prasad's Speech

Those who seconded and supported Sir N. N. Sircar's resolution also made cogent speeches. Sir Jagdish Prasad, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. Chandavarkar, President, All India Liberal Federation, Dr. Paranjpye, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sardar Sant Singh, Sir Maharaja Singh, Sir Jogendra Singh, Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru, Sir Sultan Chinoy and others participated in the deliberations. It is to be regretted that within the limits of our space all these speeches cannot be noticed. But the able speech of Sir Jagdish Prasad, who seconded the resolution and whose part in bringing about the Conference was, to say the least, second to that of no one else, requires summarizing.

Seconding the resolution, Sir Jagdish Prasad said :

"One of the main purposes of this Conference is to bring home to the British Government that a Government of India predominantly official and with a minority of Indians is ill-suited to evoke that willing effort, that sustained enthusiasm even when things are going none too well, that are essential if India is to play a decisive part in achieving victory. A rapid military expansion of her forces has been retarded by the regrettable state of our industrial development. Many gaps remain in her industrial equipment which must be filled even while the war lasts. The greatest care will have to be exercised to see that the economic structure of the country does not receive a shock on the termination of the war and therefore the immediate needs of the war

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should be co-ordinated with the longterm view of the industrial development of India. It is also of the utmost importance that a more active policy of industrialisation should form an essential part of a programme of post-war reconstruction which should be taken in hand now."

They wished to exert themselves to the utmost to win the war. All that they asked was that they should be able to do this with the feeling that in the direction of the policy they had been placed in a position of genuine power.

Sir Jagdish Prasad next dealt with the demands contained in the resolution for the immediate expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and asked

If the British Government were prepared in August last to have an Executive Council of twelve members of whom ten were to be Indians whether it would be a grave danger if the entire Council consisted of only Indians. Even if there was a risk, he maintained it was worth taking because the psychological effect of such a step would be immense.

Continuing Sir Jagdish Prasad said :

"The country must know where it stands. There must be a clear public pronouncement as to the number of Indians the Government will take into their Executive Council of the portfolios of which they will be in charge, and the manner in which the Executive Council will work—whether it will be consulted on all questions of vital policy or will only deal with departmental matters. Let there be a clear declaration on all these points, so that the whole country may know whether the Government mean business or not.

The fundamental issue between the Government and the people is the transfer of political power, whatever temporary shape it may take at the moment.

While I agree that it is the duty of every Indian to do what he can to bring the jarring elements together, this does not mean that till harmony is produced, we shou'd be content at a period of the utmost gravity to desist from pressing that the Central Government be made more popular and that we should confine our energies merely to telling the people to compose their differences.

If we are to be masters in our own house at no very distant future, as we are promised, a real share of power in the Centre immediately will result in converting opponents into active supporters.

Generous acts of statesmanship have in the past changed the whole history of Canada and South Africa. It is too much to hope that some such act may yet transform the Indian scene. The French and the English or the Dutch and the British were not asked to compose their differences first before power was handed to them. I do not know whether it is sufficiently realized that the more there is an insistence on previous agreement, the further it recedes, and that such insistence is arousing a growing suspicion that for many a long day we shall have to be content with listening to fine phrases alone and shall not be allowed to share real power.

Our proposals do not bar any party from sharing in the Government, provided it is willing to prosecute the war with the greatest energy. We put forward our proposals in the firm conviction that these are for the food of the country, for, if the present state of affairs continues, there will be more extremist agitation, more repression and increased bitterness on either side. We feel strongly that progress towards self-government should not be held up any more than the administration be brought to a standstill.

Sir Jagdish Prasad concluded with an appeal to all to follow the noble example of England by suspending their domestic quarrels in the face of grave danger that threatened them from without.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Presidential Address

An earnest appeal to the Government of India to take the initiative in getting together leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League in an effort to resolve the present deadlock and if that attempt failed, to mobilise the large mass of unattached opinion in the country was made by the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, opening the Non-Party Leaders' Conference at Bombay.

Proceeding to examine the position in the country, Sir Tej Bahadur remarked that out of the eleven provinces, seven were at present being administreed by Governor with the help of official advisers. He did not wish to shut his eyes to the realities of the situation. The situation in the provinces arose in November, 1939, because the Congress Ministries in seven provinces decided to tender their resignations. He could not help feeling that it was a very shortsighted decision for the Congress to call out the Ministers. If the Ministers had been in their place today, much of the trouble that had arisen in the provinces would not have arisen, (hear, hear).

The last preceding remark may perhaps be true of the Hindu-majority provinces. But it is not true of the other provinces. The N.-W. F. Province, for example, had the same ministry during the entire period. Not to speak of other troubles, had the kidnapping and plundering raids by transfrontier men ceased or even diminished? Take another example, Bengal, which has had practically the same ministry during the "Reforms" regime. Can any province beat Bengal in the matter of "troubles"?

Referring next to the war, Sir Tej Bahadur said that there was no one present there who did not realise the gravity of the international situation. They were beginning to realise that the war was coming nearer and nearer to the shores of India.

That is true. But it has become true *because India has been made a belligerent country without consulting her*. If India had been a free and independent country, most probably she would not have participated in the war, as some independent countries in Europe, Asia and America have not yet done, and the war would not then have come nearer and nearer India.

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If India had been consulted even as a part of the British Empire, as to whether she would take part in the war, then, too, she would possibly have remained neutral as Eire has done, and in that case, too, the war would not have come nearer and nearer to her. So, for the fact that the war is coming nearer India, she is not to blame. But, of course, the realities of the situation demand all the same that she should be defended against aggressors.

Sir Tej Bahadur pointed out that the country had been helping in the war effort all along. It was with a view to help in the successful prosecution of the war that they had assembled to take stock of the situation and to make suggestions as to how that end might be achieved.

We will not raise the question whether it is "the country" or the British Government of the country which is helping in Britain's war effort, for that may seem rather academical, though it is really not. But we may be allowed to ask whether the British Government of the country really wants its intelligentsia to help in the successful prosecution of the war. It seems to us that that Government merely wants our money, our material resources, our industrial man-power and *some of our men* as cannon-fodder, but not the co-operation of thinking Indians as free men who can help with their brains and their enthusiasm.

The attitude of those Indians who would thrust their unsought help on Government may not be appreciated.

Sir Tej Bahadur voiced the opinion of right thinking Indians when he said :

"Frankly speaking, I maintain and maintain very strongly, that there has never been a Government of India more isolated from public opinion and from the main current of thought in the country than the present Government of India. The members of the Government of India should appear before the public, take the public into confidence and they must not assume that the Indian Legislature, respectable bodies as they are, or one or two important political bodies constitute the whole of India. I should like to see members of the Government of India appearing on the public platform and telling us what really is happening."

They all knew, Sir Tej Bahadur went on, that

On August 8, the Viceroy had made an offer and that the Congress and the Muslim League had turned it down. Whether the reasons for the refusal were just or unjust, wise or unwise, was a matter of the past. What he would like to know was what had been done since. They had moved from August to March, repeated statements had been made in Parliament and outside by Mr. Amery and they had been told time after time that there were unfortunate differences existing between the two organised bodies, the Congress and the Muslim League. The natural inference from these repeated references to these two organised bodies and the quarrel existing between them was that unless those differences were composed they need not expect any advance. That was an unfortunate position.

"No one will be more pleased than myself and I can speak on behalf of every one here, if these organised bodies compose their differences even at this stage. In your names and on behalf of those interested in true progress, I make an earnest appeal to leaders of these two organisations to review the situation, to see facts as they are, to indulge less in theoretical discussions and to grapple with the realities of the situation and to come to some settlement."

We, too, would be glad indeed if the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League were composed. But for obvious reasons they cannot be composed. For one thing, Congress stands for one undivided India and one united Indian nation; the Muslim League stands for two Indias partitioned between Hindus and Muslims, who, the Muslim Leaguers believe or pretend to believe, are two separate nations. The Muslim League would not be satisfied with the perfectly equal citizenship of each Mussalman with each Hindu or other Indian and with the thorough safeguarding of the religious and cultural rights and interests of Muslims. Such equal citizenship and such religious and cultural freedom they already possess. What Mr. M. A. Jinnah wants is, not merely that every Mussalman should have equal rights and opportunities with every non-Muhammadan, but also that Indian Muslims collectively should have at least an equal number of seats in the Central and Provincial Legislatures and local bodies etc., and at least an equal number of appointments in the public services, with the Hindus and other non-Muslims collectively ;—mere weightage will not do. Large numbers of Muslims are not satisfied with their own religious freedom, which they have; they want also to control Hindu religious observances and subordinate them to their own notions. Can the Non-Party Leaders think of satisfying Mr. Jinnah and such Muslims ?

The Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his friends of the Conference may believe that some *formula*—God bless the word ! may be found which will result in composing Congress-League differences; we confess we do not.

Sir Tej Bahadur continued :

"I believe we have already exposed ourselves to a great deal of ridicule in this country and outside for our inability to compose our differences even at this critical juncture. It is, therefore, that I make an earnest appeal to these two bodies and their distinguished leaders, to meet, to discuss things among themselves and devise some formula for a settlement of the outstanding disputes, because it is imperative that some day or other these disputes should be settled. If it seems necessary for either of these two bodies or to both of them to requisition the services of any one of us as

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common friends, I am sure, none of us will stint our services.

If Sir Tej Bahadur or some equally puissant magician can do the trick and bring about a settlement, we shall be delighted indeed.

But unless British Imperialists cease to patronize the Muslim League and give up their desire to use Mr. Jinnah as a tool for putting off indefinitely the evil day of India's freedom and unless they put their foot down on the Pakistan scheme once for all, a Congress-League settlement must remain a dream. That does not mean that there cannot be a Hindu-Moslem settlement. There can be. But it must be a settlement of Hindus and other non-Muslims with Muslims *minus* Mr. Jinnah and his followers.

People talk as if the Hindus outside the Congress did not count. But they may rest assured that even if the Congress signed a pact with the Muslim League at the sacrifice of legitimate Hindu interests, there would be non-Congress Hindus to stand up for such rights. The Hindu Mahasabha is not an invertebrate body. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Shyamaprasad Mookerjee and other Hindu leaders, know their business.

Sir Tej Bahadur says we have exposed ourselves, to a great deal of ridicule in this country and outside for our inability to compose our differences even at this critical juncture. We agree that the Muslims outside the Muslim League, as also the Hindus in and outside the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, should have been sufficiently patriotic and liberal and tolerant in social and religious matters to be able to bring about Hindu-Moslem civic and political unity, ignoring the separatism of the Muslim League and its readiness to serve as the cats' paw of British imperialism. But have those who have ridiculed us cared to condemn the attitude and the machiavellism of those imperialists ?

In the "offer" made last year in August it was stated that the representatives of the principal elements in the national life of India would draw up India's new constitution, but if any minority had any objections, it would not be coerced into accepting it. *The New Statesman and Nation* has observed that this has placed the veto in the hands of the minorities and that the Muslim League, the Princes and the Europeans have taken this as a hint to them to play the role of obstructionists, which they have been doing to perfection. *The New Statesman and Nation* further observes that, though the Government were too scrupulous to coerce a minority, they were coercing the majority without any hesitation !

Referring to the Congress-League differences, Sir Tej Bahadur rightly observed that Government had not done its duty towards composing those differences :

"But if those bodies were not prepared to compose their differences then the Conference should be prepared for some alternative. If the two bodies did not compose their differences, then surely it did not lie in the mouth of the British Government to say that because those two organisations could not compose their differences the rest of the country should be penalised and must wait until it pleased the leaders of those parties to be sensible and to be in a mood to compose their differences. That to his mind was an intolerable situation.

"It was not enough for the British Government to repeatedly refer to the existence of unfortunate differences. It was also necessary for the Government to say that they had done their best and that they were ready to do their best to bring about a reconciliation between the two bodies. In that respect the British Government had done practically nothing."

We are for clearing our minds of political as well as of other cant.

We confess we do not see any earthly reason why British imperialists should go out of their way to compose Hindu-Muslim differences and thus injure their own worldly interests as they understand them. It is our job, not theirs.

Hindu Mahasabha View At Leaders' Conference, Bombay

Though the Conference of prominent Indians at Bombay has been called a Non-Party Leaders' Conference, some Liberal and Hindu Mahasabha leaders took part in it. In the speeches summarized above the Liberal point of view has been sufficiently indicated. The speeches of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders have been very briefly reported in the papers. They are given below, such as they are.

Dr. B. S. Moonje maintained that

The communal bogy was the making of the British Government and therefore it was up to the British Government to lay the ghost of the communal question. He supported the resolution because it would create military-mindedness among the youth of the country.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, said that

The Hindu Mahasabha stood for complete independence but it was prepared to join hands with any party provided it worked for India's independence. It might be that they might have to part company before they reached the goal but it was a good thing to stand together in their onward march as long as possible. Personally he did not believe that the British Government would accept their demands as they were determined to keep all power in their own hands.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, while supporting the resolution,

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criticised the provision leaving the responsibility for the administration of India during the war with the Crown. He could not agree with the view that there was any difference between Fascism and Nazism or British Imperialism. He agreed that so far as the present war was concerned all Indians realised the need for Britain to win it because a German victory would not be conducive to the cause of Indian freedom. In his opinion even if the Congress and the Muslim League did not join the new Executive Council, it would be wrong to assume that they would oppose the newly constituted Government.

Scientific And Industrial Board's Research Schemes

NEW DELHI, March 17.

Fourteen research schemes, involving financial assistance to the extent of Rs. 52,000 have been recommended for adoption by the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research to the Government of India.

The Researches are, states a press note, on the manufacture of electro-acoustical and high frequency apparatus (Dr. S. K. Mitra, Calcutta), X-ray Transformers (Mr. B. B. Bhowmik, Calcutta), Refrigerating Machinery (Prof. Saha, Calcutta), Photographic Plates (Prof. G. R. Paranjpe, Bombay) and Photo-sensitizing Dye-stuffs (Mr. M. Q. Doja, Patna).

Ultra-sonic (Dr. D. M. Bose, Calcutta) has received encouragement through the sanction of a scheme for the setting up of a powerful ultra-sonic generator for making various industrial applications.

Planning of radio sets and volume control form another scheme of research (Dr. G. R. Toshnial, Allahabad). Thus, for the manufacture of radio sets, the Board has so far recommended schemes on the design of various parts and, if any scheme on the researches of making a valve materialises, India may expect to manufacture radio sets.

Schemes of research, covering essential oil industry, industrial preparation of iodine from lemon grass by Dr. M. N. Goswami, Calcutta, the preparation of thyroxin by Dr. B. B. Dey, Madras, extraction of sulphur from iron pyrites, and the manufacture of optical glass by Mr. M. L. Joshi, Lahore, have also been recommended.—*A. P. I.*

Scientifically Conducted Surveys Of Public Opinion

All who worship at the altar of democracy admit that Public Policy should be a true reflection of Public Opinion. But when confronted with the question as to how this is to be achieved, most of them have little practical advice to offer except uttering the usual shibboleths of representative government and universal suffrage. It is well-known to all serious students of politics that, while representative government based on universal adult franchise is the only practicable policy for a country with a large population, it is at best an imperfect instrument for interpretations of the popular will on all questions of public import. Realization of this fact has inspired attempts at devising methods for ascertaining public opinion in between General Elections. So far as these attempts have been successful, they owe it to the scientific use of statistical methods, as described in an interesting article, published elsewhere in this issue. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Hony. Secy. of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, who contributes this article, is not content to describe experiments conducted in America but also discusses their applicability in India. We believe with Prof. Mahalanobis that scientifically conducted surveys of public opinion serve both to sift genuine public opinion from the spurious variety of propaganda and to stimulate the interest of the masses in the larger issues of public life.

Such surveys, we believe, will help in throwing revealing light on many of the baffling problems of our life. For instance, on the question of middle-class unemployment, there is much talk of vocational education. But have our middle-class young men any vocational bias? Are they, if given the opportunity, prepared to handle jobs in which the pay is good but which are supposed to detract from "gentlemanly status"? Answers to such questions may be furnished by a survey designed to ascertain occupational preferences among middle-class young men.

Other topics may be mentioned which such surveys might tackle. What is the attitude of the people or particular sections of it to intercaste marriage, to khaddar, to industrialization in general, to arrangements for religious instruction in schools and colleges, to socialization of public utility services? Some or all of these or even more vital questions may be taken up for surveys, and the results will be, we believe, eye-openers to many of our politicians and publicists who are too often apt to arrive at sweeping generalisations on all too meagre data. But a properly conducted survey requires trained men as well as, we are afraid, some money. If the latter is forthcoming and willing workers are found, there exists in the Statistical Laboratory an organization which, we are sure, will give profitable employment to both.

K. N. C.

Lahore's "Record" Census!

Under the caption "Lahore Has Made Record" *The Tribune* writes:

"Lahore has made a record in India. It has shown cent per cent increase in its population. The "credit" for this should naturally go to the enumerators who have admittedly done their work with great diligence, honesty and scrupulousness, as also to those who selected them! The Lahore municipal authorities must be feeling nervous; for the census figures have not only upset their calculations, but belied their statistical records on the basis of which they form their calculations. At

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least their records did not show that the population of Lahore had almost doubled during the last decade. What have they to say now? Will they challenge the census figures or let the people have the impression that their own records of vital statistics are not kept in proper order? Of course, those who watched the census operations know where the fault lies."

U. P. Bengali School Students Should Be Allowed To Answer Questions In Bengali

At the last month's session of the Bengali Literary Reunion, which was opened by Professor Amaranātha Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, a resolution to the following effect was moved by Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji, retired Puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court, and seconded and supported by Professor A. C. Banerji, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S., head of the Department of Mathematics, Allahabad University, and Professor Kiran Chandra Sinha, M.A. :—

"The Government of the United Provinces have decided that all school students (both boys and girls) will have to write out their answers to questions in examinations either in Hindi or Urdu; but that in some cases and under certain circumstances permission may be granted to write out answers in English.

"The Bengalis in U. P. are a linguistic minority group. It is a declared policy of Government that the language and culture of a minority community or group should not be interfered with. In accordance with that policy, this conference requests that the study of their mother-tongue, namely, Bengali, may be made compulsory in respect of the Bengali students reading in the schools of the U. P. and Bengali may be made the medium of their examination.

"If Government be unable *at present* for any reason to grant this request, it is solicited that the Bengali students may be permitted to submit their answer books in any of the three languages, namely, Hindi, Urdu, or English."

This is a very reasonable and moderate request. Education is best given through the medium of the mother-tongue. If those children whose mother-tongue is Hindi or Urdu are entitled to be taught and examined through the medium of Hindi or Urdu, there is no reason why Bengali children should not have a similar advantage. Their guardians, too, pay taxes and rates and do citizens' duties like others. Many Bengali families have been in U. P. for many generations. Not to speak of other and more recent arrivals and comparatively temporary sojourners, all these permanent Bengali residents of U. P. have to keep up social connections and intercourse with the Bengalis of Bengal and, therefore, require to know Bengali.

It is not impracticable to grant the request made in the resolution, as we shall presently show in our next note. Bengali professors and teachers in U. P. conduct the highest University examinations, along with their brethren whose mother-tongue is Hindi or Urdu. So they will be able to set papers in Bengali and examine answers given in Bengali. *If need be,* they will do this work honorarily.

As in U. P. Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European candidates must be allowed to answer questions in English, why not Bengali candidates also, if they be not allowed to answer them in Bengali?

The granting of the request made on behalf of the U. P. Bengali students will not in the least interfere with the efficient education of the students whose mother-tongue is Hindi or Urdu.

Of course, Bengali boys and girls in U. P. should and will learn the language of the province, too, in their own interest.

The granting of the request made on behalf of the Bengali students will increase and strengthen inter-provincial friendship, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated.

The sacred cause of Indian Unity requires that in all provinces of India the educational and cultural needs of all linguistic groups and religious communities be scrupulously consulted as far as practicable.

We shall now briefly state what is done in Bengal to meet the requirements of students whose mother-tongue is not Bengali.

Calcutta University and Non-Bengali Matriculation Candidates

There were 33,332 candidates for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University this year (1941). Except the papers set to test the candidates' knowledge of the English language and literature, which have to be answered in English, all question papers, in other subjects, *viz.*, mathematics, history, geography, etc., have to be answered in the Indian language which is the candidate's mother-tongue (those few candidates whose mother-tongue is English being allowed to answer in English). Four Indian languages are recognized at present for the purpose, namely, Bengali, Assamese, Hindi and Urdu. Should a sufficiently large linguistic group claim for its children in future the advantage of answering questions in their mother-tongue, the Calcutta University will, we are sure, grant its request.

At the Calcutta Matriculation in 1941 the

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following numbers answered questions in all subjects but English in the following languages :

Bengali	30,153
Assamese	1,432
Hindi	640
Urdu	477

Whatever their mother-tongue may be, candidates take up a classical language or some Indian vernacular as a subject of examination. The numbers taking up some classical language or other are shown below.

Sanskrit	23,695	Latin	93
Arabic	3,741	Classical Armenian	7
Persian	2,326	Classical Tibetan	7
Pali	655		

The following numbers took up the following Indian Vernaculars :

Urdu	627	Nepali	53
Hindi	129	Sindhi	2
Bengali	33	Assamese	3
Maithili	91	Garo	9
Khasi	77	Manipuri	83
Lushai	24	Uriya	1
Telugu	4	Gujarati	2
Tamil	20	Modern Tibetan	7

The following numbers took up the following languages as second Indian Vernaculars :

Uriya	2	Urdu	1
Nepali	44	Kanarese	1
Hindi	43	Gujarati	39
Modern Tibetan	7	Modern Armenian	7
Manipuri	55	Malayalam	1
Lushai	2		

Besides these, 59 candidates took up French and 1 Portuguese.

It is to be noted that even in those cases in which only one candidate took up a particular language, the Calcutta University took the trouble to find out and appoint competent paper-setters and examiners. Otherwise it could not have done its duty as an Indian *National* University.

We started to write the preceding and the present note in order to show that it is reasonable and just and practicable to allow Bengali school students in U. P. to have the advantage of being taught and examined through the medium of their mother-tongue. We have shown that in Bengal very small numbers of candidates having their mother-tongues as Hindi or Urdu have been given the advantage of writing their answers in these tongues *without their having to ask for it*. Surely Bengali students may justly expect similar treatment in U. P.

And not only in U. P. Wherever there is an appreciable number of Bengali students and candidates—in Bihar, Orissa, U. P., Panjab, C. P., etc.—the Bengali language should find the same hospitality as other Indian languages receive at the hands of the Calcutta University.

And it is not merely for the Matriculation Examination that the Calcutta University recognises Hindi and other Indian vernaculars. Several of these languages, which possess literatures dating back to pre-British times, are recognized up to the M.A. standard. Candidates can and have become M.A.s in Bengali, Hindi, etc. For lack of space, we have to refrain from giving more details.

A Scheme of All-India Examination in Bengali

We have received the following notice for publication from Professor A. C. Banerji, I.E.S., M.A. (Cantab), M.Sc. (Cal), F.R.A.S. (Lond.), Registrar, Examination Board of the Prabāsi Banga-Sāhitya Sammelan, Allahabad :

A Scheme of All-India Examination in Bengali to Encourage the Study of Bengali Language and Literature

Prabasi Bengali Literary Association has just issued a scheme of examinations prepared by its Examination Board. There shall be two Examinations, *viz.*, Praveshika (Junior Examination) and Visharad (Proficiency Examination). The examinations are open to both Bengalis and non-Bengali candidates. It has been decided to hold only Praveshika Examination in 1941. Efforts are being made to hold this examination in the latter part of August, 1941.

The fee for Praveshika Examination is Rupees Two, and the last date for receiving applications with fees for permission to appear at the Examination is April 30, 1941.

Intending candidates are requested to apply as early as possible with -/1/3 postage stamps to the Registrar, Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan, 45, Allenganj, Allahabad, for prospectus and application forms.

We hope not only non-Bengalis, but Bengalis also, particularly those residing outside Bengal, will take advantage of this scheme.

Bhaja Caves And Their Sculptures

Our note on the Bhaja Caves on page 601 of *The Modern Review* for December, 1940, was based on a paragraph which appeared in several daily newspapers. As that paragraph was not contradicted, we made some remarks on the assumption that the facts stated therein were correct. We regret to learn from a communication from the Director-General of Archaeology in India, which was mislaid among the papers of an assistant of ours and has reached our hands very late, that "there has been a good deal of misapprehension about the future of the Bhaja Caves and their sculptures."

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The aforesaid communication states :

"The fact is that recently a proposal was mooted by the curators and other authorities of certain museums to have casts made of the sculptures in these caves. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, was in charge of the preparation of the casts, but the scheme had fallen through for various reasons, including that of the cost, which many of the museums did not find themselves in a position to bear. So far as the sculptures are concerned, they are quite safe, and there is no reason to worry. They have had the attention of the Archaeological Chemist and other officers of the Department from time to time and they have been taking all possible steps for their safety."

We thank the Director-General of Archaeology in India for placing us in possession of the true facts relating to the sculptures in the Bhaja Caves. We are glad they are safe.

Civil Disobedience As Bad As Murder, Dacoity, Etc. !

ALLAHABAD, March 26.

It is understood that the U. P. Government have decided to release about 2,000 ordinary prisoners shortly to make room for Civil Disobedience prisoners in jails. Prisoners convicted under Defence of India Rules will not be released in this connection. As the influx of Civil Disobedience prisoners has caused congestion in jails, the Government are taking this step. Two classes of prisoners are likely to be released, firstly, those who were sentenced up to one year and completed half the terms and secondly, convicts with over one year's sentence whose release is due before October 1, 1941. Prisoners convicted of dacoity, murder and other grave offences will not be released.

If this piece of news be true, does it imply that in the opinion of the authorities concerned those "guilty" of civil disobedience should not be allowed to be at large just as murderers, dacoits, etc., are not allowed to be at large, though other offenders may be shown some mercy ?

"Britain To Fight Twenty Years"

NEW YORK, March 26.

Britain would fight for twenty years if necessary, declared Lord Halifax at a press conference today (Wednesday). He gave it as his "deliberate conviction" that the combination of military, naval and air power and blockade would give Britain victory over the Nazis and their Axis partners.

Lord Halifax continued, "the duration of the war would depend on the speed of American help."

Referring to postwar world Lord Halifax said Britain did not want a vindictive peace but she was going to see that steps were taken to ensure that the world should not see a repetition of the present situation at the hands of Germany.—*Reuter.*

We dislike the prospect of Britain fighting for twenty years if necessary, and that for two reasons. One is humanitarian. Twenty years' war on the present scale would involve indescribable bloodshed and waste of human energy and material resources. It would mean the ruin of civilization and the reversion of mankind to savagery.

The other reason is patriotic. British statesmen have been promising vaguely that after the conclusion of peace something would be done for India's constitutional advance. But the prolongation of the war would give them a plausible excuse for putting off still further the (to them evil) day of India's freedom.

Not that we believe that, if the war were of short duration, Britain would agree to India becoming free. Apart from other reasons for keeping India in subjection for an indefinitely long period after the conclusion of peace, Britain would require to utilize the material resources and the industrial and clerical man-power of India for her (Britain's) advantage as much as possible in order to pay off the huge debt she has been incurring for winning victory. Such utilization of India's raw materials and industrial and clerical man-power would be impossible if India became self-ruling.

Hence patriotic Indians must realize that India cannot be free unless extreme pressure be brought to bear on Britain *now* to let go or at least to relax her hold on India. We say "now," because whatever the need, if any, which Britain may *now* feel for conciliating India, that need would not remain after the war, out of which she would emerge stronger and more self-confident than ever. She would not then stand in need of conciliating India and would not think of it, Of course, thinking Indians know that this pressure cannot be of the physical force variety under present circumstances. This is understood even by those who adhere to ahimsā or non-violence as a policy, not as a principle or religious creed.

Lord Halifax says that at the end of the war steps must be taken to prevent a repetition of a conflict like the present one. No merely political and economic means and methods can achieve that object. Only the moral and spiritual regeneration of both victors and vanquished, added to those means and methods of a non-vindictive character, can bring about the desired result.

Transformation of Force

Donald G. Lothrop writes in the *Christian Register Unitarian*, established in 1821 :

"Force is the stuff of existence. It must be exercised. Religion calls attention to the fact that force has levels and qualities of expression. There is moral

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force, the pressure of opinion; there is economic force; there is force which is violent and bloody. It is the task of the church and of religion to transform the force which is violent into force which is economic and that again into force which is moral. This is achieved by bringing to bear on the evil which force would eradicate, moral or economic force in sufficient quantity at the right time. Time and amount are factors in the creation of quality. A gentle push will deflect an object, a punch will kill it.

"All over the world the moral elements, the men of good will have tried to transform the lower form of force into a higher one. The philosophy of leagues of nations, of boycotts, embargoes, economic assistance, were all methods of achieving results which if applied at the right time and in large enough quantity would have brought defeat to the evils which are today threatening all civilization. The path of the history of this decade is strewn with the missed opportunities of destroying at their sources, fascism, racialism, nationalism, nazism and militarism. This war is the result of our failure. Because we failed, we fight. Or rather they are fighting.

"It is possible that in order to defend democracy in Britain and in the United States it will be necessary to transform the economic life and political life of the people so that liberty, equality and fraternity will be more real than ever before. It may be that Britain, in order to win the support necessary for existence, will have to free India and release the colonial peoples from imperialism. For our own democratic security it may be necessary to us to cause the republics of South America to become repuolican in fact as well as in name. In the tremendous population shifts now going on in the British Isles due to air raids, in the mixing of the classes in the country, in the subways and air-raid shelters, there is the stuff of social dynamite which may release the native impulses of good long held prisoner in the human heart."

"Building Up Of A Better Britain"

LONDON, March 26.

Following Lord Halifax's definition of Britain's aims Mr. Ernest Bevin today said that at the end of this struggle, our reconstruction would enter more deeply into the foundations of our national life than ever before. He visualized the building up of a better Britain and said that the new industrial revolution that must follow this war must undo the old industrial revolution that built our cities and slums. The task of this new industrial revolution, he said, will be the wiping out of slums, breaking down social barriers, free movement of people over the earth and a wider basis for our national life.—*Reuter.*

Where does India come in in this picture of a postwar Britain ?

Welcome News of American Help for Britain

When the Lease and Lend Bill was passed by the U. S. A. Congress and President Roosevelt got sanction for his seven thousand million dollar Bill for helping Britain, the news rightly rejoiced the hearts of all lovers of liberty throughout the world. For without American help Britain cannot win and cannot remain a free nation. And it is necessary that Britain should remain free.

We quite realize that British freedom does not mean or imply India's freedom. But whatever Britain's past and present treatment and the possibly similar future treatment of India, it is better that Britishers should remain free than that they should be a subject people like Indians. We do not want that they should be enslaved because we have been enslaved. The larger the number of free peoples in the world, the better would it be for all mankind.

We do not, of course, mean that we should be content to remain a subject people. Far from it. *We* must work out our own salvation. Freedom's battle was begun by our ancestors. We have to continue it. And if it be not won during our life time, we must pass on the flag of freedom to our children and children's children, if need be.

What America Should Have Done, If She Were Really World-Freedom-loving

There are, we presume and hope, numerous Americans who love liberty for all mankind. The late revered Dr. J. T. Sunderland was one of them. But as a nation the people of the United States of America have not yet shown that they desire that all peoples of the world should be free. By this we do not mean to say that the United States should have undertaken a crusade to put an end to all imperial sway in all parts of the world. What we mean is that the U. S. A. should seize all occasions and opportunities to signify in an effective manner its desire for freedom for all mankind. This it did not do on any previous suitable occasion which arose in India, nor has it done so in the present crisis through which Britain is passing.

It is not our contention that America's help to Britain is not meant to safeguard freedom. It is so meant. But this freedom is mainly the freedom of the West, of Europe, of Britain, and, of course, of America. America is helping Britain because her own safety may be imperilled, and also in her own economic interests. We get a glimpse of these economic interests in the following sentences from the February number of *The Living Age* of New York :

"Physically speaking, the British Isles are of little value to us, even if they survive; systematic destruction of their facilities (ports, communication-heads, industrial installations, etc.) continues unabated. We do want, however, tariff-free access to the vast markets of the Dominions and colonies. We want free access to their sources of tin, rubber, nickel, magnesium, gold, vegetable, ivory, and a long list of other raw materials. We are an unimportant nation in maritime facilities, and Britain is still the world's greatest (despite the losses by

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U-boat attack). We want a more responsible interest in the British Navy, and we could doubtless save millions in projected naval construction by a joint ownership of the British and American fleets."

In Lord Halifax's speech at the Pilgrim Society's dinner at New York on the 25th March last, there is an appeal to this American desire for economic advantage in the promise made that

"When victory is won it must be our aim to promote a common interest in the greatest possible interchange of goods and services."

We have strayed somewhat from our point, which is that, if America really meant to promote the cause of human freedom all over the world by helping Britain, she ought to have exacted an effective guarantee, before promising and giving her help, that India would be immediately treated as a Dominion *de facto* and would be given that status by Parliamentary statute within a definite short period after the conclusion of peace. Britain had stood and still stands and will stand so urgently in need of American help that if America had laid down that condition for her help, Britain would have been obliged to accept that condition. But in spite of all tall talk of world freedom and world democracy it is a sad and undeniable fact that America does not care a pin for the freedom of one-fifth of the whole human race dwelling in India. It is worse than a farce to remain indifferent to India's freedom and still go on talking of world freedom.

It is not that all Americans are unaware that that they owe a duty to the subject and exploited peoples of the world. The same article in *The Living Age* from which we have made an extract above discusses the subject of a "confederation of the United Kingdom and the United States, together with the Dominions, and eventually, the colonies and provinces (save India)." The advantages of such a merger have been discussed by that monthly. What it wants is to be found in the aforesaid extract. After that it asks and answers :

"What else ? The merger would give us a hand in eliminating colonial exploitation and abuses for which one class of the English people have been roundly damned since the late nineteenth century. Instead of repeating the hoary charges against British colonial abuses, we would have an opportunity of translating our idealism, too much of which is conversational, into deeds."

We have pointed out above how America could have translated its idealism into deeds without waiting for a merger of America and Britain by confederation.

The reader must have noted that *The Living Age* speculates that the British colonies and provinces may eventually come into the confederation, but it adds within brackets "*save India.*" Why ? Is it to be kept for exploitation by the suggested confederation ? Or is it, let us charitably suppose, to be made free and independent ?

Lord Halifax on the Nazi System

In criticising and condemning the Nazi system in the course of his Pilgrim Society's dinner speech in New York on the 25th March last,

Lord Halifax defined the Nazi system as "bondage bodily, spiritual, political and economic" and said, Hitler's "New Order" would divide the world into Germans as the master race and other nations as second class peoples with rights and interests subordinated to those of the ruling castes. For Europe such a system involved the shackling of industry and commerce, ruthless compulsion instead of free contract and the permanent enslavement of all peoples. But German ambitions did not stop to Europe. "Already Hitler is scheming to overrun great tracts of Africa and Asia."

Are the British people, Government and "system" entirely free from the faults of which the "Nazi system" is guilty ?

In the economic sphere everything depended upon such co-operation, but no party to such association should be ambitious to dominate its partners. Every nation, great and small, will have its place and make its own contribution.

Is this true of the British "system" ?

"In the British Commonwealth of Nations experience has taught us that nations differing greatly in numbers, wealth, race and social structure can yet freely associate together and the British Commonwealth bastion of world defence today may well become the bridge of greater world unity tomorrow. In many respects the world must be treated in future as a single whole. When victory is won it must be our aim to promote a common interest in the greatest possible interchange of goods and services." Britain was ready to participate in plans and promote economic co-operation on a worldwide scale. "Our aim will be prosperity justly shared."

Whatever may be true of the British *Commonwealth*, all this is not true of the British *Empire*, of which India is a part.

Air Raid Protection and Precautions

Large numbers of bombs may be dropped on Calcutta, we have been told. We have been officially instructed how we are to behave if bombs fall on our houses but not on our heads. We are not to throw water on the bombs—that may cause an explosion, and so on and so forth.

For large populations there can be no effective anti-air-raid shelters. Perhaps of all places in the British Empire London has got most and the best of them. Yet numerous men and women have been killed or disabled there as the result of Nazi air raids. The best way to deal with air raids is to repel or fell to the ground the

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raiding planes by anti-aircraft gun fire or by squadrons of fighting planes. But we are entirely in the dark as to how many anti-aircraft guns and fighter planes there are in Calcutta, Bengal, and India.

The best course for those who have no business in Calcutta is to go to and stay in their village homes, if they have any. At least a year or two before the war began we advised our readers in Prabāsi, and perhaps in *The Modern Review*, too, to keep their village homes in repair, with a view to seeking shelter there in case of need.

Why Calcutta, Etc., May Be Raided

Why is it that Burma, Assam, Bengal, Calcutta,...have to apprehend air raids? Not because these parts of the earth have any particular quarrel of their own with Japan, which, it is feared, may raid Burma and India because Britain supplies war materials to China and Japan is at war with China. Japan may also be egged on by Germany to raid Burma and India because Japan is an ally of the Axis Powers and the Axis Powers are enemies of Britain, the mistress of Burma and India.

So India's and Burma's apprehensions of air raids are due to the fact of their forming parts of the British *Empire*. If they had not been parts of the British *Empire*, they might or might have been at war with Germany and might or might not have directly or indirectly helped China with war materials, and thus might or might not have incurred the wrath of Germany and Japan.

Other countries in India which are not parts of the British Empire, for example Afghanistan, Iran, etc., do not apprehend air raids.

Hence, it is clear that if Burma and India be subjected to air raids and have to suffer in consequence, it will be a punishment which they will have to undergo for the sin of subjection.

Some may say that it is only a sin of omission:—sin of not doing what was necessary to preserve independence and of not doing, after liberty was lost, what was necessary to regain it. But a sin of omission is a sin all the same. And some Indians have been guilty of sins of commission, too, which brought about or which prolong the state of India's subjection.

Bengalis and "Hindustani"

In the course of his presidential address at the Sind Provincial Rāshtra Bhāshā Sammelan held last month, Kaka Kalelkar is reported to have said that "Even the Bengalis, including Dr. Tagore, had agreed that the common language of India must be Hindustani." This is not a correct statement. Some Bengalis—a small number—may hold that "Hindustani" should be the common language of India, but there is nothing to show that the bulk of them hold that opinion. A distinction must be made between Hindi, Urdu, and the hybrid called Hindustani which has still to be brought into existence. So far as our knowledge goes, most Bengalis are not in favour of making even Hindi India's common language.

As for Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, we remember this much that he said that that language which is spoken by the largest number should be India's common language, probably meaning Hindi. But I have still to learn that he has pronounced any opinion in favour of the artificial hybrid Hindustani.

The Language or Languages of Bihar Proper

The Patna, Benares and Calcutta Universities recognize Maithili as a separate language. It would be natural, therefore, to conclude that Maithili would be allowed to be the medium of primary education in its own home. But there appears to have been some undesirable attempts to prevent Maithil children from receiving elementary education through their mother-tongue, as the following newsletter published in the *Searchlight*, March 28 last, would show :—

MAITHILI AS MEDIUM

MADHIPURA, March 25.

At a largely attended meeting of the educated Maithili-speaking citizens of Madhipura held in the local Bar Assiciation only the other day, the following resolution was unanimously passed :

"Whereas on account of his laudable efforts the reasonable resolution of Prof. Amaranatha Jha that primary education be imparted to the Maithili-speaking children in Maithili was passed unanimously by the Bihar Educational Re-organisation Committee but in his absence and on account of the high personality of some of its members the same resolution was declared, without any rhyme or reason, null and void, this meeting of the educated Maithili-speaking public of Madhipura very strongly condemns this action and method of the Educational Re-organisation Committee and requests the said Committee not to deny this birth-right of the Maithili-speaking public and not to thrust upon them a difficult and foreign language like Hindustani and resolves that the privilege and right of Bengali, Gujrati, and Marathi-speaking children of receiving primary education in their own mother tongue be conferred upon the Maithili-speaking children also."

In the course of the informative article on Sir George Grierson which Dr. Sachchidānanda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, has contributed to *The Leader* of March 18 last, he writes :—

"Of his many other works *Bihar Peasant Life*—which is a dictionary of rural life and conditions in Bihar—and

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the grammars of Maithili and the other two dialects of the Bihari language, namely, Bhojpuri and Magahi, are all standard works on the subjects dealt with. Those who have come to believe that the standard forms of Hindi and Urdu are alone worth knowing will perhaps be surprised to learn that the Bhojpuri dialect of Bihari speech is spoken by an overwhelming majority of people in the Benares and Gorakhpur commissionerships in the province of Agra—and this fact is specifically mentioned in the chapter on "Language" in the official Gazetteer of each of the eight districts in these two Commissioners' divisions."

The reader will note that Dr. Sinha speaks of Maithili, Bhojpuri and Magahi being dialects of the Bihari language, not of Hindi. In fact Sir George Grierson has expressed the opinion that Bihari bears a closer affinity to Bengali than to Hindi.

How Mr. Amery Wants To Have All Indians' Support

LONDON, March 26.

The possibility of increasing India's war effort was discussed in the House of Commons when Mr. Gordon Macdonald (Labour) asked Mr. Amery whether it was the intention of the British Government to make a further effort to bring about fuller and more complete co-operation between the various important sections of opinion in India in order to increase the war effort of that country.

Mr. Amery replied the Government are most anxious to see such co-operation and have constantly in view the desirability of furthering it as far as action on their part can help to that end.

Sir Alfred Knox (Conservative): Is it not true that all Indians whose co-operation is really of value are already co-operating in the war effort?

Mr. Macdonald: Is it not true that there are many men imprisoned in India whose services would be of great value to the war effort?

Mr. Amery: I hope to have the support of all Indians.

Mr. Sorensen (Labour): Would Mr. Amery consider the release of those Indians imprisoned?

There was no reply.—*Reuter.*

Mr. Amery's method of having the support of *all* Indians consists in re-iterating an offer made on August 8, 1940, which no political party in India thought worth acceptance, in sending to prison thousands of patriotic Indian men and women who want "freedom of speech," and in not yet (29th March) making even a friendly gesture in response to the resolution passed at the Non-Party Leaders' Conference at Bombay held on the 13th and 14th March last.

Indian Propagandists of the British Government in U. S. A.

LONDON, March 27.

The recent departure of prominent Indians from England to the United States was the subject of questions in the House of Commons by Mr. Sorensen (Labour). He asked Mr. Amery "whether he would secure facilities for other Indians to proceed to the States whose views may not altogether coincide with those of Indians who had proceeded to the United States with facilities specially secured by him in order to present the British Government's viewpoint respecting India."

Mr. Amery: No Indians have been given special facilities to proceed to the United States for the purpose referred to in the question.

Mr. Sorensen: Do I understand that no Indians at all have proceeded recently to the United States in order to put forward the British viewpoint?

Mr. Amery: Indians have proceeded recently to the United States on business but not for the purpose of putting forward the Government case. On the other hand, I do not think it is for the British Government to send to the United States those who wish to state a case opposed to the Allies.—*Reuter.*

It may be literally true that the Indians who have proceeded to America from England have not been given *special* facilities. But it is true all the same that they have had facilities and have gone to America. Even ordinary facilities to proceed to America are not at present easily available. Hence even ordinary facilities may be quite correctly considered special facilities at present.

Again, it may be *literally* true that Indians have proceeded from England to America *on business* (what business?), but it may also be true, and it is believed that it is true, that they will also do propaganda work on behalf of the British Government in the ample leisure which they will enjoy after doing their, other, "business."

Mr. Amery was wrong in assuming and stating that Indians wanted to proceed to the United States "to state a case opposed to the Allies." Indians want to go to America to state the case for India's freedom and to expose the lie that India enjoys any substantial freedom worth speaking of.

Far from allowing Indians to go to America for that purpose, the authorities here do not allow those Indian journals to be sent to America which advocate the cause of Indian emancipation in unequivocal language.

Recent Condemnable Repressive Orders of Bengal Ministry

At an emergent meeting of the Indian Journalists' Association held on 28th March, 1941 at the office of the Association, Sj. Mrinal Kanti Bose presiding, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

This meeting of the Indian Journalists' Association places on record its considered opinion that the order issued by the Government of Bengal on the 23rd March, 1941 under the Defence of India Rules imposing restrictions on the publication of news, comments, correspondence, notices, statement, advertisement, illustrations, etc.

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relating to any communal disturbance in this Province, is too wide in its scope and is calculated to defeat the very end it has ostensibly in view, namely, the avoidance of further communal bitterness inasmuch as the suppression of correct news is likely to remove the check on abuse of power by the Executive Authorities and to encourage crimes by the lawless elements and further to foster to spread the alarmist rumours. The substitutions of Press Advisers' discretion for the Editors' responsibility, as contemplated by the order, cannot but be deeply resented by the Press. This meeting is further of opinion that the order is an instance of abuse of the powers conferred by the Defence of India Rules.

The meeting requests the Government to withdraw the orders and seek the willing co-operation of the Press in creating a peaceful atmosphere.

II. This meeting protests against the order of the Government of Bengal suspending the publication of the "Basumati" for a period of 3 weeks as uncalled for, harsh and altogether unjustified. The meeting urges upon the Government to withdraw the order.

In the event the consent of the Provincial Advisory Committee has not been taken by the Government before the passing of the order on the "Basumati," in the opinion of this Association the members of the Press Advisory Committee should resign in protest.

III. This meeting enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Executive Authorities in the districts prohibiting, under the Defence of India Rules, public meetings, processions and assemblies of all descriptions including such meetings as those of Teachers' Association, Educational Conferences and of other non-political and non-communal bodies, and notes with regret that meetings to celebrate the so-called Pakistan Day were allowed to be held in Calcutta and throughout Bengal in violation of the Government communique dated 22nd March, 1941, declaring that it "was most desirable that no meeting should be held to put forward the views of any particular community, since at this juncture such meetings may even inadvertently, be the cause of accentuating communal discord."

The meeting desires further to point out that certain newspapers of Calcutta have been allowed, with impunity, to encourage defiance of the Government order, a degree of indulgence that discriminates between one section of the Press and another.

This meeting urges upon the Government to take immediate steps to restore civil liberty for all and thereby remove the existence of suspicion, resentment and alarm, which in the opinion of this meeting is not a little responsible for the present communal situation.

This resolution, which has our wholehearted support, makes it unnecessary for us to write a separate note on the matters dealt with in it. It is necessary, however, only to add that the writing in the "Basumati" for which action has been taken against it under the Defence of India Act Rules, had nothing to do with the war or the prosecution of the war. Therefore, the order served on that paper is a clear abuse of the power given by the Act.

As regards the ban on meetings referred to in the resolution, it is to be noted that when it was officially stated that meetings meant for giving expression to the views and feelings of particular communities should not be held, it was ostentatiously made known by the Chief Minister and Minister Suhrawardy that instructions not to hold the Pakistan Day meetings had been issued. But they were held all the same *by order of Mr. M. A. Jinnah,* who evidently is the ruler of Bengal, not either the Bengal Ministry or the Governor of Bengal!

Shrimati Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital

The opening of the Shrimati Kamalā Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad on the 28th February last by Mahatma Gandhi with due ceremony and splendour marks a red letter day in the history of Allahabad. And not in the history of Allahabad alone. It shows the deep appreciation of the womanliness and the undaunted and untiring patriotism of a lady who, in spite of a fragile frame, fought the battle of India's freedom in a way which many persons of the opposite sex may well envy and emulate. She did all this impelled by inborn urge, roused to action by the inspiring examples of her father-in-law, mother-in-law and husband.

The hospital associated with Shrimati Kamalā's name is a fine and imposing building, where all comforts and the best medical treatment will be available to patients under the superintendence of Dr. Mrs. Satyapriyā Majumdar. As Mahatma Gandhi observed in his speech in opening the hospital, it is meant specially and mainly for poor women, though the accommodation provided and the other arrangements are such that even mahārānis, when ill, might like to be patients there.

"Journalism" and "Literature"

It is popularly thought that all journalists are guilty of journalese and that it is only writers of books who are entitled to take rank as litterateurs. As a protest against this view a gentleman whose name and present address we cannot trace sent us some years ago a two-paragraph note of which the second paragraph seems to go to the other extreme, putting forward a rather extravagant claim for journalism. But we print it below for whatever it may be worth, if only as a corrective to the popular notion. We accidentally came across these two paragraphs while searching for something else among some old letters and jottings.

"In 1932, Andre Chaumeix, a journalist who has never been anything but a journalist, who has no published book, not even a pamphlet, to his credit, who has written almost nothing but editorials for the "Journal des Debats" of Paris, has been admitted to such august company as that of the Immortals of the famous

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French Academy. (From the Introduction to *Fleet Street* by W. W. Cobbett).

"This significant event deals the 'coup de grace' to the literary snobbery which gives journalism a bad name, namely "Journalese," and then hangs it. Considered in retrospect, it is the culmination of a movement, the principles of which were never more aggressively stated than by Bernard Shaw when, in replying to Max Nordau, he put forward the claim that all true literature is derived from journalism and that nothing that is not derived from journalism is literature. N. C. M."

Conciliation and Appeasement

It is a maxim dictated by the highest spiritual and moral idealism that no one should be despised and none given any just cause of offence. But those who consider themselves practical politicians try to conciliate only those who have the power to hurt or hinder but can also help if pleased.

Allahabad Municipal Mahila Shilpa Bhawan

The Allahabad Municipal Mahila Shilpa Bhawan teaches adult women various handicrafts by which they can become earning members of their families. During our short visit to Allahabad last month we had the pleasure of seeing its classes at work. It is a very useful institution, run by the Trade and Industries Development Committee of the Allahabad municipal board. At the annual function of the school, which came off on the 23rd March last, Mrs. Lakshmi Panna Lall, wife of Dr. Panna Lall, an advisor to the U. P. Governor, spoke as follows, in part, before giving away the prizes :—

Though it was true that attention had been directed for some time to the education of women as of men, yet that was not sufficient, because women suffered from many difficulties and disabilities which mere book education could not remove. There was a large section of women, particularly in the cities, who had to look after big families with a small income, and it was essential for them to find some means of supplementing that income. It was only women who could understand and truly appreciate the condition of such women. It was to meet that situation that the Government had four years ago, decided to establish institutions where adult women could be taught handicrafts. It was originally intended to open such schools in six places, but partly for want of funds and largely owing to the absence of sincere and selfless workers it was only in Allahabad that the institution developed on a firm basis. The credit for that was due to Shrimati Prabha Banerji, who was an indefatigable worker in all causes relating to the improvement of the condition of men and women in the city, and under her guidance and that of the committee the Government, which originally gave grant of Rs. 500, raised it to Rs. 1,000 and now Rs. 2,500.

Addressing the women students, Mrs. Panna Lall said that it was a matter of pride and self-respect to be able to earn oneself and to contribute to the family income, and it was now the recognized view of women in all civilized countries that to be economically dependant upon one's relations was not a desirable position to be in. She hoped that the students who had been trained by this institution would discharge their obligation to it by training other women in their turn.

Mrs. Panna Lall congratulated Lady Drake-Brockman, Mrs. Bannerji, and the committee, on the successful year's work, and hoped that the requests made in the report would receive the favourable consideration of Government.

The words addressed by Mrs. Panna Lal deserve particular attention on the part of women of well-to-do families.

Hindu Mahasabha Not Anti-Congress

According to Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu the object of the Hindu Mahasabha is to supplement the efforts of the Congress, not to supplant that body. That is substantially true. He has also expressed the opinion that Hindu unity is aimed at by the Hindu Mahasabha. That is a noble object.

As the object of the Mahasabha is not to supplant the Congress, may it be hoped that some of its leaders who frequently attack the Congress will refrain from doing so ?

A sine qua non of Hindu unity is the recognition both in theory and practice of the dignity as human beings of all Hindus, whatever their caste and station in life, and their equal status as members of society.

When Hindu unity has been achieved to such an extent as to make Hindus confident that they can make India free even without the help and perhaps also in spite of the opposition of the Muslim League, then alone British imperialism may cease to patronise the Muslim League as a tool in its hands to baffle India's endeavour to be free.

"All-India Languages"

Sj. Amarendranath Chattopādhyāya and Pandit Lakshmikānta Maitra, members of the Central Assembly, had asked that the official periodical *Indian Information* be published in Bengali, Assamese and Oriya also. They had not asked that these languages or any of them should be recognized as "all-India languages." But in reply the Home Member is reported to have pointed out that that paper was printed in English, Hindi and Urdu and that the remaining languages were not "all-India languages." Though English is read and understood by a very small number of Indians, it may be called

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an all-India language because it is the language of the British Government. But the other two languages are neither read nor spoken nor understood by the bulk of the people of India.

Some people have very hazy notions as to the numbers of people who speak Hindi or Urdu. The United Provinces are believed to be the home of these languages. Yet, as Dr. Sachchidānanda Sinha has written, not to speak of Bihar proper, *dialects of the Biharee language* are spoken in eight districts of U. P. comprised in the Benares and Gorakhpur commissionerships.

The claim of either Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani to be made India's Rāshtra Bhāsha cannot be discussed in a brief note. But it may be observed in passing that our editorial comments on the subject, Professor Murlidhar's articles on it in this journal, and Professor Surendranath Deva's Bengali paper on it, read at last month's Allahabad Bengali Literary Reunion under the presidentship of Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee and published in the leading Bengali dailies, have not yet been discussed or answered.

The absurdity of the Muslim League's claim that Urdu is the language of Muslims all over India can be proved in many ways. But it becomes quite evident from the fact that out of the 33,332 candidates for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University this year only 477 chose to answer their papers in Urdu. And presumably these 477 were non-Bengali Muslims.

Panjab Hindu Young Men Honour Dr. S. P. Mukerji

Last month the Hindu Young Men's Association of the Panjab held a reception at Lahore in honour of Dr. Shyāmā Prasad Mukerji.

Among those present were Mr. Justice Bakhshi Tek Chand, Raja Narendra Nath, Sir Daya Kishen Kaul, Bhai Parma Nand, Mr. Ganga Saran, L. Jagan Nath Aggarwal, Mr. J. G. Bhandari, Principal G. D. Sondhi, Principal Niyogi, Col. D. H. Rai, Pt. Thakur Dutta Multani, Dr. K. R. Chaudhuri, Prof. Shiv Dyal, Dr. Prem Nath, R. B. Ishwar Das, Prof. D. C. Sharma and R. S. Ram Jawaya Kapur. After the guests had been entertained to tea, Prof. Hira Lal Chopra read out the address of welcome, which described Dr. Mukerjee as "a great son of a great father and a distinguished representative and exponent of the grand and glorious religion."

In the course of the tributes paid to Dr. Mukerji, a pointed reference was made to the fact that Dr. Mukerji had infused new life into the Mahasabha.

Dr. Mukerjee said that he felt greatly distressed over feelings of provincial jealousies. He was confident, however, that the Hindu Mahasabha would provide a common platform to all those who regarded India as their Fatherland and that they would soon see the glory of the old which enriched the name of India.

Dr. Mukerjee emphasised the need of establishing closer contacts between the Hindus of various provinces for the solution of their common problems.—*The Tribune.*

Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman

By the untimely death of Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, a judge of the Federal Court, India has lost an eminent citizen of whom all Indians could be proud. He distinguished himself not only as a practising lawyer and jurist and as judge but also as a scientific researcher in mathematical physics.

Hindu Minorities Conference in Lahore

The conference of the Hindus of Bengal, Panjab, Sind and the N.-W. F. Provinces held last month at Lahore was a gathering of very great importance. The addresses of Raja Narendranath, chairman of the reception committee, and of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji, president of the conference, were masterly productions. No extracts made from them can do them justice. Some of the other speeches made at the conference were also very telling. The resolutions passed all deserve attention. We regret we have no space to reproduce these in their entirety or in great part.

Raja Narendra Nath's Address

In Raja Narendra Nath's address, which is a well-documented paper of historic importance, he drew pointed attention to the fact that though the Hindus are a majority in India as a whole, they are a minority in the provinces of Bengal, Panjab, Sind and the N.-W. F. Province, as delimited by the British Government. That Government has paid effective attention in its own way only to the fact that the Muslims are a minority, practically ignoring the fact that the Hindus are a minority in four provinces. The object of the Hindu Minority Conference was to call attention to the plight of the Hindus in these provinces.

The Raja Sahib has treated his subject according to a historical method and has appended to his address relevant extracts from the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the Indian Statutory Commission Report, Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Report of the Indian Franchise Committee, the constitution of Czechoslovakia, the Treaty of Turkey, the Charter Act of 1833, the Government of India Acts of 1911 and 1935, the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor, and the British North America Act, 1867.

The Raja Sahib's address has been printed

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in pamphlet form. Publicists would do well to procure copies for reference and use.

Dr. Mukerji's Address at Hindu Minorities Conference

We do not know whether the presidential address of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukerji has been printed in pamphlet form. From the major portion of it printed in *The Tribune* its authoritative character is evident, and hence it would require to be referred to on many future occassions.

Dr. Mukerji began his address by referring to and dwelling on the British Government's pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu policy. He described one of the objects of the Hindu Mahasabha as follows :

> The Hindu Mahasabha lays down that one of its essential objects is to establish good relationship with all other communities and to work with them in harmonious co-operation for achieving the common good of India.
>
> Indeed we are fully prepared to offer equal rights of citizenship to all persons professing diverse races and religions but residing in India, subject to only one condition. That condition is that they must identify themselves without reservation with India's joys and sorrows, will claim no separate entity of their own and will be sons and daughters of Hindustan first and anything else next. The rights of minorities can be settled according to well-defined policies of adjustment enunciated by the League of Nations and so long as different communities solemnly undertake not to dominate over one another in respect of their cultural and religious rights, equal opportunities for all may be guaranteed in the constitution itself. The policy enunciated by the Hindu Mahasabha is the only policy that can be consistently pursued in relation to the present conditions in India. Ours is not a communal organisation in the sense that we are anxious to fulfil the ambitions of our community as such by depriving other communities of their legitimate rights or by lowering the flag of India herself. All that we say is that the systematic and persistent sacrifices of Hindu rights have created an intolerable situation and we are not prepared to permit any constitutional edifice to be erected on the ashes of the Hindus.

Some Resolutions of the Hindu Minorities Conference

The basic resolution of the Hindu Minorities conference was moved by Rai Bahadur Lala Durga Das. It emphatically affirmed its faith in pure nationalism and demanded complete elimination of communalism and separatism from the future constitution of India. The mover condemned the Communal Award with all the strength he could command. "The Hindu, who was essentially a patriot," said he, "wanted a fair deal and no favour at all. All that he wanted was that communalism should go bag and baggage." This declaration on the part of a Hindu in a province where, other things being equal, pure democracy would inevitably result in power passing into the hands of the non-Hindu majority, shows the essentially different character of the Hindu Mahasabha from that of the Muslim League.

> Bhai Parmanand moved a resolution declaring that the problems of Hindus of all the provinces were so interlinked that unless they decided to act together the existence of Hindus in the minority provinces was in great danger.
>
> The conference therefore urged upon the Hindus of those provinces where they were in majority to return such members to the Assemblies and other local bodies as can protect their rights not only in their own provinces but also in the provinces where the Hindus are in minority.

It is really a tragedy that the plight of the Hindus in the Hindu minority provinces has failed to evoke the active and effective sympathy of most Hindus in the Hindu majority provinces.

Government of India Delhi Polytechnic

We are indebted to the office of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, New Delhi, for some papers relating to the Government of India Delhi Polytechnic. It is open to students from all provinces. But as "applications of candidates other than those on the registers of the Government High School, Delhi, must reach the Principal, Delhi Polytechnic, on the prescribed form by the 31st March, 1941," it would serve no useful purpose this year to publish an account of the school in this issue. We would have been glad if we had been placed in a position to do so in our last March number, if not earlier. However, we thank the office all the same, and state briefly that

> The Polytechnic will be a novel institution in this country. There will be a technical high school which will impart both cultural and practical education, and, if any scholars so wish, they may either go on to the University for higher studies or migrate to the industries. In the senior sections there will be vocational instructions both in the day and night for advanced students already engaged in industries or otherwise. There will also be facilities for "further training" on a part-time basis for those young men who may be spared for a few hours in the week by their employers to attend the course and the whole institution will be run in close co-ordination with the industrial employers in this country. There will be a hostel and residential facilities will be provided, as students from all over India will be allowed to join.

Uniform Scientific Terminology for India

We thank the Central Advisory Board of Education in India, New Delhi, for a copy of "Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India held at

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Madras on the 11th and 12th January, 1941," published on the 25th March last. We have no time even to refer cursorily in the issue to all the important items dealt with by the Board at their last meeting. But we may just refer to the personnel of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India and of the Scientific Terminology Committee of the Board. The Board appears to consist of 30 members, of whom 19 are officials, ten being Directors of Public Instruction. In the case of Bengal the Director of Public Instruction does not figure in the Board, Dr. W. A. Jenkins having been taken instead. There is no reason why scientists, litterateurs and educationalists who are not officials should be poorly represented in such a Board. There are two ladies, one Indian and one English, and the Lord Bishop of Lahore in the Board. Regionally considered, Bengal, which contains at least one-seventh of the population of India and is not particularly backward in literacy, education and science, is represented in a Board of thirty by only one member, namely, Dr. R. C. Majumdar. And even this single representative of Bengal is not in the Scientific Terminology Committee of the Board.

This Committee consists of 11 members, 8 appointed by the Board and three co-opted by the 8 appointed members. Among the 8 appointed members of the Committee there were three members to say what was necessary about scientific terminology in Urdu, derived from Arabic and Persian. Nevertheless, out of the three to be co-opted two again were taken to strengthen the group of three who could speak for Urdu. We know Professor Amaranātha Jhā is a linguist and a scholar. But if five members were required to plead for "Perso-Arabic" terminology, was one member sufficient to represent the real terminological achievements of the Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, and Assamese languages? Is there a linguistic-scientific Communal Award?

As regards the grouping of Indian languages, the Committee recommended that they be divided into two main groups, (i) Hindustani, & (ii) Dravidian. In a note of dissent Pandit Amaranātha Jhā rightly objecting, suggested that there should be three rather than wo groups, namely, (1) Sanskritic, (2) Perso-Arabic, and (3) Dravidian. The Board overriding both the Committee and the Pandit concluded that there should be two, Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic! Where are the Dravidian languages? Professor Jhā's division was better.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Calcutta Convocation Address

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Calcutta University Convocation Address was characterized by thorough grasp of the topics he dealt with therein and by breadth of view and dignity. While declaring that the province to which he belonged has had its own cultural heritage and that an independent school of thought has been growing up there, he gracefully acknowledged the debt which it owes to Bengal and the Calcutta University, which he called the premier university in India. He paid a handsome tribute to Bengal's achievements in social reform, politics, literature, art, science, history and journalism. Said he :—

> "I am not ignoring the differences that divide us. I do not consider it just or wise to ignore them, and yet taking together the things that divide us and the things that unite us, I say it is by no means unfair to hold that those who live in India, whatever their religion or philosophy of life and from whatever part of the world their ancestors may have come, are a nation."
>
> "Today the fundamental problem which we have to solve, is the freedom of India, that is to say, the achievement by her of a position and the attainment of powers which may enable her to mould her future according to her best judgment and give her a place of equality and honour in the comity of nations."

In his opinion, what was wanted was fertile unity, not desolating disunity. He pointed out how the universities could bring about such unity.

> "Let the Universities rise superior to the tyranny of slogans and let them take stock of the situation as it is and of the forces working round them and let them gaze upon the future steadily and advise the country accordingly. Let them be the seed-beds of a fertile unity and not the breeding places of a desolating disunity."

Speaking of the process of the evolution of a common culture which had been ceaselessly at work during the last four or five centuries, Sir Tej Bahadur said,

> "We have been witnessing in our own times the growth of a culture which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Moslem nor wholly English. It is a mixture of all. I do not regret it. On the contrary, I read in it the message and prophecy of a future in which when the dust and din of the present-day controversies which divide man from man and community from community, will have disappeared, each one of us will be able truthfully to say that India is neither my heritage nor yours, but a common culture."

What Is Culture?

In Calcutta recently more than one cultural conference has been held in which students largely participated, and a Students' Cultural Club has been also formed of which the inaugural meeting was addressed by Professor Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Prof. K. P. Chattopādhyāya and

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Prof. D. N. Mukhopādhyāya under the presidentship of Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, who also spoke.

All this shows that there is a desire to know all about culture—particularly perhaps among students. To these young friends of ours, therefore, we may racommend a book on *Culture* by Major B. D. Basu, which treats of self-culture, social culture and race culture and brings together some of the best thoughts of many prominent thinkers on the subject. It is to be had of the Panini Office, Allahabad.

Raja Janakinath Roy

Raja Janakinath Roy of Bhagyakul has passed away at the age of 93, full of years and honours. Throughout these long decades he led a pure, well-regulated life and was noted for his industry, business acumen, spirit of enterprise, as well as for his benevolence. He along with his brothers founded the East Bengal River Steam Service. He was one of the founders of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. With the co-operation of his son and nephews and some friends he established the United Industrial Bank. The first jute mill owned and established by Bengalis, namely, the Premchand Jute Mill, was established by him with the help of his son and nephews and named after his father. It is not merely with the foundation of these business concerns that he was connected. He helped in the establishment of some educational and other institutions for public good also, *e.g.*, the Carmichael Medical College.

The Mission to Lepers

A Report of the sixty-sixth year's work in India and Burma of the Mission to Lepers has been long lying on our table. It is a record of loving work done most unselfishly for, perhaps, the most despised and neglected class of human beings. The report is illustrated and contains statistics of Homes for 1939 and particulars of contributions received by the Indian Auxiliary from the 1st September, 1939, until 31st August, 1940. All contributions are to be sent to A. Donald Miller, Esquire, Purulia (Manbhum).

C. F. Andrews Memorial

The fifth of April is the first anniversary of the ascension of the saintly Dinabandhu Andrews. Mahatma Gandhi has repeated his appeal for five lakhs of rupees for a proper memorial to this great friend of humanity whose love and labours did not know any distinction of creed, race, caste or colour, and who was a true sannyāsin who did not want to call anything his own and was not attached to any earthly possessions. Our earnest prayer is that the Mahatma's appeal may call forth a full and quick response.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at Anti-Communal Conference

"I am a Khudai Khidmatgar. I regard myself, as every Khudai Khidmatgar does, a servant of India and to us Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsees are all members of one large family or brotherhood, linked by many a common tie," said Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, while speaking at the Anti-Communal Conference held in Lahore on the 9th March last under the presidentship of Lala Duni Chand, M.L.A. There was a very large attendance of the people of Lahore of all creeds and castes. In the course of his speech the Khan explained why Khudai Khidmatgars joined Congress: "It helped us in dark days of repression." "The Muslim League refused to do anything for us."

Lala Duni Chand, while opening the conference, extended a hearty welcome to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who, he said, represented the greatest anti-Communal force in India. The Khan, he said, was a patriot of the first rank and had a very large share in the anti-Communal movement in the country. He lived the life of a patriot and his voice carried weight with his people who held him in the highest esteem.

Satyagraha

Satyagraha has been going on in all provinces with unabated enthusiasm under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi.

Bengal Ministry Still Considering Adult Education Scheme!

In the course of the debate on the Bengal Budget in the Bengal Legislative Assembly:

Mr. Satya Priya Banerjee moved a cut motion to criticise the want of a definite policy in the matter of adult education. He said that the problem of adult education was vast, and complex. Referring to what had been done in other countries of the West and even in some of the Congress-governed provinces of India, Mr. Banerjee said that the Bengal Government ought to hang down their heads in shame on account of their performance in this connection during the four years they had been in office. The magnificent sum of Rs. 79,000 which was provided in last year's budget could not be spent in full. They did not know what would happen to this year's provision. He whole-heartedly supported the proposal of Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali for providing five lakhs of rupees for adult education.

Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan said that the Government attached great importance to adult education. It was not that Bengal had done nothing for adult education. Besides maintaining a large number of night schools, 150,000 persons received adult education under Government auspices. Of course, they were not satisfied with what had been done. Government had a comprehensive scheme under consideration under which not

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only Government but District Boards and local bodies would also be asked to bear their share. Under the scheme which was under consideration the sum of rupees five lakhs even did not seem sufficient. When that scheme materialised in the course of the next ten years they hoped to make a great headway, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali's scheme, he promised, would be given due consideration.

The minister, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, could not deny Mr. Satya Priya Banerji's charge that last year's "magnificent" budget allotment of Rs. 79,000 for adult education was not spent in full. But was anything at all spent? If so, how much? If not, why? What was the Government scheme which, the minister said, was being considered? For how long has it been under consideration? A scheme was also formulated ere this and some committees also were appointed. But all these came to nothing. Is it true, wholly or partly, that 150,000 adults received education under Government auspices? Where are the education centres? Who are the superintending officers? What are the amounts of Government aid? Have non-official organizations like the Bengal Adult Education Association been helped by Government? What arrangements have been made for the preparation and publication of adult education literature, charts, posters, etc?

Proposed Assam University

The more of sound education there is in the country the better. Therefore the idea of establishing a university for Assam is in itself good. But the desire to have it merely for the sake of something separate to call one's own cannot be supported. It must be deserving of the name of a University. Can Assam provide the money to build up and equip the institutions which are to form the University? And not the money alone. Men are required who can carry on the research, teaching and other work of the University.

Moreover, a preliminary question has to be answered. When the Sylhet district was tacked on to Assam, Government gave an assurance to its people that they would never be deprived of the advantages of the Calcutta University and the Calcutta High Court. If this promise be kept, as it should be, would Assam *minus* practically the Surma Valley be able to manage and maintain a separate University?

It has also to be considered whether Assam would be educationally better off under a separate University than under the Calcutta University. What cannot the Calcutta University do for Assam which the proposed Assam University will do, provided the Calcutta University gets the money required for a separate University for Assam? A separate University would swallow up a large sum in overhead charges, which would not be the case with the existing Calcutta University.

Acharya Ray Jayanti Chemical and Pharmaceutical Exhibition

The chemical and pharmaceutical exhibition opened in connection with the celebration of the 80th birthday of Sir P. C. Ray is a quite appropriate way to inaugurate it. Sir N. N. Sircar naturally laid stress on the importance of scientific research in his inaugural speech.

Gandhiji on National Week

In a statement issued in connection with the observance of the National Week from the 6th to the 13th April, 1941, Mahama Gandhi lays stress upon (1) achieving self-purification through fasting on the 6th and 13th and (2) increasing mass consciousness by greater concentration on constructive work.

"Independence the Remedy"

The Indian Express begins an article with the above heading thus:

> "The British Empire knows no British Citizenship," sententiously states General Smuts. This is good sense and sound constitutional law, as Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has pointed out.

And ends it thus:

> The remedy for the intolerable hardships and indignities which make Indians helots wherever they go, is for India to secure the status of an independent country. Indian nationals can then stand four square against the world, conscious that the mother country will ensure for them their rights and protect them from iniquitous laws and undignified treatment.

"Militarization of Hindus"

The Hindu Mahasabha has resolved upon militarizing the Hindus. Militarization is not the highest ideal, but Hindus will have to pass through militarization to reach that ideal.

"Caste System" In Army To Go

It is good news that the Commander-in-Chief's following amendment to a resolution moved in the Council of State by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru has been passed unanimously there:

> "This Council, while recognising that, to begin with, the Army could be most speedily expanded only on the existing basis of recruitment, recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Army authorities should now review sources of manpower throughout the country and should exclude no class or area from consideration for recruitment in the formation of new units."

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Dr. H. J. Bhabha, F.R.S.

We congratulate Dr. H. J. Bhabha of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, on his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society.

No Recognition of Communal Unions

By 48 votes to 17 the Central Assembly has rightly voted down the Moslem League party's resolution urging recognition of communal unions of Government employees.

Congratulations to Sir C. V. Raman

We congratulate Sir. C. V. Raman on the award to him of the medal of the Franklyn Institute, U. S. A.

Provincial Quotas for I. C. S. Candidates

The reasons assigned for the decision to restrict the number of I.C.S. candidates are too flimsy to require criticism. The provincial quotas assigned show that in the opinion of the Government there are at present not enough causes for provincial jealousies and bickerings. Bombay has been assigned 22 candidates and the Panjab 48. According to the census of 1931, Bombay's population was about 18 millions and that of the Panjab about 24 millions. So if the Panjab has 48, Bombay should have 36. Apart from the unjust proportion, the assignment of quotas is itself a vicious principle, as is also the restriction of the number of candidates.

Panjab Government's Communal Harmony Scheme

The Panjab Government has formulated a scheme for the promotion of communal harmony, comprising eight items and has provided Rs. 100,000 in its budget for giving effect to the scheme. The following items are not open to objection and may be approved :

> Collection of authentic historical incidents indicating tolerance and respect for the susceptibilities of the followers of other religions on the part of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Rulers both past and present, organisation of lectures by eminent leaders on communal harmony, prizes for essays by college and senior school students on the subject, encouragement of activities initiated for common celebration of certain festiva's, encouragement of the study by students of scriptures of religions other than their own, and common celebration of the birthdays of the founders of all religions.

But an item like the following cannot be approved :

> "The encouragement of newspapers and magazines of good standing which studiously refrain from indulging in communal politics."

What are communal politics ?

Ministries like those of the Panjab and Bengal must give up their communal policies altogether and the British Government must knock on the head the Communal "Award," if they really want to promote communal harmony.

The Suggested Islamic University in Bengal

We have read the press note relating to the suggested Islamic University for Bengal. "University" would be too grandiose a name to be given to it. Large numbers of Mussalmans disregard non-Muslim opinion on matters relating to their community. Nevertheless, we venture to say that the proposed "University," if brought into existence, would not help the Muslims to become a truly enlightened community in the modern sense. In any case, if the Muslims want it, they alone should pay for it, not the general tax-payer.

Postponement of General Elections

The postponement of the general elections which is apprehended, would be depriving the electors of their rights.

Yugoslavia

The bloodless counter-revolution in Yugoslavia breaks the spell of Hitler's invincibility and changes the European picture.

Sino-Japanese War

On the whole the Chinese appear to be making headway.

Forty-first Year of "Prabasi"

The Bengali magazine "Prabāsi" has completed the fortieth year of its uninterrupted regular publication under the same editorship throughout.

Pakistan Condemned By Increasing Numbers of Muslims

The condemnation of the Pakistan scheme by large sections of Mussalmans grows apace.

Completion of Eightieth Year By Rabindranath

The completion of the eightieth year of his life by Rabindranath Tagore in May next will be celebrated by the Calcutta University and in numerous other places in the country.

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STATISTICAL SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION

By Professor P. C. MAHALANOBIS
Hon. Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute

Votes and the Voice of the People

The late Lord Bryce, whose fervent advocacy as well as keen analysis of democratic government would be difficult to match, stated in his celebrated work, *Modern Democracies*, that what constituted the vital impulse of democracy was "the conception of a happier life for all, coupled with a mystic faith in the People, that great multitude through whom speaks the voice of the Almighty Power that makes for righteousness." As is evident from the context, Bryce wrote these lines with reference to the growth of the democratic idea in the post-French Revolution period. But the mystic faith in the people that he mentions was no new sentiment, as he was well aware, for he starts on his study of the actual working of democratic governments with a description of the self-governing communities of ancient Greece. Even his language seems to have imbibed the atmosphere of antiquity, echoing as it does what was a stock political formula in Republican Rome.

But granting that the deification of the people is the essence of the democratic idea, how is the god, once enthroned, to exercise his powers? The ancient Greek and Roman republics provided an answer to the question by inventing the Vote, an instrument for countig rather than breaking heads as J. R. Lowell described it. In the tiny city-states of the ancient world, heads were few and counting them presented little difficulty whenever an issue arose upon which the citizens were called upon to express an opinion. If the same procedure were to be followed in a modern state with its vast size, there would be so many millions of heads to count almost daily that the business of government would become a perpetual census operation. So the modern states have sought refuge in indirect democracy, calling upon their god to reveal his will, once in a while, through the General Election and then putting him to bed with the assurance that his will shall be faithfully worked out by his trusted agents—the members of the popular assemblies. In between General Elections, particular issues may crop up requiring an immediate solution and then the voice of the people may be invoked through such devices as the Initiative or the Referendum. The principle is the same in all cases: it is the citizens exercising a direct control upon the government by voting either upon a given question or for a candidate. But the business of government is a continuous one, while opportunities for exerting such direct control occur at more or less long intervals. And during these intervals circumstances may change so materially as completely to alter the balance of political views. A popular government can remain indifferent to such changes only at its peril. That is why politicians set such great store by Public Opinion—the influence of which upon the conduct of the administration constitutes the dynamic of democratic government.

> "Public Opinion," says Bryce, "when and so far as it can be elicited, is an organ or method through which the people can exert their power more elastic and less pervertible than is the method of voting."

It is to be noted that Bryce was careful to introduce after "Public Opinion" the qualification, "when and so far as it can be elicited": his acute mind did not overlook the difficulti. in the way of ascertaining it. He discusses in turn and dismisses the press and the platform—neither of them is a sure index of what the people really think. He warns us against opinion that is the result of local circumstances, rather than that of a general movement of political feeling, as also artificially created and factious opinion. "Against all these sources of error," says he, "the observer must be on his guard"—words which might well be uttered from the presidential platform of a statistical conference.

Mass-Observation

But how, then, is Public Opinion to be ascertained? Bryce recommends that the best way this can be done is by "moving freely about among all sorts and conditions of men and noting how they are affected by the news or the arguments brought from day to day to their knowledge." He thus enunciates the principle of sociological enquiry developed in England, about two decades later, under the name of "Mass-Observation," a phrase which has become known the world over as the title of a Penguin Special in which the joint authors, Charles Madge and Tom Harrisson, give a

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popular account of the experiment, which they themselves initiated.

Experiments in Great Britain

The first Mass-Observation experiment was started in Great Britain in February 1937, by thirty people who participated in it. A report on the first year's work (1937-38) edited by Charles Madge and Tom Harrison (Lindsay Drummond, 3/6d) gives a general description of the movement the object of which is primarily scientific and sociological. The work is carried out entirely by voluntary observers drawn from all classes of people. Any one can be an observer. Mass-Observation is not a whole time job—most of the observers are busy people with jobs of their own; and no expert training is demanded.

Three different types of surveys have been undertaken so far :—Day Surveys, Area Surveys and Specific Surveys of selected social habits and institutions such as smoking, reading, going to public houses, church attendance and religious activities, voting at elections, etc. In the Day-Surveys starting from February 12th, 1937, observers were asked on the twelfth of each month to give a careful and factual description of what happened to them in the course of their normal activities during the whole or a part of the day. The origial purpose of the Day-Surveys was to collect a mass of data, without any selective principle, as a preliminary to deatiled studies of carefully chosen subjects. In 1937-38 a total of 1,730 reports were received, containing approximately 2,300,000 words. This work was continued in 1938; later the surveys on the twelfth of each month were suspended, but surveys of special days, *e.g.*, Easter, Bank Holidays, Armistice Day, Coronation Day, etc., were continued.

In the Area-Surveys the object is somewhat different. In 1937, for example, half a dozen observers went to live in a working class quarter of a big Lancashire industrial town. Instead of observing the details of their own daily lives the observers set to work to record human activity in this town. A parallel survey was started in Blackpool. These were primarily experiments in social recording, the object being to collect first-hand information (on the lines of surveys of primitive populations) for anthropological and sociological studies of civilised people.

In Specific-Surveys a particular social habit or institution is selected and information is gathered either through a deatiled questionnaire or through personal interviews. Preliminary reports have been published on such subjects as smoking habits, going to public-houses and beer drinking, "Football Pools" in industrial centres, popular entertainments, religious activities, etc.

As already stated observers are drawn from various strata of society. It is admitted that opinions given by the observers are bound to be subjective. It is, however, contended that for sociological (and psychological) purposes the more sincere and spontaneous and hence the more subjective the observations the more valuable they are for scientific analysis and classification. In other words, the Mass-Observers in this movement are supposed to function as what is technically known in Ethnology as "Informants." Their statements and observations furnish the primary material on which all subsequent scientific analysis must be based. Here the first and foremost emphasis is on the inner consistency of the documents.

Survey of Public Opinion

Systematically conducted experiments in Mass-Observation will, it may be expected, yield results of great sociological value, especially among the proverbially mute masses of a country like India. Mass-Observation has however its limitations. While invaluable as a method for revealing aspects of the minds of individuals as well as groups, that remain ordinarily hidden from the view, it is inadequate as an instrument for the quantitative measurement of public opinion on specific issues. But since popular government is government by the sovereign majority, it is numbers that rule political affairs. But is there any method for the numerical assessment of public opinion apart from elections, which, because of their expense, must needs be held at long intervals ? The answer that Bryce gave to this question in his classic volume, *The American Commonwealth*, was in the negative. The first drawback to the rule of public opinion, he declared, was the impossibility of ascertaining it on specific questions of public policy.

Early Experiments in the United States

The American Commonwealth was published in 1888. As early as five years before that the editor of an American newspaper was using the principle of sampling, not indeed as the statisticians understand it today, but in a crude though effective way, to speed up his reporting of election returns. Referring to this fact, George Gallup, who has given his name to the world famous American Institute of Public Opinion, observes : "But even as Bryce wrote, the germ of an idea had been grasped by a few American newspapermen."

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This idea caught on, as ideas have the habit of doing in the United States, and was soon being widely applied by newspapers all over the country for sampling public opinion in between elections or immediately before them as a forecast of their results.

The Failure of Straw Votes

The technique consists in inviting opinion on specific questions or groups of questions which are widely circulated through the post, the press or over the radio. In the case of questions circulated by the post, or through newspapers and journals, it is usual to provide voting papers which every recipient is requested to fill in and return to the issuing office; hence the name of "straw votes" often used in this connexion. In the United States the method of straw votes has been used by big newspapers like the *New York Herald*, the *Columbus Dispatch* and the *Cincinnati Enquirer* for forecasting results of elections for more than thirty years. In 1920 the *Literary Digest* started nationwide canvasses on such questions as prohibition and the soldiers' bonus, and on presidential candidates. In these polls ballots were distributed to millions of people all over the United States, and the returns were liberally reported in the newspapers and over the radio which attracted a great deal of attention and served to bring this method into prominence in the public eye. Similar methods are used by many broadcasting corporations to ascertain public opinion regarding radio programmes and other questions by classifying and tabulating the replies received.

One advantage of the straw vote or questionnaire method is the possibility of securing replies from a very large number of individuals at a small cost. Its great disadvantage is that it may become highly selective in case the persons who actually send replies do not represent an accurate cross-section of the whole universe but merely a particular segment. This defect was revealed in a dramatic manner on the occasion of the *Literary Digest* poll at the time of the 1936 presidential election in the United States. Over ten million ballot papers were posted by the *Digest*, and it was expected that the very large size of the sample would overcome the lack of scientific selection. Unfortunately, as only owners of automobiles and users of telephone were consulted, the sample developed a definite bias in favour of high income with the result that anti-New Deal opinion was introduced and reflected in the poll's conclusion that Governor Landon would win. As is well known, Landon was defeated by Roosevelt by a record margin of votes, and the statistician once again was demonstrated to be the superlative liar that he is popularly supposed to be.

Statistical or Sample Surveys

But there is just one fact that we should pause to consider before we accept this condemnation of the statistician. Whatever the popular notion may be, the statistician, so far as he is a scientist and not a demagogue, is interested not merely in numbers but in their analysis, not only in the size of the sample but also in its quality. The *Literary Digest* poll was a failure not because of the use but rather because of the flagrant abuse of statistical methods. The *Fortune Magazine*, also published in the U.S.A., made a successful prediction of the results of the same presidential election on the basis of interviews with only 3,000 people—an achievement which is explained not by the name of the periodical but by the fact that it worked on scientifically sound lines. That is to say, the *Fortune Magazine* was using what is known to statisticians as the method of "Stratified Sample Survey."

In this method trained workers are employed to elicit information by direct interviews or occasionally through correspondance from carefully selected subjects. It is on the degree of this carefulness that the success of this method depends. The sample must be of a representative character and this is sought to be achieved by classifying the population into a suitable number of strata (each strata being more or less homogeneous in regard to its opinion) and by selecting at random a suitable number of subjects from each. The success of the *Fortune Magazine* was due to the fact that the small size of its sample was more than compensated for by the very careful selection and inclusion of representative economic groups in the population.

The Gallup Poll

Today the sampling technique is used widely all over the United States to elicit public opinion on all manner of political and social issues. So much so, that it may be regarded as an integral part of the American scene. Notable instances of its operation are provided by the American Institute of Public Opinion which began experimenting with the problem of nationwide polling in November, 1933. In October, 1935, it started its series of weekly polls and, since that date, has been rendering an opinion news service to about sixty daily newspapers in the United States with a circulation of several million readers. Editorially these papers are of

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all shades of opinion—left, right and centre: this itself is a guarantee of the confidence enjoyed by the Institute. The Institute works through a nation-wide staff of interviewers: and every effort is made to maintain an impartial organization. In the 1936 presidential election the American Institute of Public Opinion sent out 275,000 ballots (against ten million ballot papers of the *Literary Digest*), and predicted Roosevelt's victory with an average underestimate of about six per cent per state, and about one or two per cent for the whole country. In other elections the Institute has succeeded in forecasting the correct result with a margin of error of the order of two or three per cent of the votes recorded.

Utility of Opinion Surveys in Politics

It may be asked, what is the utility of such sample polls, what service do they render to the life of the nation? For answer, George Gallup says that it is only by means of sampling referenda that programmes can be separated from personalities and the mandates of the leaders defined. And he mentions how the polls of the American Institute of Public Opinion have shown in instance after instance that in spite of President Roosevelt's tremendous personal popularity, the people were definitely opposed to many of his radical legislative measures.

Another function that the sampling referendum performs is described by George Gallup as gauging the true strength of pressure groups that swarm in and out of Congressional halls. In other words, the sampling referendum enables us to distinguish genuine public opinion from artificially created and factious opinion against which Bryce asks us to be on guard. The polls of the American Institute of Public Opinion succeeded in at least one instance in giving the quietus to mischievous and unscrupulous propaganda carried on by interested persons with the object of making their selfish programme appear as the national demand.

George Gallup also reminds us that an election is itself a sample, but owing to the variability of turn-out among different classes of voters, it may not be quite so representative of public opinion as a Stratified Sample Survey in which attention is paid to every economic and social group. But the greatest service rendered by sampling referenda is that they help to make the masses articulate on issues of the day.

Utility in Social Sciences

Opinion polls are also of great value in framing policies of social reconstruction. The trend and stratification of public opinion in regard to such questions as inter-caste marriages, untouchability, widow remarriage, divorce, women's rights, birth control, etc., can be assessed on an objective basis only with the help of properly organized sample surveys. Opinion can be canvassed on broad questions of policy or specific issues relating to education, public health, social hygiene, or economic reconstruction. Sample surveys are also the most powerful method of ascertaining consumer preferences for different commodities, foods, drink, clothes, etc.

First Experiments in India

During the last two or three years the Statistical Laboratory of Calcutta has organized a number of sample surveys on a small scale but with considerable success in studying consumer habits and preferences such as the prevalence of drinking tea, habits of reading newspapers, preferences for different systems of medical care such as allopathy, homeopathy, *ayurveda* or *yunani*. The results obtained were extremely encouraging and showed a high degree of accuracy. I hope to be able to give some account of this work in another article.

Very little, however, has been so far done regarding the assessment of public opinion. Until recently there has not been much interest shown in this matter by our public men. A rare exception was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. During a conversation at Allahabad in April, 1940, he not only showed a keen interest on the subject, but asked me whether the Statistical Laboratory could not undertake surveys of public opinion on the lines of the Gallup polls. Since this talk with Panditji we have been seriously thinking of doing something in this line. And, very recently we made small scale experiments of "Mass Observation" with 8 or 9 observers belonging to the Statistical Laboratory. Encouraging results have been obtained, and we intend to proceed with the work on a larger scale.

Future Work in India

In India where the masses are hardly ever aware of the nature of the problems that the government grapples with day by day the sampling referendum should no doubt be used with due caution. The very ignorance of the people is an argument in favour of opinion polls. But in view of the difficulty of getting definite opinions on matters of which the people are ignorant, what is called for in India is a combination of Mass Observation by trained observers working in selected areas and among carefully selected cross-sections of the public with the method of

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Stratified Sample Surveys as conducted by the Gallup Institute. Everything will depend on securing random samples in correct proportion from all classes in the universe of opinion and on including enough cases to enable chance variations to cancel out. The actual technique can be evolved only by careful experimentation on scientific lines in accordance with modern statistical principles; but given proper facilities and sufficient time for field trials it should not be difficult to develop a method for eliciting public opinion on general issues on an objective basis.

Need of Co-operation from the Public

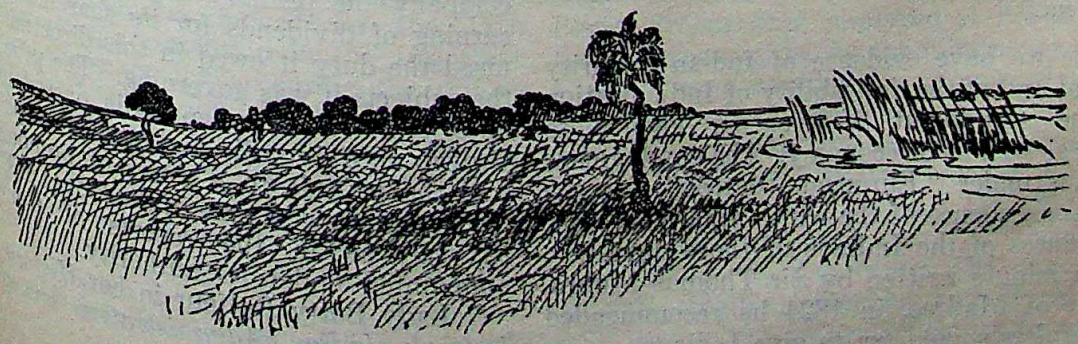
Success in this matter, however, depends primarily on the co-operation of the public. This may be given in two ways. For Mass-Observation we want voluntary observers who will undertake to report their observations on particular subjects or general impressions on "day" or "area" surveys. I have already stated that the whole Mass-Observation movement in England was organized on an entirely voluntary basis. The observers were drawn from all strata of society and in most cases were not known to one another; and in sending reports, names or identity of persons observed are not disclosed.

It is not only necessary but desirable that the observers should be as representative of society as a whole as possible. This means that both men and women from all economic, communal, or cultural groups should participate in the movement. This is the only way in which a correct perspective can be obtained. The actual observation can be done in leisure hours just whenever it is convenient for the observer. Observation work may be done, for example, for a short period on a number of days in the week or one or two days in a month. Any observer is at liberty to discontinue the work at any time. The only obligation is to try to carry out the work on certain co-ordinated lines. Any one interested in the work is requested to write to us at the Statistical Laboratory, Presidency College, Calcutta.

Survey of Public Preference

The sample survey may be used with great advantage in ascertaining the preferences of the public in such matters as sports and amusements, radio broadcast, cinema films, music, literature and other cultural pursuits. Such surveys are not only useful in showing the general trend of public opinion, but may be of direct value in improving the quality of shows and entertainments by supplying necessary guidance to the proper authorities.

We intend in the near future to carry out such sample surveys from time to time. Broadly speaking our method will be to pick up at random a number of house-holders in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and to send round trained investigators from the Statistical Laboratory to interview the head or some other representative of the family. Our investigators will carry identity cards; and will also be supplied with standard printed forms for recording a summary of the interview. Besides voluntary mass-observation, a second way in which the public can co-operate is by helping our investigators in this work. Here also no names will be taken down, and every opinion will be treated as strictly confidential. We are confident that with the help and co-operation of the general public it will be possible to build up in India an efficient and scientific organisation for the survey of public opinion and preference.



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SOME ALLEGATIONS AGAINST INDIAN OFFICIALS

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Organising Secretary, All-India Conference of Indian Christians

I

"There are those . . . . who rate very low the value of Indian participation in the work of government, maintaining that the national characteristics include a tendency towards corruption, nepotism, communal bias, and inefficiency. Generalisations such as these, covering three hundred and fifty millions of people, are very easily made. But they are not to be proved or disproved without the sifting of an almost infinite mass of evidence." From :—*India from a Back Bench* by Sir Adrian Baillie, Bart., M. P., Captain Victor Cazalet, M.C., M.P., The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, Wing-Commander A. W. H. James, M.C., M.P., Mark Patrick, M.P.

The justice of the demand for Indianisation of the services was recognised more than a century ago. In 1822, a Committee of the House of Commons in their report to Parliament observed that

"It is recognised as an indisputable principle that the interests of the Native Subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans, whenever the two come in competition."

This Committee on finding that Indians were employed by the East India Company only "in subordinate situations in the Revenue, Judicial, and Military Departments" said that Indians were "alive to the grievance of being excluded from a larger share in the Executive Government." Continuing the Committee stated :

"It is amply borne out by the evidence that such exclusion is not warranted on the score of incapacity for business, or want of application, or trustworthiness, while it is contended that their admission under European control, into the higher offices...would strengthen their attachment to British dominion; would conduce to a better administration of Justice; and would be productive of a great saving in the expense of the Indian Government."

Here we have evidence of Indian integrity in general and of the desirability of Indianisation from the standpoint of securing loyalty to England as well as of economy. The employment of Indians under "European control" was the natural consequence of the educational and other backwardness of the Indians of those days.

In a minute written by Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, in 1824 he recommended that the rulers should try to give Indians "a higher opinion of themselves, by placing more confidence in them, by employing them in important situations, and perhaps by rendering them eligible to almost every office under Government."

May it not be suggested that it reiterated what had already been said by the Committee of the House of Commons and envisaged the time when England could take pride in her unique achievement of making Indians fit to occupy the highest positions in the administration ?

In the India Act of 1833, it was laid down that

"No Native of the said Territories, nor any natural-born Subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any Place, Office, or Employment under the said Company."

Similarly, in the proclamation of Queen Victoria made in 1858 it was stated that it was her will that

"So far as may be, Our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

In the last two of these historic documents the eligibility of seekers of Government posts was to be determined by their qualifications and the principle of equality was made clear.

The first three statements, everyone of which held out hopes of Indianisation, fall within the period when the affairs of India were administered by the East India Company. They make it abundantly clear that even a trading company the primary object of which was the earning of dividends for its shareholders recognised the duty it owed in this direction towards the subjects it was governing. The proclamation of Queen Victoria when India passed under the Crown unequivocally accepted this policy and was the prelude to a series of pronouncements made from time to time in the House of Commons as well as in the reports of Commissions appointed under its authority.

Lady Betty Balfour in her *History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration* has quoted a

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letter written by Lord Lytton to Lord Salisbury dated May 11, 1877, that is to say about twenty years after Queen Victoria's proclamation. In it he stated that his attempts to give effect to Indianisation were frustrasted by the "trade union mentality" of the British officials. Continuing he condemned

"the fundamental political mistake of able and experienced Indian officials (meaning I. C. S. officers) that we can hold India securely by what they call good Government; that is to say, by improving the condition of the ryot, strictly administering justice, spending immense sums on irrigation works, etc."

Two years later he wrote to Lord Cranbrook about "the acknowledged failure (of Britain) to fulfil fairly the promises given."

While no Indian will deny that some of these promises have been fulfilled he, at the same time, feels that they have not always been carried out in the spirit in which they had been made. National India maintains that the half-hearted way in which the policy of Indianisation has been given effect to is mainly due to the opposition it has encountered from retired British officials. These gentlemen by their writings, speeches and other public pronouncements have tried to convince the public of England that the transfer of administration from British to Indian hands is fraught with grave peril. As the average Briton has limited knowledge of Indian conditions and, moreover, as his immediate interests lie elsewhere, the opinions coming as they do from supposed experts long resident in India and therefore familiar with actual facts have naturally enough carried great weight in England. Among the various objections to Indianisation brought forward by them are included a number of allegations against Indians who have been entrusted with the discharge of administrative duties. It is proposed in what follows to examine some of the more serious of them and to make an effort to ascertain the extent to which they are justified by actual facts.

Allegations Regarding the Maintenance of Law and Order

Sir Charles Innes, a member of the Government of India, moved on the 12th September, 1924, a resolution in the (Central) Legislative Assembly for accepting the proposals of the Lee Commission. In the course of his speech he stated one of the reasons for the recruitment of non-Indian officials especially in the Indian Civil Service and Police to ensure which the Commission had recommended more generous terms than before. His words were:

"Indian politicians are interested only in the form of Government, but there are 240 millions of people in British India who do not care two straws what is the form of Government provided it is a stable one. It cannot be stable without a strong Indian Civil Service and Police. Never was there greater need for a strong and efficient service to maintain law and order. You have your class, communal, racial, and religious dissensions."

A typical critic of Indianisation was Sir Michael O'Dwyer who, in his *India as I Knew It*, published one year after the Report of the Lee Commission, that is in 1925, elaborated the thesis of Sir Charles Innes that the maintenance of law and order requires the presence of a strong British personnel and in doing so stated on page 244 of his book that

One of the reasons for the appalling growth of sectarian feeling which in his opinion, was

"leading almost daily to civil strife and serious bloodshed, for the repression of which troops, preferably British, and armed police have frequently to be called out" was "the rapid decrease in the number of British officials who, being impartial and detached, are trusted by all parties and are in the best position both to prevent such outbreaks and to deal with them when they have occurred."

This book written by Sir Michael O'Dwyer six years after his retirement in 1919 and obviously meant for the consumption of the British public gives an over-coloured picture of the whole situation. I have scanned some well-known and influential periodicals covering this period and cannot say that I have come across anything to justify the opinion that at any time in the past we had "almost daily," or that we have at present "civil strife and serious bloodshed" requiring "frequently" to be put down with the assistance of the armed police or soldiers or even that when troops have to be employed for such purposes, the people prefer them to be British. On the other hand, what can be and has been proved is that in those comparatively rare cases when such contingencies have arisen Government has, as a matter of policy, preferred to use Indian troops.

Any lingering doubts on this matter may be easily removed by a reference to that well-known publication "The Indian Central Committee Report" (Paras 134-135) which says that British troops were employed at Poona to quell the disturbances due to the injudicious measures adopted for combating the plague when it first appeared towards the end of the 19th century. The second occasion when troops had to be used was to meet the situation created immediately after the partition of Bengal. Here Gurkha and not British troops were used. This was also the case in the Punjab riots. In the so-called Moplah rebellion, Gurkha and Kachin troops were used. The report concludes by saying:

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"It is now well recognised that it would be very impolitic to employ British troops; greater resentment is felt against the Government on account of anything done by British troops; and if one may judge from the practice in recent times it has become the fixed policy of the Indian Government to employ Indian troops alone wherever possible."

But probably the best proof of the incorrectness of the assumption that British troops have to be used frequently to restore order is to be found in the speech made on January 26, 1931, in the House of Commons by no less a pillar of conservatism than Mr. Winston Churchill who was opposing the Indian policy of his own leader Mr. Baldwin. In the course of this speech he said :

"The one great aim and object of every Indian administration has been to prevent the British Army being brought into direct contact with Indian disorders."

But this was not the only occasion when he made a statement to this effect. On March 18, 1931, he delivered an address at the Albert Hall, London. In the course of his criticism of the Labour Cabinet which, according to him, was not showing sufficient firmness in tackling the Civil Disobedience Movement in India he observed that the maintenance of law and order was an easy task. Continuing he said :

"In the whole of the disturbances of the last year—except on the frontier—scarcely a British soldier has been required. Very few people have been killed or severely wounded in the rioting."

The ignorant Indian would like to know which of these views is correct, Sir Michael's or Mr. Winston Churchill's those of the man on the spot, or the man not on the spot. Lastly, what about the correctness of the opinion expressed in the official publication, "The Indian Central Committee Report" mentioned above ?

Another critic holding similar views is Sir Reginald Craddock who published his book *The Dilemma in India* simultaneously in England, Canada, Germany and India in 1929. Be it noted that this was one year before the publication of the report of the Indian Statutory Commission. While discussing the evidence offered by those educated Indian witnesses who advocated the cessation of British recruitment, he observed :

"Most of them would have been very sorry to have seen that proposal accepted in the concrete, and the same Indians who were ready to press for wholesale Indianisation will be found to call loudly for British officers to be sent to this district or that charge when trouble of any kind occurs."

Sir Reginald, like every one else, has the right to insist on the correctness of the opinions he holds but if he had made enquiries he would have found that what the ordinary Indian taxpayer demands as a matter of right is protection and it is a matter of utter indifference to him whether it comes from a Briton or an Indian.

So far as the Police is concerned, Sir Reginald Craddock has said in the same book :

"In the police the necessity for a large proportion of British personnel is even more urgent than in the Indian Civil Service. The Service does not attract the best Indians; it involves a hard life, constant abuse in the Press, and special opportunities for corruption, and though hundreds of individual policemen show gallantry and devotion to duty of a high order, it is only under vigorous and impartial leaders, whom Hindu and Moslem can alike trust, that this Service can be relied upon."

And yet in accordance with the recommendation of the Lee Commission that 50 per cent of the higher posts should be thrown open to Indians, there has been going on a slow infiltration of our countrymen into what is regarded as one of the most vital of the departments not has any charge of inefficiency been brought against the Indian members as a class. If that were so, what is the explanation of the long list of Indian police officials who are titled and rewarded at Durbars every year for meritorious service ? How does Sir Reginald know that the Police service does not attract the best men and what leads him to believe that such men are deterred by the hardness of the life ? Is there not sufficient justification for the opinion that the same reasons *viz.*, interesting work and attractive emoluments which brought him and his countrymen from thousands of miles are and will be equally operative in the case of the Indian ? Is it not natural to conclude that if educated and efficient Englishmen are attracted to the Indian Civil, the Indian Police and other services in spite of the many disadvantages contingent on service in the tropics at a distance of thousands of miles away from their own home-land, it would be far easier to get a similar type of men in India and probably at a cheaper rate ?

Sir Edward Blunt has stated in his book referred to below that one of the reasons for the reluctance for Indianisation of the services is the feeling that while "the average Englishman possesses the mental and moral qualities essential for the task of administration, the average Indian does not." He himself answers this objection by stressing the fact that, in the absence of actual experience derived from the failure of Indian officials to make good in responsible positions, any positive assertion is in his own language "impossible." Continuing he says that even if such a thing was true in the past "it is not true now." For

"Indians have governed provinces, have filled the posts of Executive Councillor and Minister. Indian members of the I. C. S., provincial civil servants and

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attaining 'listed' rank, have served with distinction as Commissioners, Secretaries, Heads of Departments, and High Court Judges; one of the latter after retirement was first agent to the Government of India in South Africa, and later became an Executive Councillor. There are many promising young men amongst the new recruits, who have joined the service since simultaneous examinations were instituted in 1922. Undoubtedly, the Indian officer of the present day is infinitely superior to his predecessor of thirty years ago. Especially, he is no longer afraid of responsibility—the charge most commonly levelled at him in former years."

I am not in a position to give exact figures but my information is that today about 35 to 40 per cent of the members of the Indian Civil and the Indian Police services for which the Briton is regarded as specially qualified, are Indians. One might well ask that if the opinion expressed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock is correct, how are communal riots put down where the officers happen to be Indians? Surely it is not suggested that the higher authorities possess such uncanny foresight that they post non-Indian officials in areas where such differences take place or that as soon as riots break out, the Indian official is immediately replaced by the non-Indian! Still another suggestion which obviously will not find acceptance is that law and order are defied more easily in places put in charge of Indians and that such defiance is winked at not only by these inefficient Indian officials but also by their British superiors!

Jesting apart, it has been suggested that Indian officials suffer from a special disadvantage from which their British colleagues are immune. In the face of the antagonism between the two largest communities in India, the Indian official who almost invariably belongs to one or other of these two religious groups, in spite of the observance of the strictest impartiality is liable to be suspected by the community to which he does not belong of favouring his own. The British officer, who is manifestly disinterested is, it is said, always in demand whenever communal feelings run high and specially when communal riots break out. Sir Reginald Craddock was only voicing this opinion, almost universally accepted by the British, when he made his observation to this effect which has been quoted previously.

It cannot be denied that there was a time when this opinion was generally held by Indians and this was due to two causes. The first was that up to recent times the number of Indian officials whose services had been requisitioned in such cases had been few. The Indian officials did not, at that time, enjoy anything like extensive opportunities of proving their worth as impartial judges in deciding communal disputes. The people of India had, for generations, depended on British officials, for ensuring justice and fair play between contending factions. It was therefore only natural if they showed a preference for having such cases handled by a set of men, albeit foreigners, who had already established a reputation for dealing out even-handed justice. But as the number of Indian officials was increased and when actual experience demonstrated that, given the powers and the proper safeguards against the results of undue influence proceeding from powerful and interested quarters—in fact given the same kind of facilities as those enjoying by their British colleagues—the Indian officials were, as a class, as capable of discharging their duty impartially as the non-Indian officials, this suspicion has tended to disappear. Today unless under very special circumstances, the Indian does not show any special preference for intervetion by non-Indian officials. When any such preference is shown, it is only because distrust is felt for some individual Indian official. There is no distrust of Indian officials as a class.

Mr. G. T. Garratt who retired from the Indian Civil Service and who, with Dr. Edward Thompson, is the joint author of that authoritative work on Indian history entitled *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* is the author of *An Indian Commentary* in which he has given his views on the manifold social, economic and political problems of India. In the course of his review of the work done in India by the British administration and the preference supposed to be shown by Indians for having their differences settled by English officials he has observed:

"There is no evidence, . . . of any general dislike to being dealt with by their own compatriots, but only a very special objection to certain officials whom they know. The feeling has grown less during recent years, and it dates back to times when Indian officials were very badly paid and often extremely corrupt."

In addition to this evidence coming from a man who, as a former member of the Indian Civil Service, may reasonably be expected to have as much knowledge about the predilections of Indians in matters such as these as those other Britons who insist on the necessity of the presence of British officials in order to act as impartial judges in communal riots, we have also to remember that the occupying of responsible positions by itself is a great and an important factor in making and keeping every one, including the Indian officials, impartial. We are all aware that our Police is far from being recruited from an ideal set of men. It has also

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been said that the Indian Police officers are not above those weaknesses with which they have been charged times without number. And yet Sir Charles Stead, C.B.E., M.V.O., who was in the Indian Police from 1898 to 1933, was Inspector General of Police in the Punjab from 1928 to 1933 and who, on account of the official position he occupied, took a very prominent part in handling communal riots in which Mussalmans, Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab were involved and who also put down the Civil Disobedience Movement in which adherents of all these religions participated, writing one year after his retirement, that is to say in 1934, said :

> "We obtained mastery over the Civil Disobedience movement, in the course of which I had learnt that there were Indians, inside and outside the Services, capable of rising to the occasion under the stimulus of responsibility."

It would be easy for me to give here the opinions of other responsible officers of the Indian Civil and Police services which too would prove that there is no reason to think that Indianisation will tend to impair the reign of law and order.

Granting, however, for the sake of argument that communal differences can be handled successfully only by the British official, National India is of the opinion that however difficult the problem, it must be faced and solved by Indian officials. The impartiality of the English official, valuable as it is in its own way and said to be hitherto responsible for the maintenance of law and order and its restoration when communal tension makes its appearance, cannot ensure a permanent solution of this particular difficulty. If that had been the case, communalism and communal riots would have disappeared long ago. If Indian officials are worth their salt, as we believe they generally are, they will, in time, be able to convince their countrymen that, like the English officials, they too know how to deal impartially between the rival claims of contending factions. And, what is more, whether they relish this prospect or not, they will have to undertake this work on those somewhat rare occasions when communal differences break out. There is no reason why they should not be able to discharge their duty fearlessly and impartially if they receive the backing of Government. National India contends that this is as good as, if not preferable to, the kind of patchwork now done by the British official.

It is not a fact that every Indian official is suspect by his countrymen. We know that wild rumours find credence whenever there is any kind of disturbance and also that those guilty of illegal acts are very often responsible for their origin and circulation. The vague charges of partiality brought against Indian officials always or nearly always belong to this category. And, let me add, they are very often brought forward with the set purpose of getting Indian officials who are familiar with local conditions transferred elsewhere so that with the appearance of the European official on the scene, there might be a more favourable chance of what has very happily been described as "blurring the trail." And this policy has been widely followed because, in the past, agitation of this kind has almost invariably paid. The English official flattered by requests to deal with situations of this kind cannot but feel that this is the best possible justification for his presence in India and, probably subconsciously, he welcomes such opportunities of demonstrating his indispensability. In spite of whatever he might think or say, he can never know the currents and cross-currents of Indian life and the guilty party welcomes the intervention of the English official in the hope that it would be easier for him to either hoodwink him or to get off with a lighter punishment than if the matter had been investigated and judged by a countryman familiar with all his wiles and tricks. Taking the worst possible view of the situation, the English official is not likely to give more than the maximum punishment allowable under law and the preference shown for him under circumstances such as these may, in a sense, be likened to the last chance which the gambler takes when faced by ruin.

The most regrettable feature in such cases is that the Indian official who is removed or, let us say displaced, not only loses his prestige and is therefore less able than before to command that respect from the public which is the most valuable asset of the administrator but he feels positively discouraged. It is only natural if, on the next such occasion, he hesitates to adopt a policy at once firm and conciliatory. It does not take much time for those who are guilty of malpractices to familiarise themselves with his past record and it is rarely that they fail to use it to their advantage. It is equally regrettable that, now and again, the Indian official misses that support from Government which is almost invariably accorded to the English official and which, to a large extent, accounts for his success as an administrator.

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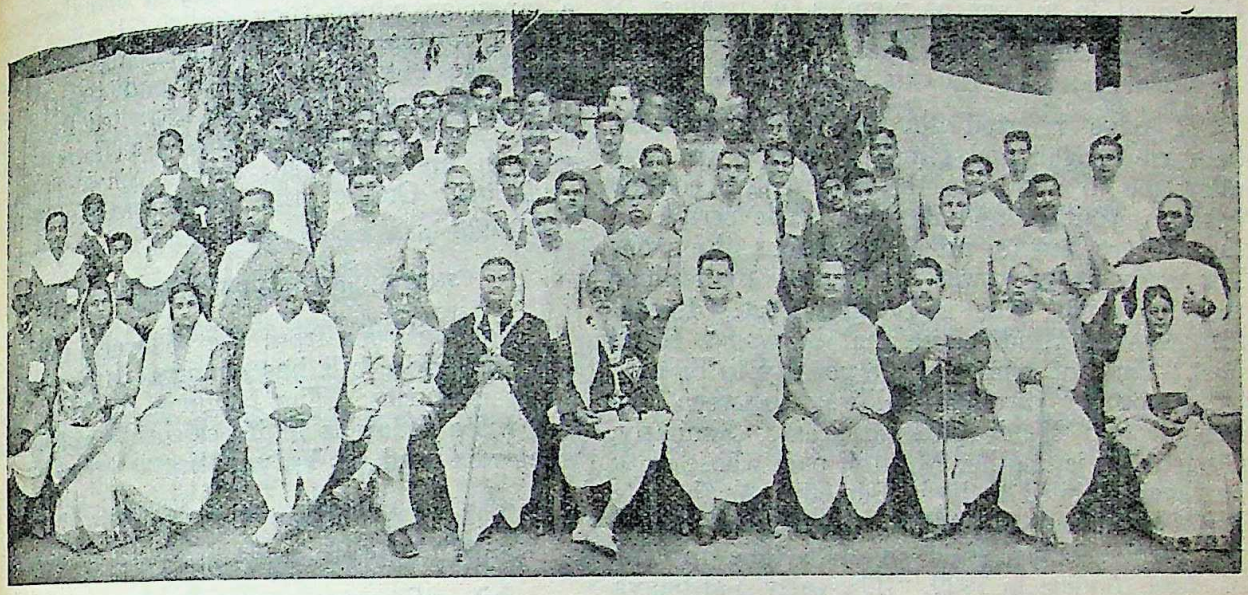

ALLAHABAD BENGALI LITERARY REUNION

Sitting (from the left) : Prof. Nalin Behari Mitra, Mrs. Prabha Banerji, Mrs. Mamata Chaudhuri, Mr. Benode Behari Chundra, Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji, Pandit Amaranatha Jha (Vice-Chancellor), Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Prof. Amiya Charan Banerji, I.E.S., Rai Saheb Deb Narayan Mukherji, Prof. Satish Ch. Deb, Prof. Kiran Ch. Sinha, Mrs. Parimal Gupta

Standing (behind Prof. Amiya Banerji) Sj. Abani Nath Roy, (behind Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee) Prof. Paramananda Chakravarti

BYWAYS OF BENGALI LITERATURE*

By Professor AMARANATHA JHA,
Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to you for asking me to open this Conference. I wish I could address you in your own beautiful language, but I have not enough confidence in my ability to do so. Having lived and received my education here I have naturally studied the two languages of the province and found less time than I should have liked to devote to the reading of Bengali. I shall, therefore, not presume to attempt a scholarly address. I shall instead make an excursion into the byways of literature.

We are fortunate in having as our President, Mr. Ramananda Chatterji. He has long been associated with Allahabad. He is the senior-most living ex-Principal of any College affiliated to the Allahabad University. His many services to the country do not need to be recounted before a gathering such as this. But perhaps I may say how grateful the Hindi world is to him for the valuable journal, the *Vishal Bharat*, which is published under his auspices.

Modern Hindi owes much to Bengali. In the branches of drama and fiction particularly it is not possible to exaggerate the influence of Bengali. The novels of Bankimchandra Chatterji, R. C. Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Sharat Chatterji, have been translatel into Hindi. The short stories of Prabhat Kumar Mukerji have been similarly translated. The plays of Amritlal Basu, Dinabandhu Mitra, Girish Ghosh, and particularly of Dwijendralal Roy, were for a long time read and acted in Upper India. The lyric poetry of the present generation has undoubtedly been inspired by Bengali. One of our leading poets, Maithilisharan Gupta, has translated into Hindi verse Nabin Sen's "Palasheer Yuddha" and Michael Madhusudan's "Virahini Vrajangana" and "Meghnad Vadha." What Hindi owes to the resplendent genius of Rabindranath Tagore it is superfluous

* Inaugural Address at the Bengali Literary Conference, March 1, 1941.

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to say. Let us pay our respectful homage to this giant in an age of pigmies, a dreamer of dreams, but also a builder.

* * * * *

I have referred to the close connexion between Bengali and Hindi. Perhaps you will allow me to allude to the even closer contact between Maithili and Bengali. The scripts of the two are, but for minor variations, the same. For many years it was assiduously maintained that Vidyapati was a Bengali poet. Recent historians of Hindi claim that he was a Hindi poet. That, of course, is the penalty to be paid by a people dwelling midway between the Bengali and Hindi-speaking areas. Similarly, Govindadas is another Maithili poet whose work has been claimed to be in Bengali. As the late Mr. Nagendranath Gupta, whose recent death we deeply mourn, said in an article in *The Modern Review* in 1929, "The early Vaishnava poets, saints and collectors of Bengal, who brought these immortal poems from Mithila, are entitled to the lasting gratitude of all students and lovers of literature." It is an interesting speculation to consider how this literary contact was first established. In all probability the young scholars who went to Mithila for the study of Sanskrit and specially of Nyaya, prior to the founding of the academy at Navadvipa, brought back with them copies of these songs which had found a way to their heart as they read or heard them. In transcription errors came in and words appeared in corrupt forms and idioms became almost unintelligible. Maithili songs were cherished and preserved with much care in Bengal where they found a congenial soil. Vidyapati, the morning-star of song, attained a phenomenal popularity in Bengal, and it is reported that Chaitanya used to recite his poems. There we find devotion bordering on ecstasy; the romantic figures of Radha and Krishna made human and real and near to ordinary mortals—their frolics, separation and meeting, longing, quarrel and reconciliation that make up the sum of love; flowers and creepers and moonlight; a human, healthy, playful, happy atmosphere. The learned read him because of his literary skill, and the humble householder, child alike and man and woman, sings his songs both when alone and on occasions of general rejoicing, because they come near to his business and bosom. These songs are immortal because of their sweetness and their undisturbed humanity. Govindadas is great also, but more because of his literary merits, his grace and imagination than because of his spontaneity. The style of Vidyapati and Govindadas found many imitators in Bengal. They imagined that they wrote a language which they called "Brajbuli," forgetting its real source and not realising the vast difference between Maithili and Brajabhasha. This language at one time attracted Rabindranath Tagore and the result of his efforts is to be seen in his collection, *Bhanu Singh Thakurer Padavali*. One of the most successful is that beginning :

"श्याम रे, निपट कठिन मन तोर"[1]

You will see from the following specimens how little Maithili has changed during the last many centuries. The language which we read and write today is in its essentials exactly like what was used by Vidyapati.

VIDYAPATI

"सखि ! की पूछसि अनुभव मोय ।
सेहो प्रीति अनुराग बखानइत तिल तिल नूतन होय ॥
जनम अवधि हम रूप निहारल नयन न तिरपित भेल ।
सेहो मधुर बोल श्रवणहि सुनल श्रुति पथ परश न गेल ॥
कत मधु यामिनी रभसें गँवावल न बुझल कैसन केल ।
लाख लाख युग हियहि राखल तइयो हिय जुड़ल न गेल ॥
कत विधगध जन रस अनुगमन अनुभव काहु न पेख ।
विद्यापति कह प्रान जुराइत लाखे न मिलल एक ॥"[2]

GOVINDADAS

"नवीन नलिनीदल जनु कोमल अगर सुलेपय अंगे ।
चमकि चमकि हरि उठय कत बेरि हा हत मदन तरंगे ॥
सुन्दरि ! तुहुँ बड़ हृदय पखान ।
तुअ गुण अन्तर मनहि निरन्तर जपइत आकुल कान ॥
बैठल तरु तल पन्थ निहारय गयन गनय घन नोर ।
राहि राहि कर सघन जपय हरि चम्पक दल दय कोर ॥
दूतिक वचन सुनि रमणि शिरोमणि वचनामृत करु पान ।
गोविन्ददास कह त्वरि चलु सुन्दरि कान भेल निदान ॥[3]

1. "O Shyama, hard and stern is your heart."

2. "Oh friend, do you ask about my experience? Even a mere mention of that love adds to it a freshness and a newness. All my life long have I gazed at that beautiful figure, and yet my eyes have remained unsatisfied. I must have heard that sweet voice with my ears, but they seem not to have heard it at all. Many a spring evening I must have spent in dalliance, but I have no recollection how they came to an end. For many ages I have preserved his memory in my heart and yet my heart keeps craving for him. Many wise men have described affection, but no one could have had this experience."

3. "Krishna besmears with agar his body soft as a fresh lotus. Again and again he starts, suffering from

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These were written several centuries ago. But compare them with the poems of the writers of today. I take as example the following poem by my grandfather, Harshanath Jha, some of whose writings were published and translated over fifty years ago by Sir George Grierson :

"सखि हे बुझल हरिक अनुरागे ।
मधुमय वचन भरम हम पड़लहुँ कि कहब अपन अभागे ॥
सुरतरुबीज उसर हम फेकल रोदन निर्जन गेहा ।
बधिर कान मृदुगान कयल जनि कयल गोपशिशु नेहा ॥
सज्जन दाप ताप रजनीकर वायस शुचिता रीति ।
फणि कुल सहन तपन कर शीतल दुर्जन होअ न प्रीति ॥
दुर्जन नेह रेह सौदामिनी सैकत सेतु समाने ।
कोटि जतन करु तइओ न थिर रहु ई जगके नहि जाने ॥[4]

* * *

In view of the attempts now being made to dislodge Bengali from its position as the only language of the province of Bengal, one may draw attention to the notable contributions of non-Hindus to Bengali poetry. Bengali is the universal language of all the natives of the province, Hindus, Muslims, and Christians alike. Among the earlier writers may be mentioned S. Murtaza and Madan Sheikh, even if we omit Kali Mirza, who is believed to have been a Mukhopadhyaya. Then there was Sheikh Fazlul Karim, some of whose poems both tell a tale and point a moral; one of them "*Tulanai Samalochana*' deserves to be read. Masarraf Husain, Ghulam Mustafa, and Abdul Karim are some others. A high place must be assigned to Kazi Nazrul Islam, although he has not fulfilled the bright promise of his early years. His lines are animated by intense patriotism and marked by lyric fervour. Though a realist, he never loses the gift of song. Keen sensitiveness to pain, consciousness of beauty, high flights of imagination, the sense of tears—these characterise his work. One of his most striking poems is the "Invocation to Poverty."

"हे दारिद्रय ! तुमि मोरे करे छ महान् !
तुमि मोरे दानियाछ क्रीष्टेर सम्मान
कंटक-मुकुट-शोभा ।"[5]

His best known poem, of course, is "The Rebel," "Vidrohi," which has an energy, a force, a vigour very different from and surpassing any such quality in Indian poetry. There is a lyric abandon in it, suggesting in the poet's own words that he is without restraint, without bonds. ("आमि अमियम उच्छृंखल") Another great poem of his entitled "Raktambara-Dharini Ma" ("The Red-Robed Mother.") :

"Put on, my mother, the blood-red robe; burn your white costume;
Let me see if after this we can hear the rattling of the swords.
Throw away the red pigment at the parting of your hair; let fire burn at the spot . . . . .
Throw away your girdle, and gird on a whip which should flash like a streak of lightning.
Shake the somnolent Shiva out of his intoxication and make him take a new poison now.
Let the full moon of the new order emerge from the dark clouds of world-destruction."

A new star in the poetical firmament is Jaseemuddin, whose volumes of verse *Dhankhet*, *Baluchar*, *Rakhali*, and *Sojan Badiyar Ghat*, entitled him to attention as an exponent of the views of the younger generation. He finds ample material for poetry in the life of the poor and the humble. He has paid special homage to the village folk. He has bitter things to say of the rich, but his words have the ring of sincerity. He writes of communal discord, but maintains throughout an admirable attitude of fairness. Of his many poems, the ones entitled "Taruna Kishor" and "Vaideshi Badhu" are specially fine. In the former are constrasted the freshness and colour and energy of early youth and the disillusionment and misery of the later years. Another impressive piece is that called "Kabar;" it describes the graves of the grandmother, the father, the mother, and the others, and expresses the weariness and vanity of life; he wishes he may know the worst or the best that may be in store.

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the pangs of love. O lovely one, your heart is in very truth hard as stone. Your merits are being constantly meditated upon by the anxious Krishna. Tears trickling down his cheeks, he sits under the tree, eagerly awaiting your arrival. He keeps repeating *Radha, Radha.* Hearing these words of the messenger and drinking their ambrosia, the chief among the maidens started quickly to meet Krishna."

4. "Oh friend, I know now the nature of Krishna's love. I fell under the spell of his honeyed words and so brought misfortune on myself. I seem to have planted valuable seeds on barren soil; I wept in an empty house; I sang songs to deaf ears—when I pledged my heart to the cowherd's son. The virtuous may as well become vain; the moonbeams may become hot; the impure breeze may become sacred; the touch of the serpent may become cool, before there can be any affection for the wicked. Their affection—uncertain like the flash of lightning—is like a bridge of sand. Who does not know how fickle that is."

5. "O Poverty ! You have made me great !
You have conferred on me the distinction of Christ—
A crown of thorns !"

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"मजीद हइते आजान हाँकिछे बड़ सकरुण सुर,
मोर जीवनेर रोज केयामत भावितेछि कत दूर ?"[6]

Jaseemuddin has a younger brother, Syeduddin, who also is a poet. These and other Musalman poets have made a unique contribution to Bengali poetry—a new note, a spiritedness all their own. They have also freely used a number of Persian and Arabic words, without attempting to transform the genius of the Bengali language. These borrowings have been absorbed and appear in Bengali garb. Some of them retain their original form—as Khuda, Rahman, ghazab, dozakh, fasad, begana, matam, kambakht. But others appear in a modified shape—as korbani, paimal, káfan, máfel, kátara, joyán, bhesht. One further feature of some of the poems on Islamic topics will be illustrated in the following lines of Nazrul Islam's :

"द्रिम् द्रिम् बाजे घन दुन्दुभि दामामा,
हाँके वीर 'शिर देगा, नेही देगा आमामा' ।"

or again in :

"पुत्रहीनार आर विधवार काँदने ।
छिंड़े आने मर्म्मेर बत्रिश बाँधने ।
ताम्बूते शय्याय काँदे एका जयनाल ।
'दादा ! तेरि घर किया बर्बाद पयमाल' ॥"

All the lines are in Bengali, but the words uttered on the field of Karbala are reported in Urdu—as though that were the language spoken by the Arabs !

* * * * *

I may be permitted next to mention the poetical works of four persons who belong to this province. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, an eminent lawyer and former Judge of the High Court, an erudite scholar, has produced eight volumes of verse, *Hindola, Tushar, Chenar, Vaikali, Tridhara, Chaita, Varuna* and *Nidagh*. Of these *Tushar* and *Chenar* owe their inspiration to Darjeeling and Kashmir respectively; they contain exquisite descriptions of natural scenery, the loveliness and the charm of the vales of Kashmir, the awe and grandeur of the eternal moonlit snows of Kanchenjanga. In the latest volume there is a note of depression and of regret. He is bewildered that despite age and sorrow and bereavement the spirit of song does not abandon him :

"ए बूड़ा वयसे कैन रे परशे
वकुल फूलेर गन्ध ?
बुझियाछिलाम मूछिया फेलेछि
जीवनेर सब द्वन्द्व
शब्द-सविता कैन उथलाय
कैन उठे हृदे छन्द ?"

Then there was his elder brother, Debendranath Sen, who attained considerable fame by his poems, collected in volumes like *Ashokaguchha, Golapaguchha, Parijátaguchha, Shefaliguchha*. Here is one of his best pieces, one of several in which he has attempted the sonnet-form :

"तवू भरिल ना चित्त ; घूरिया घूरिया
कत तीर्थ हेरिलाम । वन्दिनू पुलके
वैद्यनाथे ; मुंगेरेर सीताकुण्डे गिया
कांदिलाम चिरदुःखी जानकीर दुःखे ;
हेरिनू विंध्यवासिनी विंध्ये आरोहिया ;
करिलाम पुण्य स्नान त्रिवेणी-संगमे ;
"जय विश्वेश्वर" बलि, भैरवे वेड़िया,
करिलाम कत नृत्य ; प्रफुल्ल आश्रमे,
राधाश्यामे निरखिया हइया उतला,
गीत गोविन्देर श्लोक गाइया गाइया
भ्रमिलाम कुंजे कुंजे ; पांडारा आसिया
गले पराइया दिल वर गुंजमाला ।
तवू भरिल ना चित्त, सर्व तीर्थ सार
ताई मां ! तोमार पाशे एसेछि आबार ॥[7]

The third of the U. P. poets who must be mentioned with respect is the late Mr. A. P. Sen

6. "From the mosque come to me the strains of the *Azan* in notes of surpassing tenderness. I ask how long ere for me come the Day of Judgment."

7. "My heart has remained unsatisfied. I have wandered and searched many centres of pilgrimage. I have made obeisance at Vaidyanath; going to the Sita-kunda of Monghyr,
I have shed tears at the sorrows of the grief-stricken Sita;
I have looked for Vindhyavasini on the top of Vindhya's hill;
I have dipped in the sacred waters of Triveni;
"Hail, Vishveshwara !" I have shouted near Bhairava,
And I have danced about; at the Praphulla ashram
I have been in rapture at the sight of Radheshyam;
Reciting the verses of Gitagovinda,
I have roamed from grove to grove; the pirsas have put garlands of flowers round my neck.
But my heart was not satisfied,—the centre of all pilgrimages,
I have returned once more, O Mother, to your side !

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whose memory will long be cherished by a wide circle of friends into whose life he brought so much grace and genial goodfellowship. His poems are sweet, though marked with pensive melancholy. There is an undercurrent of pathos, a feeling that while life is fragrant and rich with love and its fulfilment, to him that cup has been dealt in another measure. His soul can find an outlet only in music and song; he has to steer a lonely course, with only his words and his melodies to keep him company. One can never forget the marvellous way in which he recited his songs, how he put his whole soul into them, and how the words took on a new meaning, a new significance as he uttered them. Phrases and lines like 'आमार मनेर भगन दुआर' (the battered door of my heart); सेई भाषा, कखनो उपजे आशा, कखनो नयने जल प्राण शिहरे' (the same words now inspire hope and again make my soul shiver in fear); 'आमाय क्षमा करो यदि तोमारे जागाये थाकि, दूदिन गाइया गान चलिया जाइबे पाखि' (forgive me if for a while I keep you awake; in a trice I shall depart like a song-bird on its wings); 'आशार छलने तुमि कैन दुःख पाओ' (why do you suffer, being misled by the wiles of hope ?)—and many others are remembered long after they are heard no more.

"हासिबो, हसावो—एई मने लये रचिलाम कत गान ;
सेई गाने आमि काँदिलाम कत, काँदालेम कत प्रान ॥[8]

But even out of grief and suffering he sought to extract strength, and there is manliness in this prayer :

"क्षमिओ, हे शिव ! आर ना कहिब
—'दुःख विपदे व्यर्थ जीवन मम" ।
मृत्तिका वले मोरे "ओरे मूढ़ नर !
"हृदय-आघाते तव कैन एत डर ?
"दीर्ण मम वक्ष यत आघात यत खर
"शस्य सुफल तत ततइ श्याम मनोरम"
आकाश वले मोरे "आमि काँदि जबे
"हासे वसुन्धरा फुल्ल विभवे ;
"तोमारउ नयनवारि विफल ना हबे
"शुष्क जीवने तब फूटिबे फूल अनुपम" ॥[9]

Here is a poem in another strain—a national anthem full of hope and sounding the clarion-call of unity :

'हओ धरमेते धीर, हओ करमेते वीर,
हओ उन्नत शिर,—नाई भय ।
भूलि भेदाभेद ज्ञान, हओ सबे आगुआन,
साथे आछे भगवान्,—हबे जय ।
नाना भाषा, नाना मत, नाना परिधान,
विविधेर माझे देख मिलन महान् ;
देखिया भारत महाजातिर उत्थान
जग जन मानिबे विस्मय !
जग जन मानिबे विस्मय ॥"[10]

And lastly, there is Shrimati Pratibha Kumari Debi (Mrs. Anurup Mukherji), who published several years ago a volume of poems, entitled "Bana-Phool." It contains some good nature poetry, and a few pieces such as "Kishe Sarthakata" and "Pratibha" deserve to be included in any comprehensive anthology of Bengali verse.

* * * * *

I may in passing refer to the opening of Bengali classes in the Allahabad University. These were started about two years ago and the number of students wishing to learn Bengali is very large. Most of them are natives of this province whose mother-tongue is either Hindi or Urdu. We have been able to have some Bengali books in the University Library and the Allahabad Public Library has a good Bengali section. The University is grateful to those public-spirited and enthusiastic young men who have been taking these classes; their work has been of the greatest value. But it is necessary that the scheme should be placed on a permanent basis. It is for the lovers of Bengali to see to it that a lectureship is endowed so that there may be no danger of the work being stopped. We shall be grateful too for

8. I thought I would amuse myself and amuse others and so made many songs; but in those same songs I wept and brought tears to many others.

9. Forgive, O Lord, my faint-hearted complaint; never again shall I say, "My life of sorrows is in vain !" The clod tells me : "Oh, foolish man, why all this blow at the wounds to your heart ? Don't you see that the more I am harrowed and the deeper I am furrowed, the prettier and greener are my crops ?"

The sky whispers to me : "When I weep, the earth smiles and is filled with fragrant flowers. Your tear-drops too cannot be in vain; in your dry and parched life will blossom wonderful flowers."

10. "Be firm in your faith, be courageous in action,
Keep your head erect—fear not !
Forget all your differences, let all march onward,
God is with us—victory is assured !
Many languages, many creeds, many costumes,
Let there be unity in this diversity !
Watching the rise of the great Indian nation,
the world will be filled with wonder,
The world will be filled with wonder."

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gifts of books and periodicals. An attempt has been made to start the teaching of Marathi; and it is my hope that Gujarati will be the third language the study of which we shall arrange for. The study of all these languages and literatures will demonstrate more effectively than any other means the cultural unity of all India.

I have confined my excursions this afternoon to the byways of literature. There are many other tracts that could have tempted my steps—the poems of Michael Madhusudan, who by his large sweep, gentle understanding, and comprehensiveness joins the company of Dante and Milton; the writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, of whom Bepin Pal truly said that he was the centre and organising genius of the literary renaissance in Bengali; the many-sided work of Rabindranath Tagore; the productions of other men and women of letters. As one surveys Bengali poetry and recalls its best pieces and one's impressions of the sights and sounds and thoughts that cling to one's memory, one thinks of the jasmine and the lotus; the moonbeam and sandal-paste; the dark waters of the Jumna; the tinkling of the anklets, the music of the bangles and the sound of the flute; the cuckoo, and the peacock; withered leaves and languorous evenings; garlands and groups of girls with their pitchers near the well; the hospitable cottage and the genuine welcome awaiting the visitor. The more recent notes are those of squalor and grinding poverty, of hopes unrealised and prospects blighted. Now and then divine philosophy brings comfort and solace; but the sounds of distress and need persist. The total impression is that of a gentle, kindly, sweet voice sounding strains now of sadness, now of langour, now of thoughtful laughter, rarely loud or boisterous, and never forgetful of the high mission of literature.

GANDHI MAHARAJ

We who follow Gandhi Maharaja's lead
have one thing in common among us :
we never fill our purses with spoils from the poor
nor bend our knees to the rich.

When they come bullying to us
with raised fist and menacing stick,
we smile to them, and say
your reddening stare
may startle babies out of sleep
but how frighten those who refuse to fear ?

Our speeches are straight and simple,
no diplomatic turns to twist their meaning;
confounding penal code
they guide with perfect ease the victims
to the border of jail.
And when these crowd the path of the prison gate
their stains of insult are washed clean,
their age-long shackles drop to the dust,
and on their forehead are stamped
Gandhiji's blessings.

Santiniketan,
15-12-40.

Rabindranath Tagore
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly.

[Translated from the original Bengali by the author. The original poem was published in *Prabasi*.]

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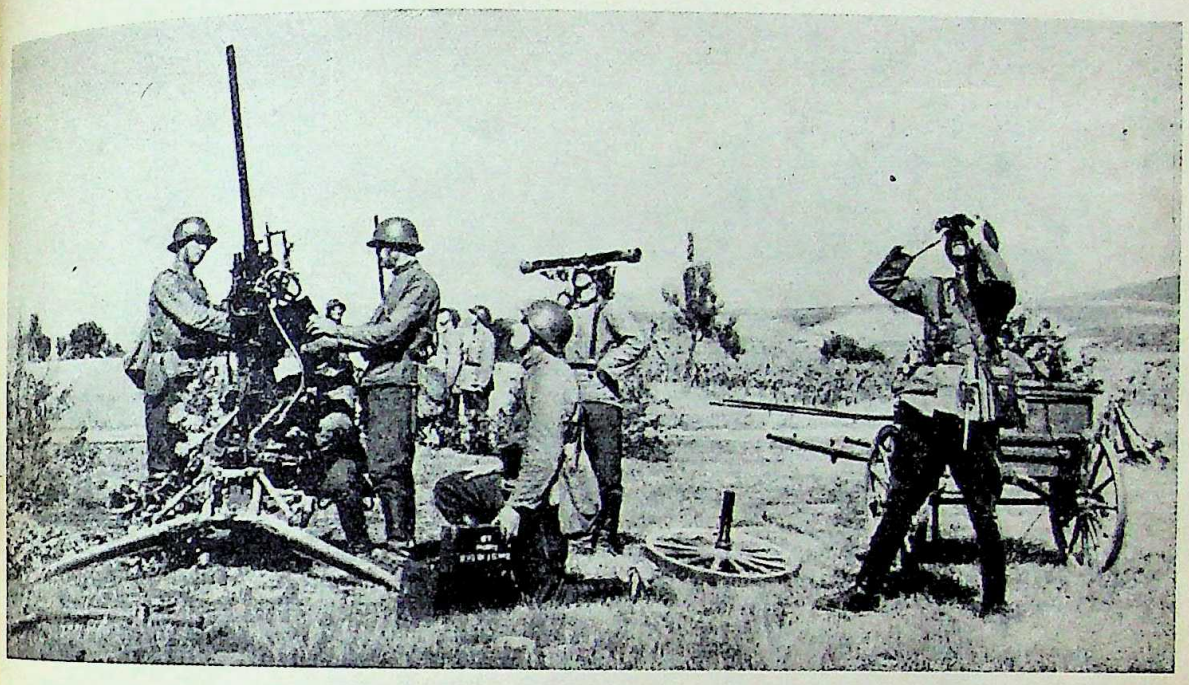
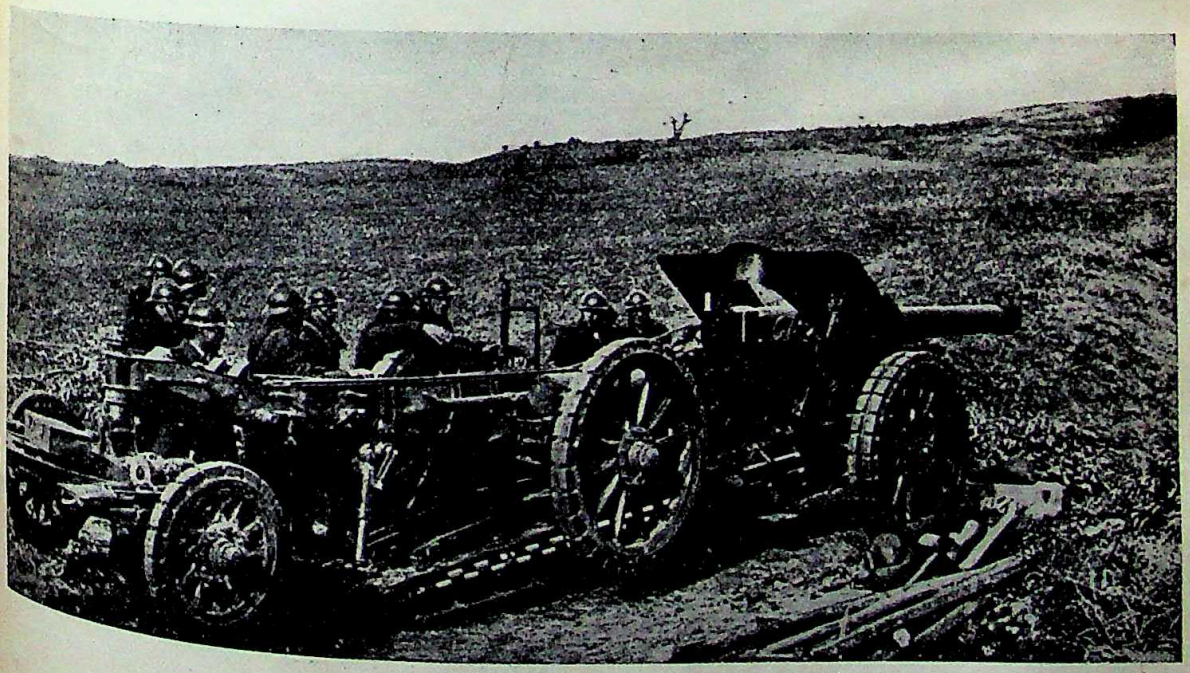


Bulgarian Artillery practising anti-aircraft work



Tractor-borne Roumanian Heavy Artillery

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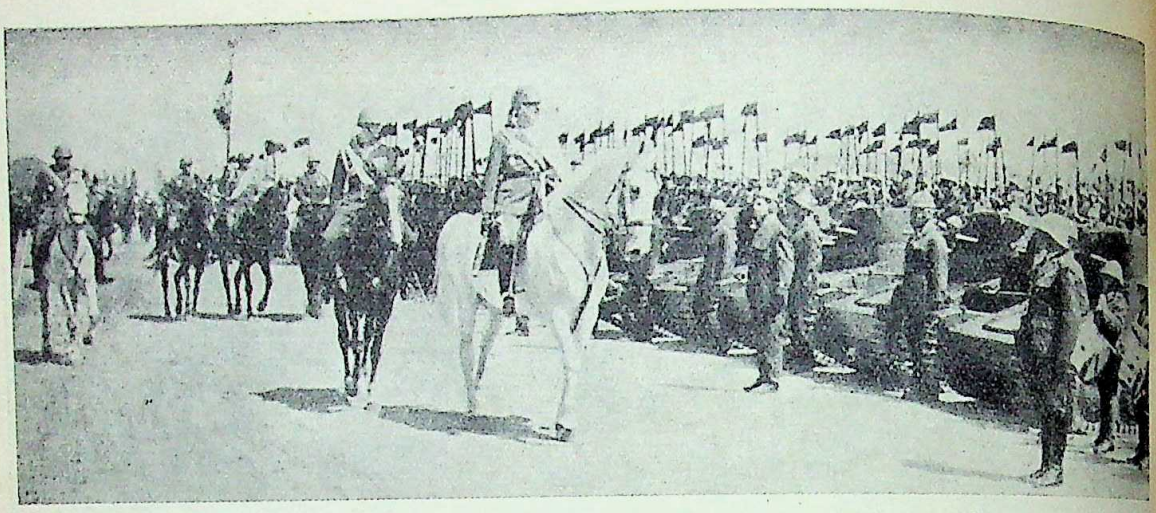
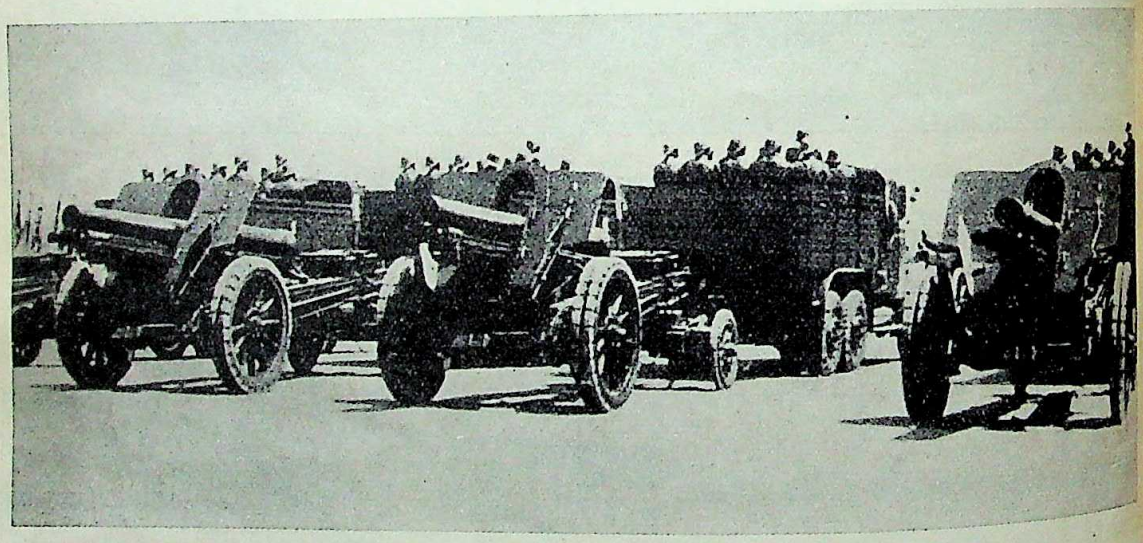
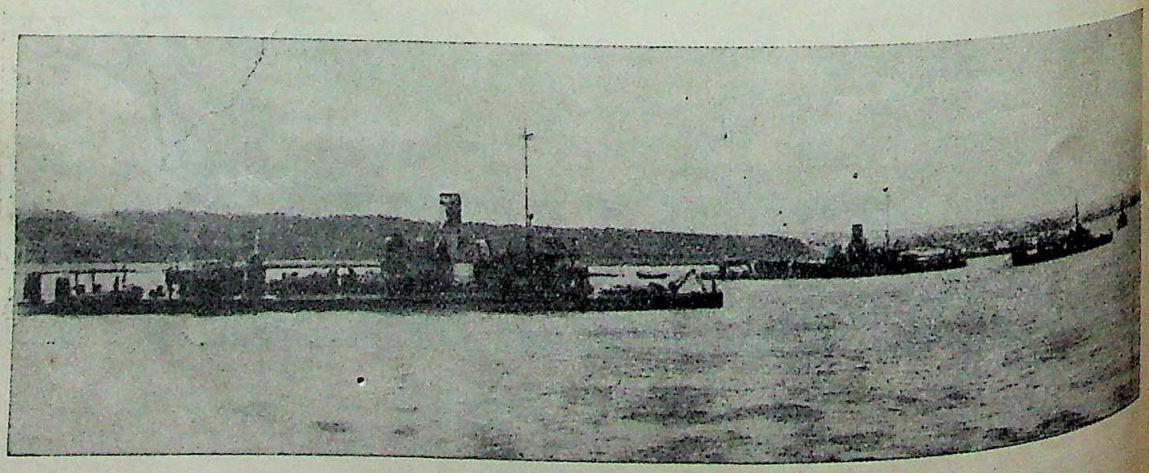


King Carol of Roumania, with son and successor, inspecting a tank unit of his army



Roumanian Artillery on the move



Roumanian Gun-boats on the Danube

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A march past of Bulgarian Infantry

THE NEW BALKAN ASSOCIATES OF THE ROME-BERLIN AXIS

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI, B.Sc. (London)

The storm seems to be focussing in the Balkans although for the time being there is an ominous lull. Speculations are rife as to the shape, magnitude and intensity of the outbreak when it does come and also as to the reasons why Hitler is yet holding his hand. Before these words appear in print a major campaign may have been launched and events might have proceeded far with the tempo of modern mechanised warfare. The last snows of winter are melting in the south-east of Europe and with them go the most formidable barrier against the onslaught of panzer units. It is impossible to follow the course of events behind the veil of war censorship but it might be interesting to re-count the history of the latest adherents of the Rome-Berlin axis, namely Roumania and Bulgaria. Without being dogmatic, one can state that the course of history in general follows along well-marked-out national trends. It is true that strange detours and occasional complete side-tracking of age-old objectives are seen in the progress of a nation towards its goal, but a careful study of the history of the people concerned will reveal that such departures from the traditional path are either due to force majeure or due to the desire to take advantage of seemingly favourable circumstances.

The latest signatory to the New Order in Europe is Bulgaria. It is said that King Boris told an American journalist some time back that

Camouflaged Bulgarian Tank

his people were Pro-Russian, his ministers Pro-German, his queen Pro-Italian (she is a

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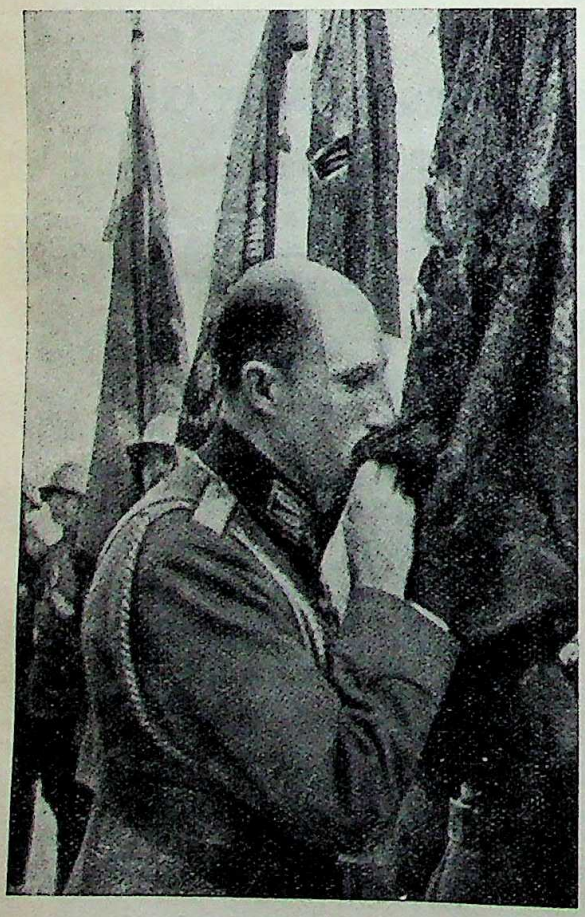
daughter of the king of Italy) and that he and he alone was a neutral in his country !

Before 1878 Bulgaria had no existence as a independent national group. Greece obtained her liberty in 1832. Serbia and Roumania were liberated in 1830 and 1856 respectively and in 1878 and 1881 they became completely independent. But prior to the end of 1878 not even a faint gleam, not even a stray beam of the light of independence had fallen on the country of the Bulgarians. In that year the Bulgarians first got the reins of their state in their own hands but even then they had to wait till 1908 before they could call themselves a free nation. It was in 1908 that Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria declared his country to be an independent sovereign state and took for himself the title of Tsar of Bulgaria.

Bulgarian soldiers inspecting equipment in camp



King Boris kissing the battle standards of the Bulgarian army

The chief barrier against the aspirations of the Bulgarians for freedom was the geographical position and conformity of their native land and this was the reason why it took them so much longer to break the chains of Turkish domination than their more fortunately situated neighbours. The northern region of Bulgaria is very near Constantinople, the capital of the Turkish Empire of those days and the southern plains of the country were totally unsuited for guerilla campaigns. The Turks were thus in an advantageous position and were thus able to crush the rebellions raised by the Bulgar Heiducs repeatedly and with progressively increasing ferocity. These rebellions started, like others in the European empire of Turkey, at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in spite of fierce repression and an administration of merciless severity, the flame of independence could not be totally quenched in Bulgaria. Amongst the band of heroes whose stern determination and courage kept up the spirit of the Bulgars in their ceaseless endeavour for freedom, the names of Rakovsky, the poet Botev and Panaiot will remain immortal. Terrible defeats followed by indiscriminate slaughter and an endless chain of mishaps and difficulties failed to daunt these leaders and their stout-hearted followers. The battle for freedom was kept up regardless of cost in lives, property and untold suffering.

The rebellion of 1875 in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a fierce blaze up and in retaliation the Turks resorted to rape, slaughter and plunder of the Bulgar nationals to such an inhuman degree that the whole of Europe became agitated over it. Mr. Gladstone registered a protest on behalf of the British Government. Tsar

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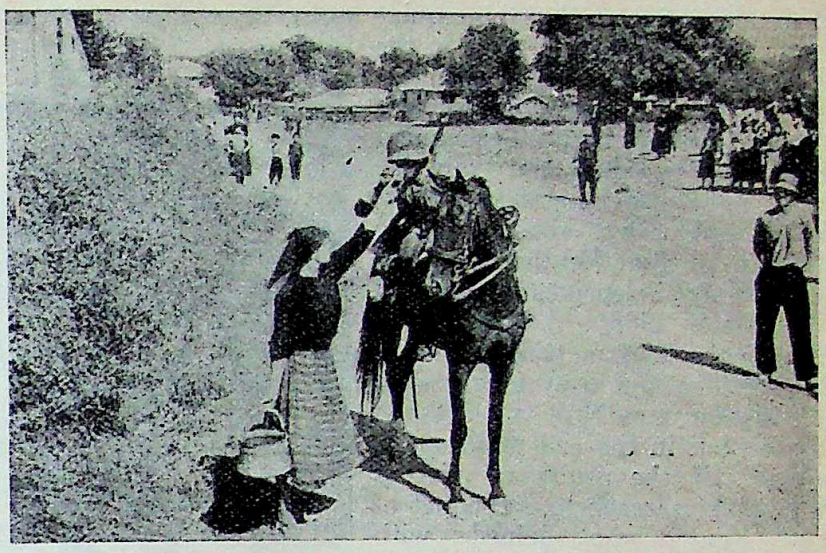
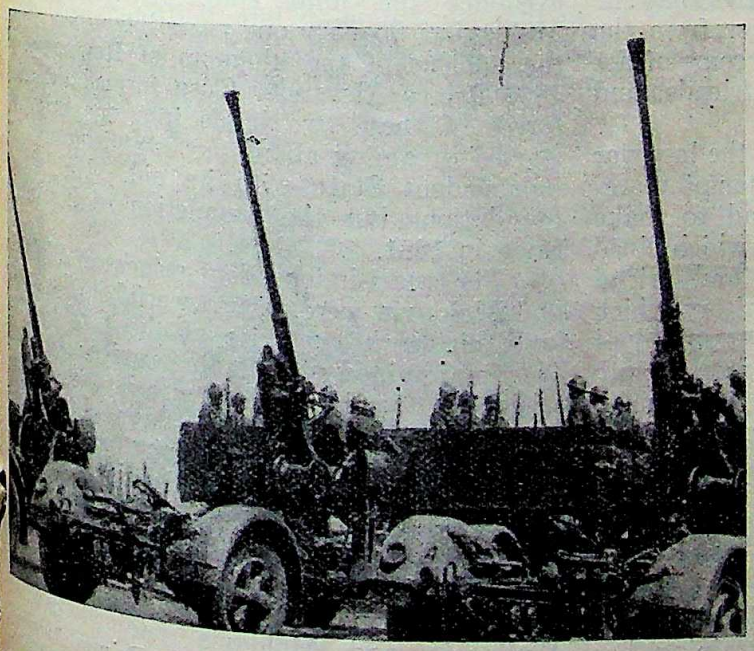
Alexander II of Russia did not rest with the puerile but cheap diplomatic manœuvres of protests and notes of dissent but went to war with Turkey. Roumania joined with Russia and in the year 1878 the first units of the Bulgarian army came into existence at the Roumanian town of Ploesti under Russian supervision.

These *opaltchentsi* units, composed of young Bulgar volunteers, poorly equipped and very partially trained as they were, showed extraordinary valour in three battles, especially in that of Shipka where they fought with epic courage for eight days against a ten-times superior force, without respite and with very insufficient supplies of food and ammunition. Ever since then the Bulgar soldier has established a reputation for grim determination and fighting spirit.



Bulgarian peasant woman gives a drink to a cavalry-man during manœuvres

Tsar Alexander of Russia furnished all the arms, officers and training that the Bulgarian army got at the beginning and it was one of his officers, Prince Alexander of Battenburg, a high official of the Russian army of German descent, who was the first overlord of Bulgars in their newly founded independent principality. Prince Alexander showed great capacity and initiative in forming the Bulgarian Army and in organising the administration of the country placed in his charge. Russia supplied the initial necessities and material for the army and the administration, and to this day they both retain traces of the imprint made at that period.



Roumanian anti-aircraft guns

Prince Alexander started making his adopted country too independent for the liking of Tsar Alexander the Second and in order to show his displeasure the latter withdrew all the facilities given in the beginning, including the Russian officers sent to train the army. Even this failing to daunt the prince or his people, the Tsar had the prince kidnapped and brought as a prisoner into Bessarabia. Prince Alexander escaped and made a triumphal entry into Bulgaria which so incensed the Tsar, who became openly belligerent as a result, that the prince had to abdicate in order that the people in his charge might escape the wrath of an overwhelmingly powerful despot.

Bulgaria thus was left to her fate, without a leader and without any source of help or succour. Taking advantage of this situation her neighbour Serbia made a treacherous attack on her in 1885 but the determination and valour of the Bulgars prevailed in the end and the Serbs were defeated and driven out. In 1887 Prince Ferdinand of the German prinpicality of Saxe-Coburg was offered the throne of Bulgaria which he accepted. At that time the Bulgar soldier had established his fame as a valiant and

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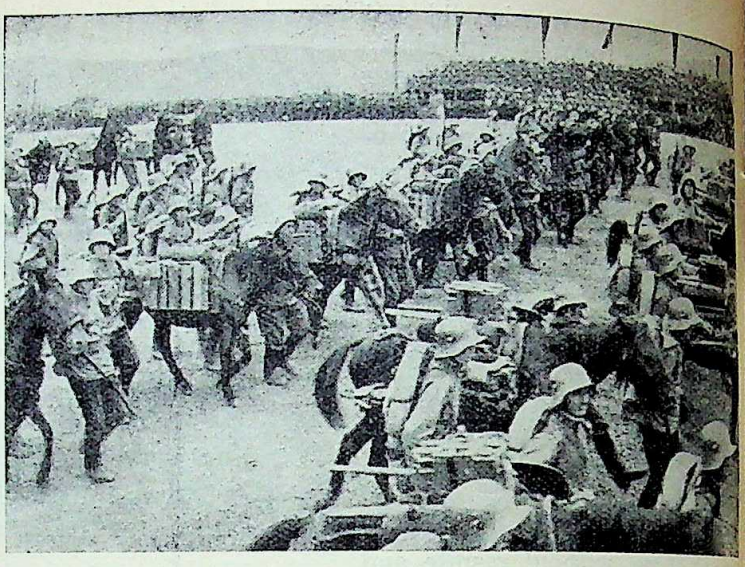
determined fighter, but his equipment and training was poor in the extreme. Twenty years of determined effort and endless sacrifices on the part of his people enabled Ferdinand to equip and train his army upto modern standards and as a result he was able to assume the title of Tsar Ferdinand of the sovereignly independent State of Bulgaria in 1908.

In the Balkan wars of 1912-13 the Bulgarian army fought with distinction and skill against the Turks, but in the end was deprived of all the fruits of victory through the treacherous conduct of her allies who joined with Roumania in an attack on the Bulgars. The Bulgarians had borne the brunt of the war and as such had suffered the heaviest losses and were weary and worn to the utmost. Roumania who had instigated the allies of Bulgaria into causing the friction had carefully kept out of the war to the end, keeping her army, immensely superior in numbers and equipment, intact and fresh. When the sudden and treacherous attack came the Bulgars were overwhelmed from all sides and were thus deprived of all the territories that she had so valiantly fought to reconquer from the Turk, and moreover she had to cede some of her own territories to her faithless friends and treacherous neighbours.



A Bulgarian mountain battery on the move

Bulgaria joined the Germans in the last war in a spirit of revenge and in an attempt to regain these lost territories. She had to make bitter payment for this false step, which lined her up against her first patron and friend Russia. She was shorn of more territory which went to her blackest enemies and was ruined as to man-power and national resources. Upto 1938 Bulgaria and her army was in a most miserable condition but after the signing of the Balkan entente at Salonika in 1938, she started the work of rebuilding, this time with the help of Germany.

The present day Bulgarian army has about 400,000 effectives, has 500 planes and a fair number of tanks, mechanised vehicles and artillery of various calibres. Their training has been of a very short period and in the use of these ultra-modern weapons technical skill counts for a great deal more than courage. Therefore the performance of her army is still a matter of speculation. The Germans have supplied the equipment and it is doubtless that they have given the training, but both must have been bewilderingly new to the Bulgars whose old army traditions and methods were both formed after the Russian pattern. Speculation in these matters is idle, however, as concrete results might be soon forthcoming to show the efficacy or otherwise of this renovation.

* * *

The Paris Congress of 1859 brought into existence the joint state of Wallachia and Moldavia. Twenty one years later these formed the nucleus of the kingdom of Roumania. In 1860 Prince Alexander Cusa formed the armed forces of these two lands into one army and started dreaming about the establishment of an independent State with its aid. He laid the foundations but the completion of his project came in 1881.

The quasi-independent princes of Wallachia and Moldavia were very powerful in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era. They maintained considerable armies and thereby wielded a formidable influence in the affairs of that part of Europe of those days. Later on the spread of the Turkish empire and the land hunger of the empires of Russia and Austria gradually brought down the territories and strengths of these principalities to a very low level. With the rise of Prussia and the subsequent division of Poland into three parts Wallachia and Moldavia retained only the memory of their past glory. Prince Alexander Cusa, by the exercise of exceedingly clever statesmanship over the six years of his reign, managed to restore the lost power and prestige of his country to the extent of leaving his successor Carol I an army of twenty thousand men and another 50,000 armed guards and retainers. The

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further, made France the "patron" of his country, thereby bringing a degree of stability in the foreign relations of his country. His officers

Roumanian telephone scouts

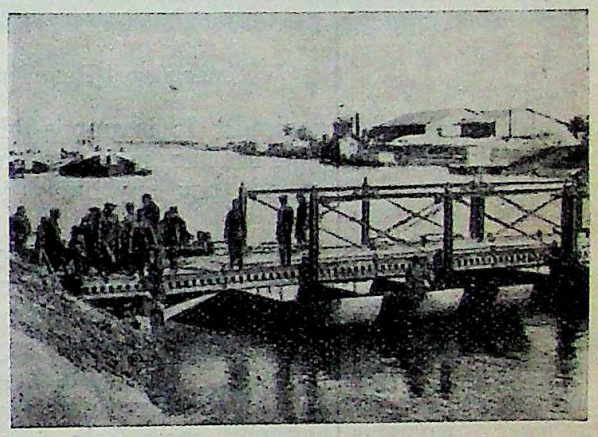
were trained in France to the extent of participating in the overseas expeditions of that country such as in Mexico.

King Carol I was of German descent and having been trained in the Prussian army was very partial towards Prussian army methods. After the defeat of France in the war of 1870, Carol started the reorganisation of his army on the Prussian model and introduced conscription in his country. His army of that period was deficient in organisation, and its equipment, having been purchased from many different sources, was not in the least uniform. In spite of all these handicaps the Roumanians gave a good account of themselves in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877.

Roumanian Infantry practising sharpshooting

After that war Roumania enjoyed 35 years of peace during which period an extensive programme of organisation and re-equipment of the army was carried out.

In 1913 at the end of the Balkan war Roumania attacked Bulgaria. She had not participated in the war against Turkey but wanted a big share of the spoils. Her army was larger than that of any other Balkan state and was intact, fresh and fully equipped. And so taking advantage of the worn and weary condition of the Bulgars, she plotted with Serbia and Greece and launched a treacherous conjoint attack on Bulgaria. The Bulgars went down after a desperate struggle against heavy odds with the elements of surprise and treachery being fully utilized by her enemies. Even then the Roumanians were so badly mauled that in 1914 it was decided to make a complete reorganisation of the army. Large scale orders were placed for equipment with France, Italy, Germany and Austria, but very little of the orders were filled



Roumanian Army Engineers building a pontoon bridge

due to the outbreak of the Great War. Fresh orders were placed with Italy, Switzerland, Spain and U.S.A. for war material, but then the problem of transport had become acute, as the only route connecting Roumania with those countries lay via the Russian railroads and the Russian sea-ports. Russia put forward the demand that Roumania should join the allies with the result that Roumania joined the allies on August 1916. Before however she had received any considerable amount of equipment or munitions, the Germans launched a terrific campaign, overrunning the country with great destruction and forcing Roumania to accept a dictated peace. Small bodies of peasant warriors kept the flag flying in the mountain regions even after the state had capitulated and thus redeemed some of the glory of their ancient fighting traditions.

The victory of the Allies in the Great War resulted in Roumania getting far more as spoils of victory than she had any justification for and she is now paying for her greed and undue reward in revolt, repression and foreign domination. She had an army of over 600,000 men, well

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Camouflaged Roumanian Tanks in manœuvres

equipped and well organised. It is impossible to say what the conditions are like in that force and under whose command they are likely to operate.

Roumania had no connection with Germany and no incentive to link her fortunes with that of the Rome-Berlin Axis and therefore it would be strange if the Roumanian army showed any enthusiasm for the Germans. With Bulgaria her relations were strained to the utmost, to say the least. Bulgaria has had some help from Germany in recent years but her interests and inclinations are more deeply connected with that of Russia. It is therefore very difficult to imagine these two new partners of the Axis as acting together with amity and accord in an enthusiastics attempt for the "New Order in Europe."

At the time of going to press the news of Yugo-Slavia's entry into the Rome-Berlin sphere of influence has been confirmed. The Balkan problem for the Axis is by no means untangled by it.

RISE OF INDIAN CIVILISATION

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.SC., PH.D.

II

Evaluation and Idealisation

The most important processes in the development of this new civilisation are however evaluation and idealisation. Although cultural fusion is the basis, the new civilisation aims at much more than at mere synthesis of old cultures. In fact this new civilisation has a four-fold purpose —first, the elimination of those elements from the old cultures which are antiquated, obsolete and detrimental to the growth of modern society; secondly, the adaptation of old cultural ideals to new social environment; thirdly, the creation of new social values in conformity with the progress of art, science and philosophy; and finally, organisation of all social processes for realising these new values in actual life.

All these processes require evaluation, selection, idealisation with a view to creating new social attitudes and new social values involving reconstruction of social organisation for its further progress through the process of adaptation to physical and social environment. A dynamic and living community undergoes constant processes of elimination and reorientation, creates its *mores*, customs, laws and institutions, and incorporates in its body politic new cultural values in art, science and philosophy and thus protects itself against stagnation, degeneration, subordination and subjugation, and develops its own dynamic personality.

Process of evaluation implies however, the existence of social consciousness, which is, though, not identical, closely related to national life. The development of nationalism is one of the

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greatest achievements of modern India within the past two generations. Several political factors have helped in the growth of national consciousness and in the creation of national unity, of which the most important are the following—(1) superiority complex of the British, both political and racial, creating a great gulf between the Indians and the British; (2) the *Ilbert Bill* of 1883, in connection with which the non-official British in Bengal and Bihar protested against the inclusion of Indian Judges in any trial in which the British were involved; (3) *the Press Act*, restricting the freedom of the Indian press especially in the vernacular; (4) *the Partition of Bengal* in 1905, dividing the Bengalee-speaking people into two divisions, each division under a separate provincial government; (5) the *Rowlatt Act* passed in 1919 against sedition and conspiracy in Bengal, in the face of strong protest from all classes of the Indian population; (6) the Punjab Tragedy of 1919, causing the loss of lives of several hundreds of men, women and children at Jallianawalabag and arousing great indignation throughout the length and breadth of the country; and (7) the Non-Co-operation movements of Mahatma Gandhi as a protest against the repressive measures of the Government.

There were also several international factors which stirred national feeling and helped in the growth of national consciousness, such as (1) the Russo-Japanese War in 1905-6, showing the vulnerability of European power and imperialism; (2) the discriminating policy adopted by the Colonies against the Indians, especially in South Africa, causing nationwide resentment; (3) the Great War (1914-1918), in which India made a spontaneous response to the British Government; (4) the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, in which India became a signatory to an international treaty for the first time; and (5) the inauguration of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation in 1919, in which India has been taking an active part in many international questions.

As a result of these Renaissance and social movements as well as of various internal and external historical events, there have been growing up in India a new social consciousness and a new national will, which have been expressing themselves in the demand for, and organisation of, compulsory elementary education, abolition of caste and untouchability, universal adult suffrage, national self-government, social justice and equity, industrialisation of production, reconstruction of rural life, technical and vocational training, national economic planning and research and investigation, all of which are among the essential elements of this new civilisation.

The last, but not the least important process of developing this new civilisation is idealisation or creation of new social values either by restating some old and neglected virtues or visualising some new virtues, for the achievement of which should be directed all the national energies and organised all the social activities. As a matter of fact the essence of this new civilation lies in the continual idealisation of new and evolving social values and in the continual attempts for their realisation.

While the ideals and aims of this new civilisation are many, mention may be made of only a few cardinal virtues which are the integral elements of this new civilisation. One of the greatest contributions to humanity is the Hindu conception of God, which is a basic element of this new civilisation. The Hindus conceived the cosmic energy of which this universe is an expression, as an eternal, infinite, supreme spiritual Being and attempted to realise it in terms of truth, good and beauty. The realisation of this supreme Being in all respects of life was conceived as religion. It is this conception underlying all mythical and allegorical beliefs and primitive and crude religious practices, which has upheld Hindu civilisation from ultimate decay in spite of foreign invasion and conquest, national subjugation and subordination, social stagnation and inertia. This conception is of great significance even to modern times, when struggle for existence, rivalry and competition, and materialism and agnosticism, predominate all social, political and economic activities, and man has scarcely any time to come to himself and to realise his inner self in its moral and spiritual aspects. There must be some conceptions of an ultimate reality in the contemplation and realisation of which human soul may find its best development and highest happiness.

The second cardinal point of this new civilisation is the brotherhood of men or the moral and spiritual unity of all human beings, which though perceived by the Hindus and preached by the Christians, was for the first time practised by the Muslims. It forms the basic element and central point of social organisation in all Muslim countries and is one of the most important points of the new civilisation. There was no time in human history when the need of this message of Islam was so urgently needed as at present. In spite of the scientific truth to the contrary, racism, "Aryanism," and "Nordicism" have become prevailing doctrines in some countries and have expressed in such slogans as "yellow peril," "rising tide of colour" and "white

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Australia." It is time to re-establish the essential unity of mankind not only in science, but also social attitude, national law and international relations.

The third point of this new civilisation is the conception of common man as the centre of all social activities, as developed in the West. Unlike Greek, Roman, Hindu and other ancient civilisations, Western civilisation, as developed during the past two centuries, has realised the importance of the common man in social progress and preached the doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity and advocated the establishment of equal right and privilege for all people. Nowhere is there a greater necessity for the appearance of the common man in the centre of social activities than in India where by far the majority of the people are diseased, ill-fed, ill-clothed and illiterate and where they are penalised by rigorous social custom, such as the caste and untouchability, child marriage and enforced widowhood and purdah system. Although for two centuries British rule and contact of Western civilisation have undermined some of the rigid customs they still remain in the background of the social, political and industrial organisation of the country. This new civilisation starts its life with the common man in the centre of cultural development.

The last and the most important basic element of this new civilisation is social democracy, which has been dreamt by poets and philosophers, philanthropists and reformers and seers and prophets and have been vaguely conceived of by such movements as trade unionism, syndicalism, socialism and communism. Social democracy must however be preceded by political democracy or equality of men before the law which has been attempted by the French Revolution as well as by industrial democracy or equitable distribution of wealth which is being attempted by Soviet Russia. Social democracy is, however, a much more difficult task inasmuch as it depends upon the moral and intellectual development of men and women not only in the exercise of rights and discharge of duties but also in mutual respect and service. It is a difficult task for any community or nation, but it is only in attempting at realising the highest and noblest ideals that the individual attains his perfection and society proceeds towards the higher stage of progress.

It is thus seen that the fusion of Hindu, Muslim and Western civilisation and the development of new social values, ideals and aims, have facilitated the rise and development of this new Indian civilisation. This new civilisation is, first of all, based on the positive background supplied by the principles of various natural and social sciences with the common man in the centre of all social, political and industrial activities; secondly, it aims at liberty, equality and brotherhood through moral and spiritual relationship of all human beings, irrespective of race, caste and creed; thirdly, it attempts at the establishment of social democracy where all men and women may live together in mutual respect and service; and finally, it attempts in finding the final happiness of men in search after truth, good and beauty of an ultimate reality, whether as an abstract moral principle or a supreme spiritual Being.

4. Principles of Reconstruction

The foundation of this new civilisation, as noted before, has been laid, first, by the fusion of Hindu, Muslim and Western civilisation; and secondly, by the rise of new cultural ideals. Although a beginning has been made, this new civilisation requires thorough and careful reconstruction so that it may really contribute to the moral and spiritual elevation of the Indian people as well as of mankind in general. The reconstruction involves several principles, which may be classified under the following headings, namely: (1) the individual and society; (2) development of personality; (3) organisation of the group; and (4) progressive social order.

The Individual and Society

Civilisation is based on two elements, the individual and society, which are, however, co-relatives as the one cannot exist apart from the other. While the individual is an expression of social life, of which he is a unit, society is also the expression of collective life comprising the experiences of the individuals. The principle involved in cultural progress concerns the mental, moral and spiritual development of the individual on the one hand and the integration and co-ordination of the activities of the individuals forming society on the other. The mutual adjustment and co-ordination of the individual and society in their functional aspects is a perpetual social problem.

The individual is the conscious organising and motive force in all social processes. His impulses, instincts, sentiments, beliefs, thoughts, activities, aims and ideals arising from the interactions between himself and his physical and social environments are the basic elements, out of which grow folkways, customs, laws and institutions, forming the social contents of a civilisation. But the individual himself is the product of society, is nurtured and reared in a social group and owes the growth of himself and

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only to those elements in which he resembles, but also in those in which he differs in social behaviour. He is at the same time a generator of new social forces, innovator of new behaviour patterns, creator of new social values and contributor to social progress.

That disease and poverty as well as illiteracy and ignorance are great impediments to the normal growth of the individual is quite evident. But there are many other social hindrances to its development. First, dogmatic religion, which interferes with the very inner springs of human thinking and activity through fear or punishment as in the case of the Catholic Church, which burned many human beings in order to save their souls. Secondly, authoritative custom, such as in Hinduism which leaves very little personal liberty in social behaviour except those approved by the caste and the scripture. Thirdly, dictatorial or totalitarian State, which permits human activities only in those spheres which will strengthen its authority or power as in the case of some of the present European States. Finally, intolerant public opinion, which disapproves all those activities which do not fall within the spheres of the standards set by itself. That the individual must conform to some basic social behaviour patterns, on which social organisation is based, must be readily accepted; but the principles of such behaviour patterns should be very simple and broad leaving ample scope for the free development of the individual.

The development of the individual depends, first of all, upon education, both traditional and institutional. With the progress of society, the process of education has become complex and elaborate from childhood until youth and even after. For the fullest development of the individual there must also be freedom of thought, speech and action. Moreover, in modern society a man must also enjoy economic security, exercise political rights, discharge his duties so that he may have full opportunity for expression of his individuality.

Society comes into existence through association, whenever two or more individual live together whether in the family, tribe or community, and whenever collective function becomes necessary for the provision and regulation of food and shelter, for internal and external defence, for the establishment of peace and order, for the propitiation of the unknown or supernatural, for the regulation of social and individual behaviour, and for the initiation of younger generations to the existing social order, thus giving rise to such activities as well as institutions as industry, government, religion, morality and education.

Like the individual, society is also an entity and consists of the experiences of individuals as lived in society. Although implying a group of individuals in association or cultural relation, society means not merely the admixture of individuals, but their collective life, such as habits, customs, laws and institutions, which arise through the interaction and interplay of the inner selves of individuals and out of their sentiments, beliefs, thoughts, ideas, activities and aims, as are effected through association, as are held together by some fundamental principles, moral and spiritual, as if into one unit, and as are transmitted as cultural heritage from generation to generation.

Like the individual, the success of society depends upon its self-organisation in relation to both its internal and external function. With the evolution of society as a result of constant mastery of man over himself as well as over nature, and progress in art, science and philosophy, social functions also multiply, and become complex requiring a variety of elaborate institutions for the discharge of its duties towards its own self as well as towards the individual. Society must adjust itself to the changing conditions of the world and adopt the latest achievement of art, science and philosophy, including discovery and invention. Moreover, society must organise itself more thoroughly and solidly for internal and external defence, utilise the most up-to-date process of production and most equitable system of distribution and encourage and facilitate the moral, intellectual and spiritual development of the individual.

For functional purposes, society acts always as a unit, an organism or even as an individual. It has its own personality and consciousness and its own mind and will, which is expressed in a variety of ways. It may be that the so-called social will is exercised by a single individual as in dictatorship, by a group of individual as in an oligarchy, or by the majority of a people as in a republic. But with the diffusion of public education and the extension of adult suffrage, the whole trend in modern times is to include as many people in the formation of public will as possible. The most important institutions of a modern society for the fulfilment of its function are the State, the church, industry and education, and although the State may usurp the function of society, in certain countries and for a certain time, Society may often make the State obey its wishes in the long run through strong public opinion.

As in the case of individual, dogmatic

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religion, authoritative custom, dictatorial State and intolerable public opinion are also impediments to the development of society. Moreover, as society evolves, function increases and structure multiplies, all forms of social behaviour may be conventionalised and separated, from not only the individuals but also from the original functions. In course of time, the institutions become all the more important and may be controlled by the interested parties, leading to the submergence of the individual and the decay of collective function and the stagnation of society itself. Thus, in spite of the high cultural achievement like those of Greece and Rome, Hindu society has declined and lost its power in the progressive development of the people.

Social decline or decay is due to still more important reasons. In both Greek and Roman civilisations, most of the individuals were ignorant and left outside the scope of cultural achievements. A large number of the people were either slaves or serfs and only a small section had the privilege of exercising rights and enjoying privileges. The fall of Greece and Rome was followed by the Dark Ages and even the limited class of educated people was under the absolute control of the clergy and there was no scope for freedom of thought, speech and action.

It was during the Renaissance movement that freedom of thinking was restored and during the Reformation Movement that human conscience asserted itself against religious and social tyranny and it was during the French Revolution that the dignity of the common man was re-established. Some of the fundamental principles enunciated during the period have become the common property of the whole human race. "All men are born equal and with equal rights and everybody is one and nobody is more than one" is the basic principle of modern social organisation as enunciated in the West by the end of the 18th century. This cardinal principle underlying Western civilisation is also the basic tenet of the new Indian civilisation. As in the West, the Indian Renaissance has brought to all the old cultural ideals and developed a new consciousness of individuality. It is the individual on whose physical and mental resources are built the whole social fabric and the whole civilisation.

The new civilisation of India is therefore based on two cardinal principles. First, the fullest and richest expression of the individual for the benefit of himself as well as of society in general, for which the individual should be given the fullest opportunity not only for the exercise of rights and enjoyment of privileges, but also for discharge of his duties for which he must be educated and trained. Secondly, the reorganisation of society on a new basis, where not only the classes but also the masses can "live, breathe and have their being" and where the rights and privileges of humanity become accessible to the whole population irrespective of race, caste and creed. The new civilisation is in fact the civilisation of the people to be achieved by the collective life of the people and to consist of sentiments, beliefs, activities, aims and ideals, as well as the achievements by the whole population in industry, politics, ethics, aesthetics and religion. It is the consolidation and co-ordination of the material, moral and spiritual achievements of the whole population into one component whole which constitutes the sum total of this new civilisation.

Development of Personality

The starting point in this new civilisation is the development of personality or the organisation of the conscious elements of a person into an entity. An individual is a physio-psychic unit. Under the law of heredity, he resembles his fellow beings in most respects and under the law of variation, he differs, both physically and psychologically, even from his immediate progenitors in some respects. It is the development of the entire individual, including both his similarities and dissimiliarities, which assures the continuity of social progress on the one hand and offers the possibility of variation, innovation and progress on the other.

The expression of individual life requires satisfaction of several desires such as that for family, prosperity and happiness as well as that for the realisation of intellectual, moral and perpetual aims and ideals. For fullest self-expression the individual should have a variety of favourable conditions, such as (1) sound birth; (2) adequate education; (3) intellectual freedom; (4) economic security; (5) intelligent citizenship; (6) social equality; and (7) personal religion.

The first requirement of an individual is sound birth. A person must have sound parentage, and should be free from congenital defects and diseases. He must receive pre-natal treatment, *i.e.*, should be born of a healthy and properly nourished mother, and also ante-natal care in the form of sanitary and other provisions at his birth and immediatly after. Moreover, his childhood must be conserved and developed by providing sanitary habitation, proper nourishment and physical exercises.

The second requirement of an individual is

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adequate education with a view to initiating him to the existing social institutions and to inspiring him to express what is the best and noblest in him. General education should be accompanied by special training in those moral virtues which may help in building up his character and make him a fit person for independant action. What is equally important is that he should be given vocational guidance and training which may be continued even after he left his school, so that he may continue to remain an efficient contributor to the progressive national prosperity.

The third requirement of an individual is intellectual freedom so that his mind may develop without being hampered by dogma, creed, prejudice and fear, all of which stand in the way of the full expression of personality. Like taboo or rigid regulation regarding food, clothing, occupation, manners and customs in the primitive society which bind a man to the community in every step of his life, many social institutions in the old static and civilized community which have become conventionalised, are great hindrances to the growth of intellectual, moral and spiritual development. One of the objects of this new civilisation is to give best opportunity to an individual to take an objective attitude towards life and follow his own development without regard to antiquated and obsolete custom and attitude. No man is completely free from the influence of the dominating ideals and aims of a community in which he is born, but the greater the power to view everything objectively, the higher is his achievement in intellectual and moral development. While conforming to the social customs, laws and institutions which are absolutely essential for the preservation of the established social order, an individual should rise above all the social conventionalities and persue his independent thinking and evalutate things from a broader perspective.

The fourth requirement of an individual is the provision for economic security, by which is meant that a man must achieve a certain amount of education, training and efficiency for some occupation, and be given an opportunity for employment, which he can perform to the best of his ability and in which he can earn a decent living for himself and for his family. In the modern complicated and industrialised society and under the aegis of private ownership, it has become more and more difficult for an individual to obtain economic security in the face of internal and external competition as indicated by increasing unemployment in all industrially advanced countries. An individual must therefore be helped by the State in securing a permanent and lucrative employment and must also be assured of a permanent and adequate income for maintaining a respectable standard of living and for participating in the increasing national prosperity.

The fifth element of this personality is the development of intelligent citizenship. Modern society has become more and more complex and complicated and some of its varied functions must be undertaken by collective or group efforts, for which modern Government serves as an organ. Since individual interest is affected by Government in many social and economic aspects, the individual must take active part in political affairs for safeguarding his own interest and must have a chance of selecting his own representative at the local, provincial and national legislature. Not only he should be given full suffrage, but he must also be prepared by education and training to praticipate in all local, provincial and national affairs, and become a motive force in the modern State.

The sixth important qualification of this new individuality is the acquisition of social equality. Although the ideal of political equality has been gaining ground for over a century and that of industrial democracy has also been fully conveeived, the question of social democracy has scarcely received sufficient consideration. An individual should not only enjoy equality before the law and maintain a decent standard of living, he must also feel socially equal among his fellow men and women and shall enjoy personal dignity in all his social relationship. While a certain amount of education and training in art, literature and philosophy may be helpful to the achievement of his personal dignity, what is essentially needed is the moral and spiritual achievement which alone can add to his character and behaviour and elevate him in the estimation of his fellow-men.

The seventh, which is the last but not the least important, element of this new personality, is the development of personal religion. The essence of a religion is to have an ideal, whether a personal god, or a moral code, or an abstract principle, and to try to realise it in all the activities of life as a sacred duty. This religion may be egoistic in the sense of following one's own welfare or success in this world or salvation in the next, or altruistic and social in the sense of cultivating fellow-feeling, brotherhood and service to mankind. In the nature of things, the actions and reactions among different individuals or group of individuals imply the existence of the rules of the game and of certain behaviour patterns, some of which are mere mechanical process, others are enforced by the law, while

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there are still others which depend upon individual choice for observance. The more complex society is, the more highly developed is the moral code, upon the observance of which depends the welfare of both the individual and of society. Moral principles are brought into function by social approval or disapproval, but an individual with a highly developed moral consciousness scarcely depends upon social sanction for his behaviour towards his fellow beings. The new presonality implies that a person should develop a moral and spiritual consciousness in which his behaviour patterns, duties, aims and ideals may be personified into a personal religion and may be continually realised in the brotherhood of men or in the spiritual relatioship with the ultimate reality of God.

In short, the new personality means that a man must be an intelligent, moral and spiritual entity in himself. He must adapt himself to the social order in all political economic ethical and aesthetic aspects and adjust himself to the changing conditions of modern times. Moreover, he should seek the highest and richest self-expression in the development of free thought, moral consciousness and self-less service to mankind as taught by Hindu, Muslim, Christian and other religions, and dictated by modern democracy thus meeting the demands of both the East and the West.

Organisation of the Group

Between the individual and society stands the group or a number of persons accidentally gathered or consciously organised either temporarily or permanently, but working collectively rather than individually. A group may be merely a loose body, such as the crowd or a highly organised body such as the State. Between these two extremes, there is a variety of groups, both homogeneous and heterogeneous, such as the family, sect, caste, community and nation, through all of which the individual is integrated into society.

An individual is organically related to the family which is the primary social group, but most of the groups come into existence through the habit of men working together either consciously or unconsciously. While some of these collective activities result in only loose relationship, others lead to the development of organised groups. A group represents, however, not the persons composing it, but their psychological contents arising from actions and reactions of their inner selves as well as between them and their environments and differing from the mental contents of each person composing the group. The group also differs from society, which represents all the cultural heritage of humanity as well as the sentiments, thoughts, folkways, *mores,* laws and institutions of the living beings as affected by aspirations, ideals, aims and plans for the future.

The group is the connecting link between the individual and society. It is in fact the group with which the individual comes in direct contact. Society is a larger entity and influences individual feelings, thoughts and activities mostly through various groups. Social forces naturally express themselves around some human interests, such as economic, political, ethical, or aesthetic, to name them only in broad features, and lead to various activities by the group itself or by society as a whole. All the group activities which are socially beneficial and which result in permanent good for society, first focus public attention and then gradually lead to the evolution of values, aims and ideals, some of which may ultimately be realised by society.

Group activities have many functions in social life. First, it is the group which forms the first nucleus for the development of individual concepts, ideals or aims before they take definite shape. Secondly, it is through the sympathetic and critical attitude of the group that the individual can develop his own personality and acquire any conception of society itself. Thirdly, many of the social values, *e.g.,* mechanical inventions, are often experimented by the group before their efficacies and effects may be ascertained and socially adopted. Finally, it is the group again which is responsible for the adoption of the ideals and values of an individual for a community, nation or society as a whole. In fact, group activities play a very important role in the evolution of society.

The number of groups in any society is legion. All social activities take place through the collective endeavour of individuals or groups and the higher the development of society, the larger is the number of groups through which it carries on its various functions. While the family, the church and the State are only broadly defined groups serving some fundamental functions of society, there are also innumerable groups in every community for serving some minor but inevitable social functions. It is thus difficult to classify the groups of any social organisation except under such broad headings as industry, politics, education, religion, ethics and aesthetics. Moreover, all of the groups are not socially beneficial; in fact, some of the groups are formed for the realisation of personal interest even at the cost of other groups or of the whole society.

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A very important problem of social progress is therefore the organisation of the groups with some definite object in view for the furtherance of the social, political, economic, ethical and aesthetical interests of society. In order to become effective and beneficial, group must be (1) voluntary, (2) open, (3) purposive, (4) homogenous, and (5) altruistic. In the first place, it is only in a voluntary association that a man can express what is the best in him, thus achieving his full individual development and benefiting society at the same time. Secondly, a group must be open in the sense that its objectives and proceedings should be subjected to public criticism. A secret organisation, such as Klu Klux Klan, is a twofold calamnity inasmuch as it hinders the growth of the best in an individual and may even do harm to a group or society in general. Thirdly, a group must have a definite aim or purpose, for the fulfilment of which it can devote its entire energy, thus benefiting both the group and society. Fourthly, it must be homogenous, *i.e.*, all the members of the group must be guided by the same ideals and aims, which alone can give cohesion to its members and facilitate the realisation of its objective. And finally, a group must be guided by altruistic purposes, *i.e.*, for the benefit of society while pursuing interest of the individual members or even of the group itself. No country is in greater need of such group formation as India, where social, political and industrial development lags behind.

Progressive Social Order

A civilisation is the sum total of the experiences of an entire people or groups of peoples passing from generation to generation and extending from the dim past to the unknown future. It is guided by a large variety of physical and social forces, most of which remain unknown and unconscious. But with the rising social consciousness, some of its principles become known and, what is more important, some of the social movements and processes are guided by conscious and purposive activities, aims and ideals. As a creative social process, the new Indian civilisation must satisfy the needs and desires of the masses, the aspirations and ambitions of the classes, and the aims and ideals of the whole nation for the continued realisation by the people of the principles of justice, equality and brotherhood in the process of social evolution.

This new civilisation implies the organisation of a new and progressive social order, which should be based on the positive background of science, both natural and social, and which should aim at the realisation of such higher values of life as are dictated by religion in the broadest sense of the word. The object of all rational activities of society is to find the underlying principles of social forces, some of which are unknown and unconscious, in order to apply them to the best expression of individual and social life. It is the application of these principles as embodied in philosophy, science and art, which assures social progress. Moreover, liberal religion does not merely imply belief in God, soul and their inter-relation, but also the realisation of all those aspirations, aims and ideals, whether in the form of abstract or concrete principles, such as truth, good and beauty or humanity and progress, in the contemplation or realisation of which human soul finds its highest happiness.

The essential elements of this new civilisation and this progressive social order on which it is based, should be the following: (1) nationality; (2) individuality; (3) rationality; (4) industrialism; (5) democracy; (6) toleration; (7) progress. These elements are neither exhaustive nor exclusive but together they form an essential condition and the working basis of this new civilisation.

The first element of this new civilisation is *nationality*, as distinct from nationalism whether political or economical, that is, a territorial group occupying a geographical area and having a common government for achieving common ends in certain vital aspects of life, which is its basis rather than race or religion. That race can not be the basis of civilisation is evident from the fact that there is no such thing as pure race in any part of the world, and least of all in India. Nor is religion a surer basis of civilisation as the same civilisation may have several religions and the same religion may be found among several civilisations. Religion has already become a private affair of individuals or groups rather than a national affair of the whole population. Even in India religion has been separated from the State. Moreover, the very fact that religion, which forms the basis of Hindu and Muslim civilisations, is a cause of social stagnation and a source of communal conflict, shows the necessity of changing the very basis of civilisation. What is much more important is the fact that nationality in the sense of the State has several important functions to perform in modern civilisation. Some of the collective activities of society for example, may best be undertaken by Government, which has become the organ of modern society for performing collective social functions in addition to the ordinary routine work of preserving peace

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and order. The lack of national sentiment is no mean cause of India's subjugation by foreign powers in spite of its greatness in area and population. It is on the basis of nationality on which can be built a new and progressive society.

The second requirement of this new civilisation is *individuality* which depends upon the unity, cohesion and co-ordination of these divergent and diversified social, political, industrial, ethical and aesthetic ideals, thoughts and activities as expressed by Hindu and Muslim civilisations and contributed by Western civilisation into one common whole by one or more common links, with a view to making this new civilisation a strong and solid entity and to give it a new personality. There are several factors which have brought about this national solidarity in India, such as geographical unity, racial similarity and unitary goverment. Moreover, in spite of apparent diversity there is a common culture, which is found from the one end of the country to the other and which underlies all the divergent social activities of the people. This underlying cultural unity has recently been renovated by various social movements, such as those of religion, reform, education, industry and government as noted before. The most important factor in the development of national unity is the struggle for national government, which has led them to make a common demand almost all over India, especially under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. Underlying all the communal conflicts and provincial rivalries there are in fact certain common ideals and aims which are the most important forces for unifying the peoples of modern India.

The third element of this new civilisation is that of *rationality, i.e.*, an objective or scientific attitude towards life, which is an essential condition to social progress. Cultural development began in the dim and hoary past when few people were conscious of their culture, *i.e.*, *mores*, customs, laws and institutions. Even today man lives more by sentiment than by reason, and ideals, aims and habits are formed unconsciously. But with the rise of self-consciousness and the mastery of nature, and himself, man has been developing reasoning power and becoming more and more conscious of his activities. Many of the social processes and activities have thus become more and more self-conscious and self-directive, and are being consciously planned. Moreover, most of the social policies are now based on the reports of commissions, committees and enquiries on which is based social actions in a desired direction. Moreover, the achievements in art, science and philosophy are being gradually applied to the realisation of social ends. In brief, modern civilisation has become more and more scientific.

A most important problem in India today is the application of science to its social processes, which implies the secularisation of human knowledge. The control of human thinking by religion, customs and dogmas has been a great hindrance to the progress of society. A great achievement of the European Renaissance is the secularisation of thought, which, though secular in Greece and Rome, became mostly theological with the rise of the Catholic Church during the Dark Ages. The lack of a scientific attitude towards life is responsible for the prevalence of most of the social evils in India, such as child marriage, enforced widowhood, the purdah system, caste and untouchability, as well as many superstitions and mystic cults or religious practices all over India, debasing the whole fabric of Hindu civilisation. The secularisation of knowledge in India and application of science and art including discoveries and inventions to social processes is an essential step towards India's social progress.

The fourth element of this new civilisation is *industrialism*. Although not with some defects, such as the concentration of the ownership of productive system in the hands of the few and the rise of slums in many industrial towns, which are however only historical and accidental rather than intrinsic and fundamental, industrialism has developed through the gradual mastery of man over natural and social forces in the process of industrial evolution and is the most efficient system of production in modern times. Its essential feature is the continued application of the latest discoveries and inventions of science, both social and natural, to productive systems, such as manufacturing, mining, forestry, fishing, agriculture and even household.

Industrialism, however,, means the rise of a modern industrial town and the growth of urban life in contrast to rural life. In fact, the growth of industrialism has brought changes in the social, political and industrial conditions of modern society and in the moral and spiritual outlook of the peoples towards life, thus giving rise to an industrial as compared with a rural civilisation. Like industry itself, industrial civilisation has also evolved through the general process of social evolution and is much more dynamic and progressive than rural civilisation inasmuch as it offers better opportunities for the expression of the mental faculties and moral forces of the people.

Industrialism has, however, become an imperative necessity to India both for national

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economy and national defence. This is an age of international economy and no nation can maintain its economic integrity and independence without adopting the most efficient system of production. Moreover, an industrial nation is much better organised and more powerful than an agricultural nation in self-defence. As a matter of fact, nowhere is there a greater need for the urbnisation of rural life than in India. In the true sense of the word, rural life, in which farmland and homestead are combined into one, does not exist in India. A rural community in India is organised into a village, which is a miniature town containing all its defects but without its benefits inasmuch as an Indian village lacks both planning and sanitation. Houses are built haphazard and too close to one another and are without provisions for roads and lanes and for proper ventilation, conservency and water supply. These organic defects of the village are augmented by disease and poverty, illiteracy and ignorance as well as by the decline in arts and crafts and agricultural productivity.

Nothing can better regenerate rural life in India than industrialisation, which alone can create more industrial employment and relieve the pressure of population on the land, apply modern science and technology and business principles to agriculture and make it more productive, and turn the subsistence into the business farming and self-sufficing village economy, into national and international economy. Commercial agriculture will naturally be followed by increasing facilities for transportation, marketing and banking as well as by the rise of rural industries such as the manufacture of farm implements and conservation of agricultural products in rural districts. When to these changes are added the re-establishment of the village *panchyat*, which has already begun in certain provinces, as well as the introduction of municipal, sanitary and educational institutions and welfare and re-creational centres, rural life in India will gradually assume urban character.

The fifth essential element in the new civilisation in *democracy* which, in spite of such defects, as the lack of unity and solidarity for quick action, is the best form of government which has developed in the process of social evolution. The growing individuality and the rising self-consciousness and sense of dignity among the people are incompatible with the dictatorship, which, through threat and terror, may fool "some people some time, some people all the time, but not all the people all the time." The essential points of a democracy are adult suffrage, majority rule, representative government and referendum, an essential condition and recall, all of which help in the growth of stronger personality and a more rational social policy. The importance of democracy has increased all the more in modern times. Modern government is not concerned merely with the preservation of peace and order, although they may be still its prime functions, but with almost all the aspects of social, political and economic life requiring collective action and it is only natural that Government should consult the people on any vital question which concerns them directly and enact legislation through their representatives. Moreover, democracy creates intelligent citizenship as all men and women come into direct contact with the State, take active interest in political affairs, whether local, provincial or national, and utilise their suffarage in selecting their own representatives.

Democracy in the sense of a republic had also flourished in India in ancient times, but was gradually submerged into great empires. What is more significant is the fact that the village in India has been republic from its very beginning. Although some of its power was absorbed by the State under the Empire in the Middle Ages, it retained most of its fundamental features even under the Muslim rule, especially under the Moghuls. It lost, however, most of its power under British rule, although it has again been revived and some of the provincial Governments are rebuilding the *panchyat* system. The defects of the village republics was the lack of its representation in the central government. What is needed is the consolidation and federation of the village republics into central organisations through the process of representation from the village to the district and from the district to the province.

The present constitution of India, in spite of its restrictive suffrage and the control of the essential subjects, such as defence, finance and foreign affairs, by the British Government, provides for the development of the democratic government. Although suffrage is still much restrictive, the number of voters has been raised from 7 million as provided by the Government of India Act of 1919 to 36 million by the Government of India Act of 1935. The administration of the provinces, which are autonomous, resides in the elected members, although the Governors still retain the power of independent action in exceptional cases. The proposed federal government has been granted still more restricting powers, but the foundation has been laid for the development of democracy. The achievement of full autonomy or Dominion Status will undoubtedly be followed by universal suffrage, which is essential for the establishment of

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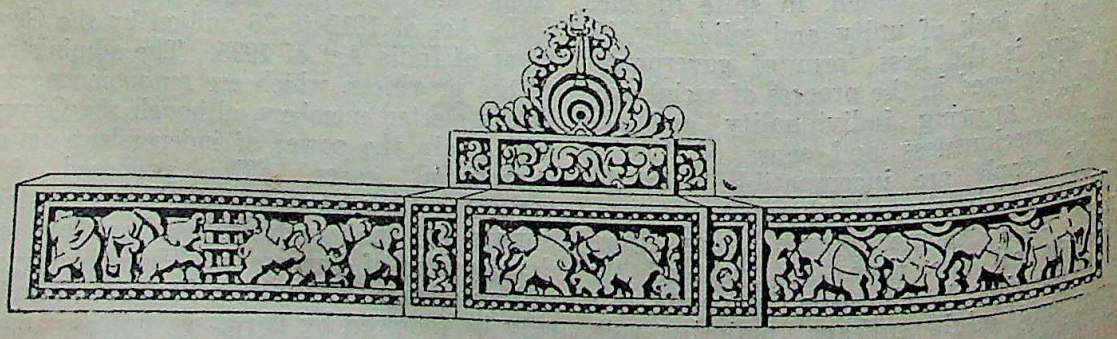
the government of the people by the people for the people. In order to become truly effective, this political democracy must be supplemented by industrial democracy and even social democracy, which alone can assure more equitable distribution of national wealth and social privileges.

The sixth element of this new civilisation is *toleration* or respect for the differences, both racial and cultural, among others. Equality or the granting of the same rights and privileges to others as one would expect to receive for himself, is the foundation of universal brotherhood or the feeling of spiritual relationship between man and man. Hindu civilisation has always been noted for its tolerating spirit and respect for the creed and religion of other people. "Live and let live" has been the guiding principle of Hindu civilisation and Hindus have always welcomed the immigrants of other races such as the Jews, early Christians and Parsees into their shores. Nowhere is this spirit of toleration is needed in a greater degree than in India, where different racial and religious groups reside side by side and where it is needed not only for avoiding cultural conflict, but also for consolidating and co-ordinating divergent interests into one national whole for the progress of society in general. Moreover, it is the only sound and solid basis of establishing international relationship, which is now being built only on political exigency or economic interest, and which inevitably leads to international conflict, as indicated by the present war. Mutual toleration is the only means of upbuilding international friendship.

The seventh, or the last but not the least important, element in this new civilisation is social *progress* or the evolution of the society through the continued achievement of higher social values, ideals and aims. The avowed object of all rational activities is social amelioration or the achievement of some desired standard of social values. The concept of progress makes modern society different from the older ones; while the latter looked backward, and depended for its guidance upon some standard or precept established by revealed religion or traditional moral code, the former looks forward to the realisation of some ethical order which has been determined to be good, by experience and deliberation. It is the concept of realising some social values in the future and of organising social life accordingly, which forms the special feature, of this new civilisation.

Both science on which it is founded and religion at which it aims make this new civilisation dynamic and progressive. The idea of progress also implies that through greater mastery of natural environment and human nature, society may adapt itself to the changing conditions, supply the increasing needs of the people and above all achieve social values, ideals and aims. Moreover, a progressive civilisation must continually strive after greater capacity for survival, greater efficiency for production and greater harmony among individuals and groups for the continuation of its collective life.

Some of the criteria for the evaluation of social progress are health, wealth, education and morality. Social progress must indicate, first, the improvement of racial stock and general health as indicated by the increasing longevity and freedom from diseases; secondly, increasing social wealth and national dividend and specially increasing welfare among the masses through more equitable distribution of wealth; thirdly, increasing desire among all classes of people for knowledge as indicated by greater pursuit of intellectual life; fourthly, increasing opportunities for self-expression, specially on the part of the masses; and finally, increasing desire on the part of the people for self-less service to their fellow-beings.



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SYNTHETIC DRUGS

By P. NEOGI, M.A., Ph.D., F.N.I., I.E.S. (Retd.)

From the earliest times man must have been acquainted with methods, however crude, for curing different ailments to which the human body is subject. In India the Atharava-Veda, the last of the four Vedas composed about 1500 years before Christ, mentions more than two dozen ailments including a kind of fever which in symptoms resembles Malarial fever, and prescribes chanting of *mantras* or incantations, the use of amulets of twigs, roots, and leaves of trees and plants as well as of metals like gold and lead round the arm or the waist for curing different diseases. The Orientalist Bloomfield writes "the charms of the Atharva-Veda along with such practices as went with them represent quite the most complete account of primitive medicine prescribed in any literature." The next improvement in the method of curing diseases is obviously the use of juices or aqueous decoctions of these and other plants as medicines. Early Ayurvedic treatises such as Charaka and Sushruta composed about 400 B.C. mention over five hundred plants which formed the pharmacopea of ancient India. Alcohol was obtained quite early in India by the fermentation of starchy substances like rice or of sugary substances, but alcoholic extracts of plants were practically unknown in ancient Indian pharmacy.

Metallic medicines came to be prepared and used much later on. In India finely powdered ores of metals were first used and the mild alkalis were obtained from ashes of plants. The preparation of caustic alkalis by heating a solution of the ashes of plants with lime is described in great details in the Sushruta and used externally. The celebrated Buddhist monk Nagarjuna who flourished in the 1st century A.D. is regarded as the father of the science of metallic chemistry who discovered 'ayaskriti' of metals which process resulted in the formation of the oxides or chlorides of some of the commoner metals. The first synthetic metallic drug to be used in India was the black substance obtained by pounding for a long time mercury and sulphur together in a mortar. It was discovered by Vrinda in the 9th century A.D. and largely used in medicine by the Bengali alchemist Chakrapāni in the 11th century.

Chemists now know that this black substance is sulphide of mercury which sublimes in beautiful red crystals when heated in a sand bath in a long bottle. This red crystalline variety of mercuric sulphide was also known being called 'Rasasindur', or when prepared by the incorporation of gold leaf before sublimation, 'Swarna-Sindur.' It has long been used in India and in fact even now used as panacea for all diseases being administered with different substances or 'vehicles' appropriate to each disease. Marco Polo who visited India in the 13th century wrote "The (Yogis of India) are extremely long lived, many of them living to 150 or 200 years .....These people make use of a very strong beverage, a potion of sulphur and quicksilver mixed together and this, they say, gives them long life."

The ancient Egyptians, Romans, Greeks and Arabs had their own system of medicine. In the 16th century Paracelsus is regarded to have introduced metallic medicine in European pharmacy, and at the present moment artificial salts of different metals are freely used. These metallic salts which are not naturally obtained and purified like common salt but prepared by chemical combination of minerals with acids or other substances may be, though not actually, included in the category of synthetic drugs.

Nature in her infinite wisdom has stored in different plants valuable medicinal substances, which, like the alkaloids, are terrible poisons, but in very small doses excellent medicines. These medicinal substances are extracted from plants and even from animals with water, alcohol, and other solvents, often with the aid of mild heat, and form the stock of plant products in modern pharmacopea. The active principles themselves such as quinine, strychnine, morphine etc. are obtained in the pure state from these alcoholic, aqueous and other extracts and also used as medicines. Besides these extracts from plants there is a great and expanding body of medicines which are obtained by the interaction of chemical substances and called synthetic drugs. These are mostly organic or organo-metallic substances, and remarkable progress has been made specially within the last quarter of a century in the preparation, manufacture, and use of these drugs for treatment of various diseases and a new science called Chemo-therapy has arisen which deals with these synthetic

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chemical drugs. These are the drugs which will be dealt with here. With a view to avoid technicalities as far as possible the methods of manufacture of these drugs which are highly complicated processes as well as methods of establishment of their chemical identity will be omitted. What is being attempted is to give a general idea of the classification of these drugs into different categories with a view to indicate the use of the more important drugs in the treatment of different diseases.

The groundwork in the discovery of these drugs is of course first done by chemists who discover the actual compounds and establish their chemical identity. The pharmacologist or the biological chemist comes next into the picture who tests the therapeutical values of these compounds in the body of experimental animals such as mice, rats, guinea-pigs, rabits, birds, etc. and find out the dosage suitable for administration to human bodies if the compounds are actually found to possess anticipated therapeutical properties. The physician next tests the action of these drugs in living human bodies instead of experimental animals, preferably on a large scale in hospitals, and if the results are found to be positive then the compound is declared to be a new drug for a particular disease or diseases. There are in many countries state agencies also which undertake further testing of these drugs at the stage of administration to human bodies and confirm the therapeutic values claimed by the discoverers of these drugs and their purity and genuineness. The discoverers then often assign a short one-word patent name for a big scientific formula and send the drug out to the world's market for adoption. How these patented names save the enormous trouble of pronouncing jaw-breaking chemical formulæ each time will be seen from one or two examples. For instance of the two well-known synthetic anti-malarials, plasmoquin is N—diethylamino —isopentyl—8—amino—6 methoxy—quinoline, and atebrin has the constitution 7—methoxy—2 chloro—5—δ—diethylamino—α—methylamino —acridine dihydrochloride.

There is another virtue in these patented names, namely, you can manufacture the identical chemical substance but can never use the patented name without running the risk of being sent to prison, thus disproving Shakespeare's famous lines :

> "What's in a name ? that which we call a rose
> By any other name would smell as sweet."

In patent literature the name is sacrosanct, and an identical drug under a different name will never sell.

We would now proceed to indicate the catagories into which the drugs may roughly be divided according to the use they have been therapeutically put to. They may be classified under the following heads :—Narcotics, including anesthetics, hypnotics and analgesics, antiseptics, anti-malarials, dye drugs, prontosil group of drugs, cardiac and respiratory stimulants, purgatives and anthelmentics, anti-syphilitics, Kala-azar remedies, gold compounds for tuberculosis, organo-metallic compounds of mercury, bismuth, silver and other metals. We shall take these one by one and very shortly deal with each category of drugs.

Narcotics

Brunton defines narcotics as 'substances which lessen our relation with the external world' and which are generally divided into three classes, namely,

(1) Anesthetics which render a patient unconscious and incapable of voluntary action so that no pain is felt, as for instance in surgical operations.
(2) Hypnotics which induce sleep, and
(3) Analgesics which relieve pain by depressing nerves or nerve centres.

As regards anesthetics the most important and one of the earliest of synthetic drugs which produces general anesthesia is chloroform. It was discovered in 1831 simultaneously by Liebig in Germany, Soubeirn in France, Guthrie in America and introduced in medicine as an anesthetic by Simpson in 1847 from which time it has most widely been used as such and its use in fact has made modern surgery make the phenomenal progress it has made.

As regards hypnotics, chloral hydrate is the first synthetic hypnotic to be used in medicine which was also discovered by Liebig in 1831. But it often produces harmful bye-effects on the heart and also causes irritation to the stomach. Chloretone discovered in 1886 has the advantage over chloral in being non-irritant to the stomach. A group of widely used hypnotics comprises derivatives of barbituric acid such as veronal, its soluble sodium salt—medinal, luminal, prominal, dial, noctal, allonal, etc. Several substituted ureas and urethanes, as well as ketones like hypone, and sulphones like sulphonal and trional, have marked hypnotic properties. The other day we were reading in the newspapers an announcement that a certain Marwari gentleman was suffering from insomnia for months together and will be pleased to give half a lakh of rupees to any one who will make him enjoy the supreme bliss of sleep which is not denied, after a day's hard labour, to the lowliest and poorest amongst mankind. A fur-

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ther announcement appeared some time later that the offer was withdrawn as no one was able to induce sleep in him. Verily this sort of intractable insomnia must be a very wonderful business, as it is inconceivable that any kind of sleeplessness does not yield even temporarily to any of the numerous classes of very powerful hypnotics, natural and synthetic, so far discovered. On the contrary care should be taken that overdose or long continued use of hypnotics may not make refreshing sleep approach the border land of eternal sleep.

Synthetic analgesics include a wide variety of products such as aspirin or acetyl salicylic acid, phenacetin or p-ethoxy—acetanilide, phenazone, etc., which possess marked anti-pyretic properties as well. Veramon is obtained by the combination of pyramidon and diethyl malonyl-urea and is a powerful analgesic which is reputed to have no deliterious effect on the heart.

Antiseptics

Though inorganic antiseptics like boric acid and hydrogen peroxide are freely used, generally for external use, the number of synthetic organic antiseptics, both for internal use and external application, so far discovered is quite large. There are various kinds of antiseptics for internal use—antiseptics for the lungs, the intestines, the urinary tract, etc. So far as antiseptics for the lungs are concerned hetol or sodium cinnamate, elbon (cinnamyl p-hydroxy-phenyl urea), guaiacol and its derivatives like duatol (carbonate) styracol (cinnamate) cacodyliagol (cocodyalate), thiocall are more or less powerful bactricides and long used in tuberculosis and other lung diseases. Salol, betol and others are intestinal antiseptics, whilst hexamine and its additive derivatives such as cystopurin (with sodium acetate), formuzol (with sodium citrate), cystazol (with sodium benzoate) are powerful urinary antiseptics. In 1935 Rosemheium introduced mandelic acid as an efficacious urinary antiseptic having a specific action on B. Coli. Piperazine and its quinic acid salt, quinotropin (quinic acid salt of hexamine), atophan (2-phenol-quinoline- 4 carboxylic acid) and its substituted derivatives and many others are powerful uric acid solvents and diuretics. Synthetic antiseptics for external applications for dressing wounds, etc., are very numerous and belong to very different groups of compounds. Iodoform or its more or less ordourless substitutes such as idol (tetra-iodo-pyrrol), aristol (di-thymol di-odide), europhen (isolutyl-o-cresol iodide), nosophen (tetra-iodo-phenol-phthalein) mainly owe their antiseptic properties to iodine. Azo-dyes like scarlet red, acridine dyes like proflavine and acriflavine and mercurials like mercuro-chrome and aristol are very powerful bactricides.

Anti-malarials

It has already been pointed out that analgesic like acetanilide or antifebrin, aspirin, phenacetin etc., have strong anti-pyretic properties as well and serve to reduce body temperature associated with high fever. But they have no specific action on the malarial parasite which is killed by the alkaloid quinine extracted from cinchona bark and its salts. This naturally occuring vegetable bitter principle is being almost exclusively used as an anti-malarial in different parts of the world, the alkaloid being extracted by Pelletier and Conventon in 1820, In a country like India the greatest scourge of whose teeming millions is malaria, other naturally occuring indegenous febrifuges and anti-malarials have long been used, but quinine salts are at the present moment being used in ever increasing quantities, though India does not, but certainly should, produce, all the quinine it requires for the treatment of malaria. Quinine, however, possesses several disadvantages, such as its bitter taste, comparative insolubility of the sulphate which is the salt most largely used, its after effects like cinchonism and above all its inability to prevent repeated relapses of the fever after several days of discontinuance of the use of the drug, and attempts have been made to remedy these defects by the use of synthetic drugs. Aristochin or diquinine carbonate and euquinine or ethy carbonate of the alkaloid are practically tasteless. Attempts to produce artificial anti-malarials which will prevent relapses of malarial fever have resulted in the discovery of two very important synthetic drugs, plasmoquin and atebrin. A combination of these two drugs is often recommended as being successful in eradicating completely the hidden germs of malaria from the body. The composition of both these drugs is very complex, their formulœ having, however, been given before.

Prontosil Group of Drugs

In 1934 the first of a series of new synthetic compounds to be administered orally or through injections was introduced into clinical practice, which possessed specific action on stepto-cocci or other cocci infectious and therefore useful in general septicaemias and specially puerperal fever which is caused by hœmolytic steptococci and previously treated by serum therapy and which very often terminated fatally. These drugs belong to the sulphonamide

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or sulphanilamide group of compounds of which the original prontosil (2:4 diamino azobenzene 4-sulphonamide) suffered from the disadvantage of being not very soluble in water. This defect was remedied by the introduction of prontosil soluble which was sodium salt of a new sulphanilamide. Prontosil album (p-aminopheyl-sulphonamide) possesses a simpler constitution and greater bactricidal power. The newer 'pro-septazine' which is a benzyl derivative of p-aminobenzene sulphonamide is much less toxic but suffers from low solubility which has been remedied in soluseptazine. Pneumococcal infections are now successfully treated with M & B 693 [2-(p-aminobenzene sulphonamide) pyridine] and the course of that terrible disease pneumonia has been very remarkably cut short. The discovery of this group of remarkable medicines has proved to be a triumph in the domain of preparation of synthetic drugs and further search for new drugs of this series which might have specific action on other diseases, such as cholera and plague, is being sedulously pursued and over one thousand drugs of this series has been discovered.

Cardiac and Respiratory Stimulants

Natural drugs such as digitalis, stopanthus and others have powerful action on the heart and also possess other physiological properties, owing to the presence of glucosides. Chemists therefore have been at considerable pains to prepare artificially analogous glucosides having physiological properties, but though some synthetic compounds of this type have actually been prepared these have not yet been employed on a large scale. Camphor which exists in nature is widely used as a cardiac and respiratory stimulant and has also been prepared synthetically. More powerful synthetic stimulants have been prepared and are being largely used, such as hexeton, cardiazol, coramine, etc., cardiazol having more pronounced action on the heart and central nervous system whilst coramine exerting a more powerful stimulating action on the respiratory centres.

Dyes as Drugs

Many varieties of dyes have been found to act specifically on different parasites and hence been successfully used as specifics against those infections, many of them being administered internally. For instances, auramine, a member of the triphenyl-methane dyes is a powerful antiseptic and other dyes of this series which have specific action against different parasites are crystal violet, methyl violet, malachite greem etc.

Of azo-dyes, tryphan red and blue have specific actions on tryponasomes which cause sleeping sickness and other tropical diseases. Scarlet red, Biebrick scarlet, chrysoidin red and other red dyes of this series are used externally for the growth of healthy skin over wounds. Thiazine dyes such as methylene blue are strong and effective internal and external bactricides. Acridine dyes such as proflavine and acriflavine or gonacrine have successfully been used both internally and externally as antiseptics. Atebrin, the well known anti-malarial, is an acridine dye.

Purgatives and Anthelmintics

Natural drugs such as aloes, cascara, senna, rubarb, etc., are used as purgatives. Chemical analysis showed that they were derivatives of methyl-anthraquinone, and hence chemists were busy in synthesising similar anthraquinone drugs to be used as purgatives and have been successful in preparing several synthetic drugs of this class, such as anthrapurpurin and purgatin, both of them being trihydroxy derivatives of anthraquinone. Of the dihydroxy derivatives isatin has been used as a purgative and is tasteless. Another isatin derivative is esacen which is also being used as a purgative. Of synthetic purgatives which do not contain anthaquinone derivatives, phenolphalein is being largely used under different trade names. Anthelmintics are drugs which kill or expel intestinal worms, the most important being santonin obtained from wormseeds which kills round worm. Male ferm is used against tape worm and contains several anthelmintics such as aspinidol and filixic acid The constitution of santonin is known and its specific action on round worm is attributed to its lactonic structure. From this fact anthelmintic properties were anticipated in the case of synthetic lactones like phthalide, mythyl-phthalide and others, which anticipations have actually been realised in clinical practice. The male fern anthelmintics have been found to be derivatives of phloroglucinol, and artificial phloroglucinol anthelmintics have actually been obtained. The synthetic compound carbon tetrachloride has been highly effective against hook-worm.

Anti-Syphilitics

Venereal diseases have been described in Ayurvedic treatises of the 16th century and later as 'Feringi-roge' or diseases of the Feringees a word used loosely to mean Europeans in general and the Portuguese in particular. The treatment for this consisted in giving metallic mercury in a very fine state of division or calomel until mercury saturation is reached.

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Mercury and its salts have ever since been the sheet anchor of treatment for syphilis until organic arsenicals containing arsenic either in tri- or penta- valent condition containing aromatic nuclei have almost completely supplanted mercurial treatment, though quite often the latter is combined with the former. The number of arsenicals discovered is legion, and quite a large number of them such as atoxyl, ars-acetin or acetylatoxyl, acetylarsin, hectine, tryparamide and others have been used for time to time as curative agents against syphilis. But with the introduction of salvarsan (di-hydroxy-diamino-arseno-benzene) or 606 by Erlich, the older arsenicals have almost completely been supplanted in the treatment of the disease. There were certain disadvantages, however, associated with the use of salvarsan, specially its insolubility in water and intolerance of many patients towards it, and these have been sought to be remedied in neo-salvarsan which being a sodium salt is easily soluble in water and is also better tolerated. To avoid the more risky intravenous route for administration of salvarsan other arsenicals like sulpharsenol have been discovered which may be administered by intramascular injections.

Some arsenicals have found use in the treatment of other diseases. For instance the drug stovarsol (sodium salt of 3-acetylamino-4-hydroxy phenyl arsonic acid) has been used with success in amebic dysentery and atoxyl and arsamine in sleeping sickness.

Antimony Compounds for Kala-azar

Antimony belongs to the same group of elements as arsenic, and it is natural that synthetic organic antimony compounds both in the tri- and penta- valent conditions should be prepared and their therapeutic properties studied. Laboratory and clinical trials have shown their usefulness in fighting two dreadful tropical diseases, Kala-azar and bilharzia, penta-valent compounds being more effective in the case of the former and tri-valent ones in the latter. The eastern provinces of India and specially Assam have been the home of Kala-azar, the mortality having been terribly high. It is satisfactory to note that the use of penta-valent antimonials on a very wide scale has reduced Kala-azar mortality to a very low level. The chief difficulties experienced with the earlier compounds of antimony were their high toxity and relative instability. These are all derivatives of stibanilic-acid neo-stibosan being its diethylamine salt, and stibosan the sodium salt of 3-chloro-4-acetylamino phenyl stitanilic acid. Acetylisation of the free amine in stibanilic acid gave stibacin or stibenyl and Sir U. N. Brahmachari prepared urea-stibamine which is less toxic and has been very widely used in fighting Kala-azar in Bengal and Assam. In bilharzia, antiluctin (pot. ammon. antimonyl tartarate) and anthiomalin (lithium-antimonio-thimolate) are regarded as specifics.

Synthetic Gold Compounds for Tuberculosis

Gold in a killed condition, which examination shows to be gold particles in an extremely fine state of division has long been used in Ayurvedic pharmacy as a powerful tonic in general debility and specially in tuberculosis. Later potasium auricyanide and sanocrysin (gold sodium thuosulphate) have been found to be serviceable in the treatment of this fell disease. Synthetic organic gold compounds such as krysolgan, triphal and specially solganol have been found to be more effective in killing tuberculer bacilli in vivo even in tolerably advanced cases, though it must be admitted that a synthetic gold compound has yet to be discovered which will prove to be a real specific in tuberculosis in very advanced cases in which surgical treatment has sometimes given relief.

Other Organo-Metallic Drugs

Synthetic organic drugs containing metals other than arsenic, gold or antimony, such as mercury, silver, bismuth have been prepared and are being used therapeutically.

Organic compounds are easily mercuriated, and mercurials such as mercurochrome, avenyl, afridol, hydragyrol, etc., are used as bactricides or anti-syphilitics.

Protargol, nargol, agriflavin, argochrome are synthetic silver drugs, the last two being effective for intravenous injection in peurperal fever and gonorrhœa.

Bismuth therapy is resorted to as an auxiliary to the use of arsenicals in the treatment of syphilis, especially neuro-syphilis. Besides inorganic preparations including the metal in a fine state of division, organo-bismuth compounds like neo-cardyl, bistovol, bismuth neo-salvarson, are being used therapeutically.

Possibilities of Manufacture in India

The question of manufacture of Synthetic drugs in India raised large and fundamental issues affecting (1) chemical and pharmacological research, (2) manufacture of raw and intermediate chemicals and (3) control of drugs.

Regarding the first, it is true that there are many eminent chemists in India who have conducted original investigation in organic and

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organo-metallic chemistry, but they work generally in college and university laboratories where facilities for examination of the therapeutic values of the compounds discovered by them are not easily available. It has already been noted that the discoverers of chloroform as a chemical and of its utility as an anesthetic by inhalation were not the one and the same persons. They were indeed different persons as stated before, and if in fact if there exists no co-operation between the chemist and the pharmacologist the discovery of synthetic drugs in India is an impossibility unless the discoverer himself is both a chemist and a pharmacologist and also at the same time possesses the advantage of having a hospital under his command where he is able to test the therapeutic values of his discoveries on actual human patients and not merely on experimental animals. Sir U. N. Brahmachari was able to discover and popularise his ureastibamine because he had the two-fold advantages of being himself a chemist, and a physician and also the additional advantage of having a hospital under his control.

Most universities and science colleges have departments of chemistry for research but very few have any pharmacological departments for research purposes. It is true that the medical colleges of the country have pharmacological laboratories but their main work is of the routine order confined to teaching and hospital requirements. Pharmacological work is conducted in specialised colleges like the School of Tropical Medicine, but such work is mainly confined to the examination of natural drugs available in India. What is therefore wanted is the immediate establishment in every university of departments of pharmacology where drugs discovered in the chemical departments can be tested by competent pharmacologists and their therapeutic values ascertained.

In European countries, besides universities, large chemical factories such as Bayer, Merck, Schering, May-Baker, etc., possess large pharmacological in addition to chemical laboratories for research purposes, and chemists and pharmacologists co-operate with each other in evaluating therapeutic effects of new synthetic drugs. The chemists discover the drugs and pharmacologists test them. In India the number of large chemical factories is small, but whatever number exists they have chemists on their staff in numbers and of qualifications sufficient only to have routine business performed. They do not in most cases employ trained pharmacologists either. In fact their research departments, both in chemistry and pharmacology, are still in infancy, but if these are properly developed, these factories themselves would be centres from which new synthetic drugs will issue in a continuous stream. The question of testing these drugs later in actual hospital practice would still remain to be solved, and here again co-operation of the hospitals, both Government and private, under proper safeguards becomes a matter of vital importance which has got to be solved by hospital authorities in consultation with universities and factories.

Now turning to the second issue, *viz.*, supply of raw materials and intermediate chemicals that is also a very important problem to be solved if the manufacture of chemicals and drugs is to become a reality in this country. The chemical industry in India is still in the nascent stage, and with the exception of sulphuric and some other mineral acids, a few sulphates, alcohol and a few other chemicals, no other chemical, either heavy or fine, is manufactured in India.

Fortunately the manufacture of ether and chloroform from alcohol has just commenced, but India still imports crores of rupees worth of chemicals and drugs every year. It is a matter for deep satisfaction that the manufacture of vaccines and sera which were wholly imported commodities from overseas a few years ago, has been well established in India, and with the advent of greater confidence in the indigenous products India expects to be self-supporting in these drugs within the near few years. Manufacture of alcoholic extracts from natural products and herbs has also made considerable progress. What is wanted is the manufacture of chemicals heavy and fine, both for industrial as well as medical purposes for which raw materials, specially for the manufacture of organic chemicals exist in abundance in India. Roughly speaking starch sugars, ammonium salts, acid fruits, saw dust, crude petroleum, fats and oils, tea fluff, etc. form the main sources from which the alcohols, ether, chloroform, acetic, oxalic, citric and tartaric acids, urea, caffeine and their numerous derivatives, which form the great bulk of what are called aliphatic organic compounds, are manufactured by the application of chemical and bio-chemical processes. What are called aromatic organic compounds on the other hand have a common origin *viz.*, crude coal which yields products like benzene, toluene, xylene, carbolic acid, naphthalene, and anthracene by distillation, the tar again being obtained by the dry distillation of bituminous coal. Crores of rupees worth of such coal are annually converted into coke at the pit-heads, by stack-burning with the result that enormous quantities of coal-tar and ammonia which could have

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supplied India with all her requirements of aromatic organic chemicals, dyes, perfumes and drugs and also of nitrogenous fertilisers in the shape of ammonium salts are being simply burnt out. In addition, enormous quantities of coal gas which would have supplied power of lakhs of horse-power are also being wasted. This pitiful waste of what otherwise would be very valuable potential wealth of India should at once be stopped by legislation, and all the available or at any rate the greater part of bituminous coal when converted into coke must be dry-distilled, and coal-tar and ammonia must be utilised in the manufacture of organic chemicals and fertilisers and the coal-gas utilised in generating power.

The manufacture of chemicals, specially organic chemicals, requires highly specialised technical and chemical skill which may be forthcoming from the large body of unemployed science graduates and undergraduates if necessary training is given to them in technological schools and colleges. The raw materials and scientific talents are certainly there, and what is wanted is the vision which will enable our countrymen to see things at their true perspective from the standpoint of the scientist and the industrialist and shape the country's policy accordingly. India can, and I hope shall, become so very conscious in the very near future of her potentialities in the matter of manufacture of chemicals from her abundant natural sources of raw materials that she shall be able not only to satisfy the major part of her own requirements but also export a large surplus as she is doing today in the matter of pig iron which she manufactures on a huge scale from Indian raw materials.

The third problem, *viz.*, the problem of control of drugs is as important to the general public as the manufacture of those drugs, because distribution of spurious drugs must be stopped at all costs. In European countries various acts of legislature as well as State organisations exist which control distribution of drugs. In India the matter has been taken in hand only recently. The Drug Enquiry Committee presided over by Col. Chopra reported in 1931, and the Government of India has early this year passed a Drugs Act which seeks to control import, manufacture and distribution of drugs. Provision has been made for a Central Drugs Technical Advisory Board and a Drugs Consultative Committee consisting of representatives of provincial governments. It has further been proposed to establish a Central Drug Control Laboratory for assaying both chemically and biologically drugs sent out to the market. A judicious mixture of chemists and pharmacologists in the laboratory staff would be necessary to determine and report correctly on the purity and therapeutic efficiency of drugs. This is certainly a move in the right direction and the Government is sincerely to be congratulated for doing the right thing, though at a very late hour, and it is to be hoped that the public will now receive not only synthetic but natural drugs as well of the requisite purity.

Manufacture in War Times

The profits from the sale of proprietory and patented drugs are so large, sometimes being as high as five to ten times the cost price, that it would pay to manufacture them even in India from imported chemicals. Germany has, unfortunately for the civilised world, virtually the world's monopoly of manufacture and sale of chemicals, dyes and drugs. Other countries have been and in fact are even now more or less retailers. This perfected chemical industry enables Germany to switch off her colossal chemical industrial plants to the manufacture of munitions at once as soon as war breaks out periodically in Europe. The last European war made many countries resolve that they would make their countries free from German domination in the matter of chemical industries. The memory of nations, however, is proverbially short, and most of even the foremost nations again lapsed into the old mood of complacency and again began to import chemicals from Germany. The present war has again cut off supplies of chemicals, and laboratories, industries and the drug trade are suffering enormously on account of absence of the commonest chemicals. This appalling state of things has naturally become a matter of deep concern to the people as well as to the Provincial and Central Governments in India. Strenuous attempts are being made in all existing chemical factories, though with only very limited success, to manufacture as many chemicals and drugs as possible, and various Governments have established Industrial and Research Bureaus which are attempting to harness the scientific talents and resources of universities and chemical laboratories for research work in this connection. Co-operation between universities and colleges on the one hand, and industries on the other, has long been overdue in India, and if this dreadful war can bring at last this much-desired fusion it will at least provide an example, though perhaps a small one, of the old saying 'good cometh out of evil.' They also say 'adversity gives strange bedfellows,' but universities and industries should

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not be, though unfortunately have so long been, strange to each other, and the war has sought to bring them together as bed-fellows for the time being. But when the war clouds have rolled away let us all fervently hope that these two entities will continue to maintain the closest, almost Rotarian, fellowship for all time to come for the good of Indian industries in general and manufacture of chemicals and drugs in particular so that if and when, heaven forbid, the next war unfortunately visits the world after the usual intervening period the people of the world in general and of India in particular may not again be found unprepared.

WHAT BENGAL CAN LEARN FROM ENGLAND'S SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM

By Miss MANORAMA BOSE, M.A., T.D. (London)

Introduction

The subject of Secondary Education is an important one. Secondary education in every country is concerned with education at a critical period of the nation's future generation. On its successful organisation and development will depend the future of a nation. It may serve to elevate or deteriorate a nation. It is the duty of every generation to be alert, to study the varying needs of the country, to be aware of all the dangers that are taking place and to adapt its educational system accordingly so that the future generation may not grow up as misfits to society.

Secondary Education in England

Let us see how secondary education has developed in England and what advantage we can take of her experience. It would be unwise for any country to ignore the lesson that can be learnt from the experiences of other countries.

Secondary education as existing in England today is of very recent origin. It would not be incorrect to say that even as late as 1926 secondary education in England was far from what it should have been and the interpretation given to the term was much too narrow. Sweeping changes were recommended by the Hadow Commission that year. Secondary education as practised in England in the 20th century is quite different from what secondary education used to be before that. The proverbial conservativeness of England was responsible for the slowness with which she adapted herself to the increasing demand for secondary education but the changes that were taking place since the Industrial Revolution were so rapid that even she could not ignore them.

What it Was

The demand for education in England has come from the top. It was to supply the requirements of the Universities that Public Schools and Grammar Schools aimed at. The statutes of the schools founded in the 16th and 17th centuries indicate clearly that these schools were designed to prepare scholars to proceed to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These schools were thus from one point of view vocational schools oriented towards the Universities. Though these schools gradually enriched their curricula by including subjects other than Latin and Greek they continued to be feeders to the Universities. There was a large section of the middle and lower-middle classes who demanded more education for their children but could not afford to send them to the Public Schools and the Grammar Schools. They desired a more modern type of education at a lower cost. Schools came into existence to meet this demand but most of these schools based their curricula on the curricula of the Public Schools and Grammar Schools so as not to be inferior to them in any respect. The result has been the over-emphasis of classical subjects and the too academic character of the curricula.

The academic type of secondary education has developed fairly satisfactorily in England and the curriculum in these schools has gradually been widened and subjects like Modern Languages, Modern History and Geography, Botany, Mathematics and the Science have been included.

Why Change was Necessary

No one can deny however that this type of secondary education is intensely one-sided. Its aims towards preparing the pupils for the

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University but every secondary school pupil does not proceed to the University. If the secondary schools were to teach nothing but these subjects the education would be very unreal for most of the children and would be most unrelated to their future occupations. There would be no correlation between what they have learnt and what they are doing for their livelihood, and learning in school would have no significance for them. There would be no dignity of labour and children would come to regard their occupations as low and base and not fit subjects of instruction at schools. School and industry are different facets of a single society and the habit of mind which isolates them from each other is a habit to be overcome. Education fails in part of its aim, if it does not prepare children for a life of active labour and social co-operation. Though England was slow she was not blind to this fact. Individual attempts were being constantly made to reorient the schools and subjects like Domestic Science, Needlework, Arts and Crafts, Music, Singing, Carpentry, Woodwork and Metal work, were gradually being included in the curricula of the secondary schools. More and more schools of this type began to come into existence and the Board of Education could not altogether ignore this great demand that had grown up in the country not only for secondary education but secondary education of a less academic type.

The Attitude of the Board of Education

The Board of Education in their report for 1912-13 stated that they were prepared in suitable cases to approve schemes of instruction which vary considerably from that of the normal secondary school with the object of developing interest in and capacity for the occupations, whether rural, industrial or commercial, which the majority of pupils are likely to take up.

Amongst the general public in England there was spreading increasingly the conviction that even the general education of boys and girls would gain in effectiveness if their work at school were to some extent brought into direct connexion with their probable occupations in after life. Various experiments had been made in this direction by private individuals and when the approval of the Board became necessary the Board could no longer ignore the public demand. The Board then pointed out that secondary schools had a two-fold function—one was to prepare pupils for University education and the other was to give full time education to those who would later proceed to posts in public offices, commercial houses, and manufactories, or enter upon such occupations as farming and retail trade.

What Secondary Education Should Mean

This teaches us an important lesson which we must not ignore. Our secondary schools are all of one type aiming at preparing pupils for academic education. We need to give a more practical bias to our schools so that we may be able to turn out pupils suited for their occupations and those who would be able to take an intelligent interest in their work. These schools should be adapted to the particular needs and requirements of their respective areas and accordingly some would have an agricultural bias, some an industrial bias and some a commercial bias. The children should be allowed to follow their own bent in life instead of all being obliged to aim towards University education. It is not being suggested that these secondary schools should be converted into Technical Schools, Commercial Schools, or Agricultural Schools of varying types but that they should pave the way to those institutions where according to their tastes and abilities the pupils will proceed later for specialisation.

The history of the development of secondary education in England shows us that secondary education does not mean only an academic education. We are repeating the same mistake here and the result has been the large scale production of University Arts and Science graduates accompanied by the necessary evil of unemployment. There is a great demand for qualified men in India for agriculture, industry and commerce and as a result these have not developed to the extent possible in India. We are faced with the paradox of too much supply of one kind of labour and too little of the other. The only remedy would be to give equal importance to all kinds of education, whether academic, agricultural, industrial or commercial and each child should be guided along the avenue that best suits his tastes and abilities. From the secondary schools the pupils could then proceed to Arts and Science Colleges, Technical Colleges or Commercial Colleges, Agricultural Colleges or Domestic Science Colleges.

How England Solved the Problem

Sporadic attempts had been made in this direction in England ever since it became a popular practice amongst the guardians to keep their children in schools for a longer period. It was soon realised that the tastes and abilities of all children were not alike and it would be a sheer waste of time and energy of the teacher as well as the taught if every child was given

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the same type of education regardless of his tastes and requirements. Different types of schools began to be started and were known as post-primary schools to distinguish them from the then existing secondary schools which were regarded as schools preparing their pupils for the Universities. The result was a varying type of post-primary schools giving education to children between the ages of 11 and 15.

Further Changes Recommended by the Hadow Commission

It was soon realised that it was necessary to introduce order into this chaos and so a special Commission was appointed in England by the Board of Education in 1924. The report of this Commission, known popularly as the Hadow Report, was published in 1926. It received the universal approval of the country and ever since then attempts are being made to give effect to its recommendations, the most important of which was that all education after the age of 11 should be regarded as secondary education and that there should be two types of secondary schools—Grammar Schools and Modern Schools.

The curriculum in the Grammar Schools should be predominantly of a literary or scientific character and the Modern Schools should give a practical bias to the curriculum in the third or fourth year of the course paying due regard to the capacities of the pupils and to the local environment. There was nothing new in this recommendation. Schools of both these types were already functioning in England. All that the Hadow Report proposed to do was to change the nomenclature of the schools and to give to the term "secondary" its correct interpretation. Its other recommendations were important and far-reaching but we shall not discuss them today as they are beyond our scope. Reference will only be made to the fact that the Hadow Commission also recommended that secondary education as understood by them should become universal and all normal children should go forward to some form of post-primary education. Effect has not yet been given to all the recommendations of the Committee. England has always been slow in introducing changes however necessary they may be, but nevertheless we must realise that if the demand for secondary education had not come from the people the Hadow Commission would never have been appointed and the Hadow report would not have been in existence today.

What We Could Do

It is for us to create a demand for secondary education with a practical bias and set an example by starting such schools with the help of private effort and then like the Board of Education in England the Education Department in Bengal will also have to recognise the public demand and come in to supplement and co-ordinate private efforts. Let us not follow the beaten track. Every new school that is started in the province has been like every other school and this has made education so stereotyped. Instead of over-loading our children with inert ideas let us teach them to use these ideas. Education is the acquisition of the art of the utilisation of knowledge. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it. The most well-informed person is the most useless bore on God's earth. Every child must know what use he has of the knowledge that he is acquiring and that is why it is necessary to link his education to his occupation in life. The one can not be separated from the other. It is not suggested here that specialised education should be given in these secondary schools. Far from it, too early specialisation is dangerous as that is apt to narrow the vision of the child and his breadth of outlook on life. These secondary schools must not by any means approach on the sphere of Technical Schools. We have already seen that a secondary school deals with a child between the ages of 11 and 15 or 16 and it is too early for a child to specialise then. During this period the child requires a more general education and all that is suggested here is this that this general education should be given a certain bias throughout so that the child may be able to connect all that he learns with what he sees and does. This would create in him a real interest in life and in what he learns.

The Question of Finance

It cannot be denied that for the development of education in any country funds are necessary and without money no new experiments can be tried and no deviation can be made from the established path. If the public exchequer fails to supply the demand must the education of that country remain standstill? This is what has happened to us. While we have been fighting for more money for education we have done little towards trying to raise funds from private individuals and the result has been the sad neglect and the consequent under-development of education in our country.

How England Solved the Problem

We have an important lesson to learn from England in this direction. Education in England has been somewhat unique, its salient peculiar-

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by being the part played and still being played by private enterprise and voluntary associations in its development. In almost every department of education the endeavour of private persons or bodies has preceded public undertaking. Ward in his *Hitory of the Educational System of England and Wales* has laid particular stress on this point. He says that

"the elementary school is in origin as the child of individual effort and pious endowment as the 'public school.' The important field of adult education, only fully opened up in the present generation, is being vigorously tilled by voluntary bodies, however much it may gain from the fertilisation of public grants. Many technical schools and polytechnics have been mechanics' institutes founded by missionary effort; schools for the deaf and blind were of a philanthropic character and many of them remain so, the first nursery schools took root outside the public system; the ragged schools preceded the evening continuation schools, and so on."

This shows how much private enterprise and voluntary effort have contributed towards the development of education in England. The public body there has come in to supplement and co-ordinate education and there is no reason why we cannot do the same in India.

There should also be an education cess to be collected by local bodies and every individual should contribute according to his ability at a certain rate per rupee as is done in England, where every ratepayer contributes for the development of education in his area at a certain rate per pound. He regards this as necessary just as he regards all his other contributions as necessary. This will solve the financial question to a certain extent and then the Government Department can be prevailed upon to give grants to supplement the development of education in the country.

So much for what is implied by secondary education, the types we should aim at and how we can solve the question of finance. Now we shall just touch on the point as to who should be the authority responsible for secondary education in Bengal.

The Education Authorities in England

In England secondary education is mostly in the hands of Local Education Authorities commonly known as L.E.A.s. It is provided through and by local authorities and so is able to secure diversity, experiment and even an element of competition. But there is supervision as well by the Board of Education which is the central authority.

The Board of Education

We may pause here for a moment to consider what this Board of Education really is. Very few of us know that its title is something of a misnomer. The President of the Board of Education is often referred to as the Minister of Education and that is what he really is. He is of Cabinet rank and is responsible to Parliament for all that is being done in the name of the Board. The Board never meets as a Board, nor are the members of it consulted individually as such when an important decision is to be taken. The President with his second-in-command, the Parliamentary Secretary, and the staff of civil servants in the Education Office are commonly regarded as the Board. It is a carefully organised department like the Department of Education in Bengal. The duty of the Board, as laid down by the Board of Education Act of 1899, is the superintendence of matters relating to Education in England and Wales. Put more concretely this is held to mean that the Board must see that the duties laid upon the L.E.A.s by various Acts of Parliament are duly fulfilled, and that Parliamentary grants are duly distributed. Superintendence then is the main policy of the Board. Inefficiency is thus checked and laggard authorities are kept upto the mark. The L.E.A.s are to provide for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation in respect of their areas and they are to submit schemes to show the mode in which their duties and powers are to be performed and exercised.

The L. E. A.s

These L.E.A.s are representative bodies elected by the ratepayers of their respective areas. As these councils are large bodies elected mostly on party lines without reference to matters of education, smaller committees have to be appointed for educational matters. These are known as 'education committees' and each may rightly be called a Board of Education as it is responsible for education in its area. These education committees co-opt as members men and women who have a knowledge of education and are interested in it. The most important member of the committee is the Chairman who is elected annually and is a man of influence in the locality. These Chairmans are all honorary workers in spite of the fact that the work is very absorbing and entails wholetime employment. They are not necessarily men of high scholastic attainments but they are sincere enthusiasts and unflagging workers. Every Education Committee has its staff of paid officials the principal one being known usually as the Director of Education. Both Chairman and official are in constant touch with the Board and this close connection between the L.E.A. and the Board has consi-

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derable influence on the policy of the Board itself.

What Bengal Could Do

The English system of education is a mean between the two extremes of a centralised system of education and a decentralised system. This secures elasticity, initiative, experiment and variety on the one hand and efficiency and high standard of instruction due to competition on the other. The disadvantages of the one type are thus neutralised by the advantages of the other.

There is no reason why in Bengal the Corporations, Municipalities, District and Local Boards cannot take charge of education in their respective areas. Let them levy an education cess on the ratepayers and spend that money on education. They could have their own education committees similar to those of the L.E.A.s in England and function like Board of Education in their respective areas. They could enlist the co-operation of those interested in education and with their help and support foster its development. The Government Department of Education as it exists today could take upon itself the functions of the Board of Education in England and supervise their work.

These local bodies would perhaps hesitate as they have no legal right to take charge of education in their areas. The same was the position in England prior to 1902, but that did not deter enterprising School Boards from providing anything more than elementary education. The School Boards carried on with experiments in their areas, and spent rates illegally on educating children on lines not provided for in the Code. This led to the famous Cockerton Judgment in 1901 and if the Board of Education had not intervened in time all the members of the School Boards would have been held up for defalcation of funds. This shows the great risk the School Boards had run by their decision but they were willing to make sacrifices for the good of the future generation. They proved that amongst the people there was a greater demand for more education which could no longer be ignored and this led to the passing of the famous Education Act in 1902 which marked a very important stage in the development of a national system of education.

Conclusion

Before closing this discourse some reference should be made to the part played by school in society and consequently by the teachers. As teachers it is their duty to have a clear conception of their part in the national system of education and the great responsibility they have. The nature of the future generation depends to a very great extent on the teachers who will have failed in their duty if their products prove to be misfits to society. The education system in the province is by no means what it should be but we should not resign ourselves to our fate and make no attempt to make good use of the great influence that we have on the children. We are all involved in a vicious circle and the best we can do is to make the best of a bad job.

Every school has an important function to perform. It is the means by which the nation's life is maintained in its integrity from generation to generation. If we realise this we shall realise the important part the teachers have to play. A community has everything to gain from the free growth of individuality among its potential citizens. A school must foster that growth and help every boy and girl to achieve the highest degree of individual development of which he or she is capable. For this reason it is necessary that every school must retain its freedom as otherwise the freedom of the individual citizen is likely to be in peril. The English compromise between State regulation and freedom of teaching should be the ideal to aim at. Schools in England enjoy a special privilege. They are free to draw up their own syllabuses, frame their own curriculum and select their own text books. Undue interference by the State is dangerous. As the Spens Report says there is always the chance of the State

> "turning the schools and the teachers into mere instruments of its policies, vehicles for the dissemination of the ideas it approves, and means for excluding from the minds of the young all ideas of which it disapproves."

This would be a dangerous policy and as teachers it is our duty to guard against it if we can. In India the practice has been different. The teachers have had no freedom in the drawing up of the syllabuses and the choosing of the text books but let us not despair because of that. There is still a good deal they might do in improving the methods of teaching and thus make the best of a bad job. Studies of the ordinary secondary school should be brought into closer contact than at present with the practical affairs of life. Sound teaching must be based upon the pupil's interest. The child's power of acquiring knowledge depends largely upon his experiences and this then should be their starting point in teaching as it is the only way in which the child's interests may be roused. It is recognised today that he learns best who

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arms with interest and with a purpose. The recent experiments on Psychology have revolutionised teaching methods in the West to a very great extent. Psychology will play a greater part in education in future and we cannot afford to neglect the psychology of the children we are dealing with. The teachers should keep themselves acquainted with all the new experiments in Psychology and keep themselves abreast of all the new methods of teaching. They should demand refresher courses for themselves and not forget that they never care to learn.

It will not be out of place here to conclude with what Cyril Norwood in his *English Educational System* has to say about the teacher and the teaching profession in England as it will be a source of inspiration to all those who have the honour of being members of that noble profession. He shows there has been great progress in England in two ways.

"The old aloofness of the teacher and the old hostility or indifference of the taught have disappeared. Whether it be the tutor in the University, or the secondary teacher in schools ancient or new, or the elementary teacher in city or village, it is true that the spirit of the relationship between teacher and taught has changed for the better: the teacher tries to be the friend, philosopher, and guide of his pupils. Secondly, slowly, as the national system of education takes shape, there emerges a sense of unity throughout the whole teaching profession, a self-consciousness of high vocation which may be capable of great things. The profession begins to feel that in every part of it it is engaged in the national service which is most vital of all, the creation of an educated democracy such as the world has not yet seen."

CHILD TRAINING IN INDIA

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Notwithstanding opposition, a moderate introduction of birth-control is justified in consideration of the country's economic handicap governing juvenile education. Physical and mental efficiency is of paramount necessity on the part of the parents and to this end a family should be as limited as possible, so as to be commensurate with its financial standard. Without laying any rigid rule for family-limitation, more than one child may be said to be essential at the minimum, because the 'only child' has frequent handicaps and never gets real opportunities of attaining to its mature faculties. Talking of the maximum standard, a family should be as big as its resources permit of a good education and comfort which will make and keep the child fit at the very start of life. In both cases, parental health is indispensable in bringing up children, as we often find that mothers who bear many children and are consequently jaded and sickly, can only give their attention to the first three or four babies, at the risk of the last child. The most important of all duties of parents is to have children in their prime of life, so that they may train them when they are in possession of full physical and mental vigour. And it is simultaneously necessary that the difference in the age of children should not be very great, so that they may grow up in regular companionship, sharing each other's interests, which marks the early initiation of team-spirit in the family. As no definite rule can be prescribed in this case, two to three years of difference in age may be called ideal.

Emotional Maladjustments

The early duty of both parents and schoolmasters is to safeguard children from sudden emotional outbursts and teach them self-control. Noise and naughtiness which are indispensable to the growth of children have got to be endured with cheer and patience, since it is no easy task to rear the young folk. Momentary and abrupt irritability leading to simultaneous punishment is not the right procedure. A common folly is often committed by ill-tempered parents, when they ruthlessly repress all childish romance and natural playfulness on the ground of their interfering with their engagements or business. Such an attitude checks down at every stage children's faculties and stunt their growth which results in the expression of psychoneurosis in later life, especially in boyhood. Too much cuddling or petting an youngster, a mistake which mothers are apt to commit, is destructive in its nature, in so far as the child is plastic and this incessant leniance to its senses rapidly inculcates sensuousness and an atmosphere of unreality.

The problem of juvenile discipline is a difficult one to deal with. Corporal punishments

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inflicted more than once for one particular act of ignorance is sheer injustice which the tender brain can neither forget, nor tolerate. The young victim in such cases labours under a conflict and not being able to satisfy the injudicious demands of a harsh parent or master, finds no other alternative but to revolt and declare civil war. I treated some children who were Cubs in the Boy Scouts Movement in Scotland, where undue parental handling had come to grief in the attempt at controlling the unruly character of children who had cultivated a spirit of dishonesty, vindictiveness, jealousy and bullying. The degree of physical punishment often oversteps the boundary mark, so much so that tender folly is never totally pardoned. The inferiority complex and self-consciousness of boyhood days are the results of parental bullying and repression in childhood. All children without exception have the same impulses and emotions in an immature form, and are, within the limits of decorum, entitled to express them just like the grown-ups. And if these sentiments are suppressed by acts of Spartan harshness, the stunted growth of their mind will be commensurate with the proportion of repression. Parents should first learn the art of fair play in respect of their defenceless children.

How should a trainer act in these circumstances? Tactfulness plus patience can prevent many breaches of discipline from being repeated. Negative instruction should be avoided. For instance the antique system of 'Don't squeeze the rabbit' is now replaced by the more practicable instruction like 'If you squeeze the rabbit, it will swoon.' When however, a reasonable instruction fails, another more intelligent effort is essential to bring round the youngster but when there is absolutely no response to this, the third measure should take the shape of fair sternness but not suddenly. Such Spartan measures are found to be unnecessary in most cases, since the child responds to all reasonable propositions. Parents and teachers who cannot answer a child's natural inquisitiveness and curiosity, should be at least honest in their answer and acknowledge their lack of knowledge instead of being evasive in their attitude. And answers to these questions should be supplied as soon as possible. It often occurs that while elderly people advise children against a certain act of misconduct, they themselves commit it but refuse to acknowledge it. Children who are naturally shrewd cannot be fooled by such a contradictory attitude. In fact trainers of children should not be detected by the latter in their misconduct.

Prizes in Training

In primary schools in Rome a promise of prizes and rewards for the advancement of social and educational discipline is a common principle of training. Promises are made with extreme caution so that fulfilment is practicable and are made in rare cases. At the end of each quarter, several prizes in the shape of excellent books and sports materials are distributed among children in competitive tests. This system is introduced to replace the old habit of thrashing for discipline, and it has worked marvellously. Pocket-money and sweetmeats are given away in some cases but not too often, in order to check the growth of avarice right from the very beginning of training. It is unwise to resort to the two extremes of training: too much severity, impropriety of talk and ruthlessness are as bad as the other extreme of leniancy and affection. A middle course of instruction is sure to benefit children. Prizes therefore should be neither too niggardly, nor superfluous. And the prize promised for a certain grade of progress should be awarded without abeyance. It is customary in some parts of England to promise prizes by making studies, sports and etiquette as compulsory and obligatory subjects, which is a serious error. The pupil should get into his head first of all that in obeying his trainer he is not favouring him in any way but doing his duty; and the observance of the law is not obligatory but a necessity that fetches him the promised prize.

What of Punishment?

Children who, without being severely repressed, are yet made to recognise that the rules of school and home life are to be observed and a violation of these is sure to receive a proportionate punishment, reach their boyhood and girlhood with a sense of self-discipline and rarely go astray. When reasonable and sympathetic instruction fails (but this is very rare), punishment in some mild form is necessary and it calls forth the genius of the trainer to decide upon a sensible and just measure of punishment for his disciple's disobedience. Corporal punishment which was frequently inflicted on school children before, has been condemned as cruel and unnecessary. There was a time when children at school were wont to be arrested like thieves and made to stand in corners on one leg for hours, ordered to gaze at the ground for more than an hour, handcuffed and leg-chained, forbidden to leave the house for a certain number of days,—a custom which was as perverse in English schools as it was ruthless.

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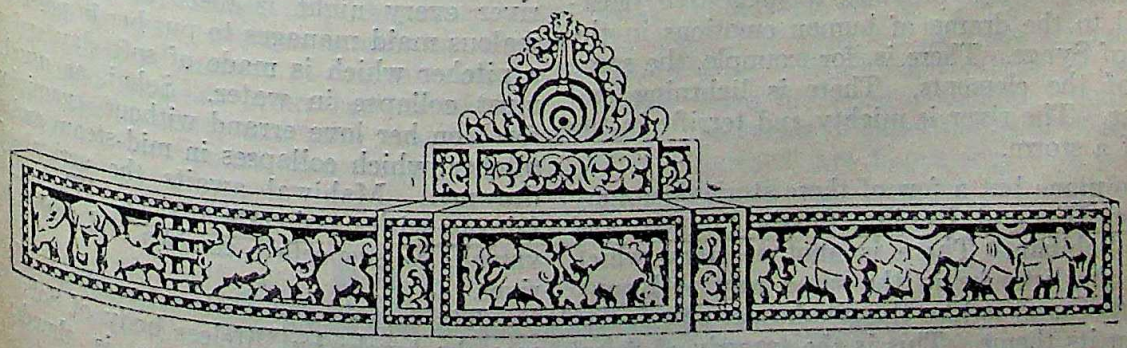
In some cases the poor victims had to fast and forego more than one meal. Such hard penances have given rise to psychoneurosis and are responsible for many of the physical deformities in later life. Even in certain places of the Highlands of Scotland, guilty children are shut up in dark rooms, made to take a salt mug and refused admittance indoors for a part of the night. Even today old women are appointed in Scotch Highlands to relate hideous stories to children and who insil into them abnormal and groundless fears by the narration of inhuman tales like the 'Black Riding Wood.' Children terrorised with the threats of devils and wizards are apt to become neurotic and nervous in after life.

All brutal physical punishments therefore should be guarded against especially in childhood which is a highly impressionable stage of life. Even a non-physical measure should not be continued for a long time and this should never be inflicted for humiliation. Once a child is punished, never again should a reference be made to it and the incident be closed once and for all. Brutal physical torture was common in primary schools even two decades ago, and I still remember a teacher who caught hold of my ears and lifted me a foot above the ground,—a punishment which wounded my ear whose trouble lasted a decade. If and when a cane is handled in exceptional circumstances, the master's facial expression should be serious but great caution should be taken that such punishment does not injure the sensitive and delicate parts of the body. In fact, all long-drawn-out physical and non-physical punishments are injurious and produce a revolting attitude in the pupil.

Physical Attention

Childhood is the exact stage when a child needs proper care in regard to his physical condition and diet. The parental and scholastic indifference in this respect has made many a child cripples and a physical wrecks. Some of the common deformities that are transferred to the progeny from sickly parents are round-shoulders, knock-knees, weak lungs and the like which call for correction. Often, the untidy, uncomfortable clothing wrapped on children gives rise to many an ailment. A primary curative physical culture course is indispensable under this circumstance. A programme of daily bath, diet at regular hours and timely sleep should be prescribed for the child's guidance. Daily sun-bath just after sunrise has been found to be excellent for all unhealthy and healthy children; an all parts of the body should be bathed in the sun's early rays for not more than ten minutes. During the teething period, when children are susceptible to digestive disorders, they are carelessly ignored. At this stage, the use of calcium tablets that strengthen and build the structure of teeth in a shapely formation, should be made an important habit. The next factor for attention is the diet which should be so arranged as to supplement the deficiency of bone-development; and when a child is able to chew, food providing vitamins should be selected in the diet programme. The resources of sunshine and fresh air have a a remarkable bearing on physical up-building and these have to be taken advantage of in as abundant a degree as necessary. Mouth-breathing should be replaced by correct nasal-breathing. Thumb-sucking which is an outstanding trait in all children is derogatory to health and can be prevented by directing the child's attention to some other interesting objects like the psychological toys, which not only equip the child with a sense of discipline but contribute to his mental efficiency and smartness. It is the urgent duty of all parents and teachers to make physical education an indispensable subject of juvenile education, which will prepare the younger generation to fight the battle of life with courage and confidence.



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ROMANTIC TRAGEDIES OF RURAL PANJAB

By KHWAJA MUSHTAQ AHMAD

LEND your ears to the murmurings of a young Panjabi villager, happily treading his homeward path at sunset. Perchance you may hear him musing some such lines, which originally form a part of a long story of romantic love :

"Sada na baghan bulbul bole,
Sada na bagh baharan;
Sada na raj khushi de honde,
Sada na majlis yaran."

"The nightingale is not always singing in the garden,
The garden is not always in bloom;
Happiness does not always reign,
Friends are not always in session."

There are many such poetic fragments which abound in the rustic world—not necessarily in writing but inscribed in the heart of every villager.

These fragments serve him only when he is alone, himself a fragment in the world. But when in wintry nights the villagers sit round the blazing logs of wood, the whole tale is told by an expert narrator in verse. A *hookkah* is passed from hand to hand so that each one of the audience may enjoy a puff of smoke. Then, having blocked the right ear by the palm of his right hand the narrator begins the story; and in his shrill and piercing voice are dissolved the tiny worries of the village folk who listen agape to the miseries and joys of hapless love.

These love stories generally deal with a pair of ardent lovers whose love is impeded by unhappy circumstances. But the lovers are rugged and strong-willed; and the tragedy is enhanced by the fact that they choose to remain undaunted to the end. The setting of these rustic tales may, without exaggeration, be compared to the setting which provides a suggestive background to the drama of human emotions in the plays of Synge. There is, for example, the same fury of the elements. There is lightning and thunder. The river is mighty and terrific in the grip of a storm.

To name but a few of these stories one may mention Hir and Ranjha, Sussie Punnoo, and Mirza Sahiban. There is another story which moves the listeners in the same way as Romeo and Juliet, and is like this Shakesperian masterpiece in its theme. This is the tragedy of Sohni and Mahiwal.

SOHNI AND MAHIWAL

The hero of this tragedy is Mahiwal, the only son of his rich parents. The heroine Sohni (*i.e.*, Beautiful) is the handsome daughter of a potter at Gujerat, and "the whole world burns with the flame of her beauty."

Mahiwal comes to Gujerat for an excursion. One day as he goes to the market to see the world-famous pottery of Gujerat, he sees a ghara (*i.e.* a pitcher) with excellent artistic designs. He is led to enquire about the maker and is informed that the person is none else but the well-known "capturer of hearts," the beautiful Sohni. Then follows a visit to Sohni's house. At one glance the two are enamoured of each other; and, we are told, their hearts are "flooded with love." A lively conversation takes place in which all the suggestions are made in a very subtle way. For example, when Mahiwal asks Sohni, "Who are you ?" she replies playfully, "I will not tell you that I am Sohni".

Cupid secures a victory and Mahiwal finds it difficult to leave Gujerat. Along with his retinue he encamps on the other bank of the river Chenab—there to stay on for an indefinite period as a "prisoner of love." Every night Sohni leaves her house secretly to visit Mahiwal whom she meets after crossing the river Chenab by means of a pitcher—which serves the purpose of a float even today.

This goes on night after night until the fatal hour arrives and the secret is discovered. Sohni is married to some one else with a view to put an end to the scandal. But the impulse of love is not vanquished and the secret meetings continue unabated.

At last the device by which Sohni crosses the river every night is discovered. One night a jealous maid manages to put her in possession of a pitcher which is made of soft clay and which must collapse in water. Sohni, as usual, sets forth on her love errand without examining the pitcher, which collapses in mid-steam and she is drowned. Mahiwal awaits the arrival of the fair one with passionate anxiety. When all hopes vanish, he suspects a mishap and rushes to the river.

The last scenes are heart-rending. Mahiwal sees the lovely but lifeless body of Sohni floating on the surface. There is thunder and

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lightning and the river Chenab is heavily flooded. The hapless lover jumps into the river and his body floats side by side with that of Sohni.

Thus ends the tragedy of two lovers who are separated by man. But, to the great consolation of his sentimental listeners, the narrator celebrates the triumph of love by suggesting that the lovers will have "eternal union in the heavens."

Hir and Ranjha

This is the story of the young and beautiful Ranjha who is forced to leave his native village due to fratricidal jealousy. During his wanderings Ranjha meets the Five *Pirs* (Spiritual Leaders) who reveal to him that he is destined to be married to the beautiful Hir, daughter of Mahar Chuchak. After some rambles he meets the fair one; and love with all its intensity begins at first sight. Hir recommends him to her father to be taken up as a keeper of buffaloes in his fertile river island. Mahar Chuchak readily agrees to this; and thus the lovers get an opportunity of meeting each other frequently.

Their love, however, does not remain a secret for long. A whisper goes round the village and reaches the ears of Mahar Chuchak, who sets forth to investigate the truth. The village Kazi (priest) is summoned so that he may bring Hir to the right path by giving her religious admonitions. Threats of Hell which the Kazi hurls upon her do not appease the infatuated Hir, who replies indignantly :

> "The rains of July swell the river to flood
> And banks and barriers are carried away;
> As deep and lawless in my own heart's blood
> Flows the torrent of love—
> Can you check it with words or with arguments stay ?"

Seeing that nothing avails, Mahar Chuchak sends a message to the chief of the Kherra tribe that he should come and marry Hir. Thus the marriage procession arrives in spite of Hir's remonstrances. She is forced into a palki (palanquin) and the bridegroom makes preparations to take her away. But heavenly help arrives just in time. No one is able to lift the palki, and all stand amazed at this miracle. Lo ! another palki descends from heaven in which Ranjha takes his seat; and then two beautiful angles lift the two palkis and vanish heavenwards.

The Narrator

More interesting than the tales is the method of narration. The clever narrator adds to the intensity of the story by making suitable gestures. With their knees enfolded in the arms the audience listen with downcast eyes and with a heart completely enthralled by the romantic episode.

As the narrator goes on, silence reigns supreme in the assembly—except, perhaps, for the itinerant noise produced by the *hookkah* or the cracking of a piece of burning wood. There is, however, a radiant glow on the faces of the rustic listeners as the narrator comes to some verses which vitalise their memories with an image of rustic beauty :—

> "The rings adorning her dainty ears
> Are rivals for the toss of her head
> As they twinkle like starlings—whiter than
> Buds of jessamine her teeth—what masterly hand
> Fashioned her flower like grace ?"

Such lines evoke a most passionate response from the audience. There is an abrupt relapse in the high seriousness of the tragedy. The hitherto immovable heads begin to swing like a pendulum as a mark of applause; and one realises that these simple folk are as sensitive to visions of Beauty as, perhaps, Keats.

In such intervals of joyous outbrust the narrator avails himself of the opportunity of having a puff or two of smoke. Then he resumes the story; and slowly but effectively he recreates the original tragic atmosphere. There is thus a sudden change in the smiling faces when he narrates about the pangs of love ;

> "As the holes in a sieve, as the stars above
> So many in number the pangs of love."

These tales have a deep significance for the villagers. They do not think of them as romances of the past; and they have no reason to do so. The devastating wars and revolutions of time have not changed their outlook. Thus they are in no way different from the characters depicted in these tragedies of a distant past. Their conceptions of love and beauty have the same elemental vigour. They regard the events of these stories as events which have happened, are happening, and will go on happening till the "end of the world."

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THE BENGAL SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

Some Broader Issues

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

In the course of a lecture delivered in connection with West Bengal Education Week held in the last week of January in the Hooghly Mohsin College, Dr. W. A. Jenkins remarked :

"The first requisite of an efficient school was efficient teaching by a qualified and satisfied body of teachers. The speaker considered that salaries of Rs. 60 rising to Rs. 100, and Rs. 100 rising to Rs. 150 were reasonable for teachers and headmasters. In Madras, which was educationally a progressive province, there were 392 high schools; Bengal had 1,300. Average students in Madras schools were 462, in Bengal 261. In Bengal, the average expenditure of a high school was Rs. 840, in Madras Rs. 1,784, in Bombay, Rs. 2,001. If Madras could do with 392 high schools there was no reason why Bengal could not do with fewer higher schools than at present. Bengal's figure, however, was too high. Teachers in Bengal received on an average Rs. 30 a month.

Replying to questions by several delegates, Dr. Jenkins said that the question of unemployment did not arise. No school should be destroyed, but the status of some should be altered."—(*Statesman*, 1st February, 1941).

Too Many Institutions in Bengal ?

The comparisons made by Dr. Jenkins, though apparently convincing, are not really based on sound logic. Conditions in Bengal and those in Madras or Bombay are not properly comparable at least for three reasons. First, the educational progress in Bengal is due mainly to the initiative and sacrifice of the public and the Government has had to do very little with it : but this is not the case in Bombay or Madras. Secondly, educational needs and social conditions in Bengal are not identical with those elsewhere. Thirdly, this rapid growth of institutions in Bengal has at least contributed to the spread of literacy in Bengal more widely than elsewhere. In Bengal 110 persons are literate per 1000 persons aged 5 and over, the corresponding figures for Madras, Punjab, U. P., and C.P. being 108, 59, 54 and 60 respectively.

Government Contribution for Secondary Education in Bengal and Elsewhere

The latest *All-India Review of the Progress of Education in India* reveals that the Government contribution towards secondary education is the lowest in Bengal; the cost has been chiefly borne by the general public. The position of schools in Bengal is therefore totally different. They have to depend mainly on the fee-income and not on Government contribution for meeting establishment cost and the salary of teachers and other necessary expenditure. The Government of Bengal, though loud in its talk about the inefficiency of some of these institutions and the poor pay given to the teachers, have never made any effort to increase the contribution from public funds to the secondary schools in Bengal in any substantial manner. The provision of Rs. 25 lakhs in the Bengal Secondary Education Bill is thus anything but adequate and it is the height of hypocrisy for the government or anybody connected with government to complain of the poor salary paid to the teachers without making arrangements for necessary funds; or even to compare the salary-scale of teachers in Bengal and elsewhere when the Government of Bengal has failed to reach the standard set by other provincial governments. Then again, if the status of present high schools is lowered—for "alteration of their status" can not, in the light of Dr. Jenkin's speech, have any other meaning —that would certainly lower furthermore the scale of salary, a development that Dr. Jenkins is so anxious to avoid.

Secondary Schools and the Question of Literacy

But this abolition of scondary schools in Bengal, or even the lowering of their status would not only affect the teachers and the guardians but would in our opinion *hamper the growth of literacy*. Secondary institutions are of course generally not connected with the question of literacy and any change in their status should not as a rule affect literacy. But the peculiar conditions in India in general and in Bengal in particular have made the *secondary* institutions responsible to a very large extent for the growth of literacy. Firstly, primary schools are in some places not sufficient in number and secondary schools are thus compelled to maintain primary sections; secondly, the redistribution of primary schools made by the District School Boards since the enforcement of the Primary Education Act has not always been satisfactory and secondary schools cannot but take up the

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question of primary education though on a small scale; thirdly, the selection of text books and the staffing of primary schools mainly on communal principles have in the recent years enhanced the importance of the lower classes of high schools in Bengal, which in many places offer the only alternative source of education to the children of persons preferring education on non-communal lines. Finally, the huge wastage figures in our province convince us that primary education without continuation or refresher courses is not sufficient to ensure widespread permanent literacy. It has been stated in the *5th Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in Bengal* that

"Permanent literacy cannot possibly be obtained until a pupil has completed the primary stage (only 1/4th of the total number of boys admitted in Class I reaches the topmost class, the corresponding figure for girls being 1/45th only) and many educationists doubt if even the completion of the full primary stage would give permanent literacy to a boy or a girl. A great deal of money that is being expended at present on primary education is undoubtedly being wasted and *brings no return*." (Italics ours).

Moreover, is it justifiable to condemn secondary schools in Bengal when no arrangements have been made—and in fact cannot be made in view of the limited opportunities of employment for technically trained students, for adequate vocational training? Would not any curtailment of non-technical education in Bengal react unfavourably on our economic well-being, for in the absence and impossibility of any large scale vocational training at present secondary education of the general type is the only passport to some sort of a career in life?

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, now on the legislative anvil, has been the occasion for a strong controversy regarding the future educational policy of our province. One of the many effects of the introduction of the bill has thus been that the merits and defects of our present system of education—and specially of secondary education—as also the desirability and feasibility of the proposed measure are being publicly scrutinized perhaps more thoroughly than ever before. The gradual worsening of the economic condition of the province together with rapid social changes had already given rise to a vague suspicion that perhaps all is not well with our educational system. This suspicion found expression in the growing demand for vocational bias in education—in the Wardha Scheme, in the recommendations of the Abbott-Wood Committee, United Provinces Unemployment Committee, popularly called Sapru Committee, and so on. But this bill has forced the issue on us and we have been compelled to think not only about the desirability or otherwise of this particular measure but of certain broader issues as well. It is, therefore, not so much my object to discuss here the objectionable features of the present bill which have by now been thoroughly exposed in the platform and the press, as to deal with certain broader issues regarding the educational policy of this province which this bill has given rise to.

What the Proposed Board Cannot Do

We have already pointed out that it is not necessary to repeat the criticisms levelled against the proposed Secondary Education Board suggested in the bill. But we have one question still to ask: supposing that the board is shorn of its present objectionable features, is it possible for the board to help the educational progress of the country? This question again resolves into two questions, *viz.*, (1) Is it financially possible for the board, bereft of its communal bias and genuinely eager to administer true educational reform, to undertake any extensive scheme of reorganisation? (2) Is it possible to expect any good from the board system, even if sufficient money is forthcoming?

Our reply to the first question is a simple and categorial 'no'. It was opined by the Sadler Commission in 1919, that any scheme of real educational reform would cost approximately a crore and a half and the Government would, the Commission hoped, be in a position to undertake necessary financial risk after the Montford reforms. The high hopes of the Commission have however been dashed to the ground and the Government have been able since the reform to provide an annual grant of only Rs. 20 lakhs approximately. It is interesting to compare the figures for some of our bigger provinces:

Expenditure on Secondary Schools for Boys, 1936-37

	Total Expenditure Rs.	Fees Rs.	Govt. Funds Rs.
Madras	89,52,754	46,54,439	18,93,379
Bombay	64,92,972	38,52,075	14,11,264
U. Provinces	87,02,226	27,42,563	45,42,713
Punjab	1,35,84,915	43,18,569	66,69,045
C. P. & Berar	33,92,923	10,97,153	12,56,682
Bengal	1,47,98,909	1,04,09,279	20,52,882

(Compiled from the *9th Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*).

It would be observed that the percentage of government contribution is the lowest in Bengal and totally inadequate even by the standard of other provinces in India, not to speak of foreign countries. It is therefore impossible to believe even by the utmost stretch of imagination that

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the guarantee of Rs. 25 lakhs as given in the bill, can in any sense serve the needs of the country. The position in fact would definitely be worse than at present, for the bill totally ignores the importance of the opinion of the public on whose contribution the Sadler Commission depended so much and thus puts a very great check on private efforts, mainly responsible uptil now for the educational progress of the country.

Then again a glance at the present financial condition of the Bengal Government as also the lack of any plan in the present budget are sufficient to convince us that the present government has neither the capacity nor the desire to make any real effort for the improvement of the educational standards of the province. The method of distributing 'doles' to isolated institutions, selected without any well-thought-out plan and chosen not infrequently on grounds other than educational ones, can have nothing but unequivocal condemnation for it. It is also apparent to all casual observers that the present government with its financial deficits cannot undertake any scheme expensive in its character. In fact it would not be improper to compare the present situation to the condition a few years ago when the Bengal Government had to meet a series of deficit budgets. States the *9th Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal* :

> "There was very little increase in the expenditure from provincial revenues, indeed in 1937 Government actually spent less on education than it did in 1927."

Retrenchment came on the top of this and the "most evident result of this financial stringency" has been "that the province no longer occupies the position it had in the education world of India before the inauguration of the Reforms." We can well apprehend that the course of events in near future will be similar to that described above. The situation was, by the admission of the Government itself, serious indeed :

> "What was bad has become worse and what was tolerable had in many instances become bad. Improvements long meditated and long overdue, had to be postponed indefinitely and instead of even normal progress, there was at many points a visible retrogression." (*Vide*, Government Resolution No. 2517 Edn., dated the 27th July, 1935).

The Utility of the Board System

We have seen that the greatest obstacle to the successful working of the secondary education board is yet to be removed by allocating sufficient funds and the present trend of events does not allow us to cherish any optimism about the matter. But supposing that the present difficulties are somehow removed and the authorities, bent upon a programme of real educational reform, husband the resources of the province according to a well-laid plan, is it desirable to place a board in charge of secondary education?

Protagonists of the board system point to expert opinion and practical experience in their support. It is mentioned that various committees and commissions including the Sadler Commission have recommended the formation of a secondary education board; that such boards have not only been adopted by almost all progressive foreign countries but are actually working in some of our provinces. It is also necessary, in their opinion, to adopt some such machinery in view of the complexity of present-day educational needs, specially when it has become necessary to divert the rush of students from institutions imparting purely 'literary' education.

But none of these arguments really support the board system. It is true that the Sadler Commission recommended the adoption of the board system. But it must also be remembered that the Sadler Commission while suggesting the formation of a board, very clearly laid down that "any such reorganisation must have behind it a strong movement of public opinion: in fact such reorganisation will be successful in proportion to the good-will with which it is viewed by the public at large." It is an established fact that public opinion in this province at least does not favour the introduction of the board-system, and this, in the opinion of no less an expert body than the Sadler Commission is sufficient to rule out of consideration all technical opinion in favour of the system. Then again conditions have changed so much since the report of the Sadler Commission, that it would be unwise to cling to that report with apostolic devotion and ignore more recent recommendations which are designed to serve our present needs in a better manner.

Nor does our experience of the working of the board system elsewhere convince us of the desirability of having a secondary education board in Bengal. A Secondary Education Board was established in the United Provinces on the lines indicated by the Sadler Commission. It has been subsequently remarked by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed that

> "The general standard of teaching and examination has gone down by the transfer of Intermediate examination from the University to the Board. The Matriculation or High School examination has definitely suffered."

Similar questions have arisen in Bombay where, according to the *All-India Review*.

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"The difficulties due to the dual control over secondary education of the University and the Department became more marked during the quinquennium under review (1932-37)."

But authorities there have sought to remove these difficulties not by taking away the powers of the University but by granting additional power, for,

"negotiations began in 1935 between the University and the Department which resulted in the passing of a number of new university statutes governing the inspection and affiliation of high schools by the University."

Similar is our experience in Madras, where the School Final system, "the best of all provinces" in the opinion of some experts, could not work successfully in spite of the fact that special facilities were offered by the Government to students passing the High School Final Examination and not the Matriculation.* And last but not the least is the secondary education board working in our own province though in a limited sphere, *viz.*, the Dacca Board. It is, I think, sufficient to quote official opinion about it:

"The board....has hardly achieved anything new beyond introducing dyeing as a course in the Intermediate Examination . . . as the University did not deal with high schools and Intermediate Colleges, an authority had to be created to deal with those institutions."†

We thus feel inclined to agree with Sir George Anderson, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India who felt no hesitation in declaring that

"These boards have not achieved the success which is essential to a properly regulated system of secondary education."

The Board System in Foreign Countries

We have thus shown that the board system, as is going to be introduced in Bengal now does not satisfy the conditions laid down by the Sadler Commission, though it is on the recommendations of that commission that the authors of the bill are taking their stand. We have also shown that the board system, even if it was recommended by the Sadler Commission, has not been found satisfactory in the light of actual experience. Some enthusiasts of the board system point to England and other leading countries of the world in support of their contention. It is thus necessary, before we analyse the reasons for the failure of the board system here and suggest a new policy, to deal very briefly with this aspect of the question.

It cannot of course be denied that many leading countries of the world have found it convenient and necessary to relieve the universities of their duties as affiliating bodies and place the control of secondary education in the hands of a board. England thus has placed her universities under the Universities Grants Committee and the secondary and elementary institutions under the Board of Education. But a popularly-governed country as it is, England has denied the Board any of the dictatorial powers with which our board is proposed to be armed. For, first, the institutions there can send up students to recognized external examinations without coming in the fold of the Board—a freedom unthinkable here.‡ Secondly, there is no watertight division between secondary and elementary institutions, and the vertical division between different types of institutions have given place to horizontal division on territorial basis, the Board being made responsible for the proper training of the majority of future citizens, a feature dangerously absent here. Thirdly, the Board has not only to direct control over the institutions which are placed directly under the local authorities but has no direct control over the local authorities as well; it can only influence local authorities indirectly in two ways—through consultation and discussion and by withholding the government grants. The Board again does not as a rule interfere with the internal question but confine its attention only to the material side such as buildings, play-grounds, etc. The local authorities again, in spite of their legal authority, leave matters educational almost entirely to their educational committees and never interfere except in the case of revising the rate of taxes, while these educational committees in their turn leave the framing of curricula and the determination of courses mainly to the institutions themselves who have ample scope in this matter.§ The Board is thus not an administrative body merely; nor is it constituted to subserve ultra-educational objectives.

It is increasingly becoming "an agency to guide, advise, encourage and stimulate the progressive development of education through its inspectorate, publications of its own and of its advisory and other Committees and above all through consultation and discussion with representatives of local education authorities and of teachers directly or of their associations."

Needless to say this system has practically no similarity with the system that is going to be introduced here except in name.

It is also significant to find a distinct if slow change in the attitude of other countries which, unlike England, have long been strong advocates

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*Vide The *Education of India* by T. N. Siqueira, p. 102-3.

†*6th Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1932-37*, p. 24.

‡Kandel: *Studies in Comparative Education*, p. 647.

§Kandel: *Studies in Comparative Education*.

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of a board system with close state control. The admirable synthesis of ultimate state control with utmost local autonomy which is one of the cardinal features of U. S. S. R. administration is nowhere more marked than in the field of education; and even Germany, in spite of her constitutional limitations and her tradition of state control, was beginning sometime ago to allow some freedom and flexibility in the *interna* and to set up standards only for *externa* such as buildings, size of classes, etc.

Further, if we turn to America we find a similar tendency in high school administration, though conditions here and those in U. S. A. are not fully comparable. The peculiar political beliefs in the United States as also the constitutional difficulties and legal limitations in different states did not allow any uniform development, and administration of education thus had no uniform basis. School Boards still had been established in many states but there is, in general, tendency to restrict the powers of the boards of legislative and regulative functions and to allow greater freedom and flexibility.* Moreover, educational leadership has prudently been left to the care of educational experts and noted public men, and the State Boards have generally not interfered in the matter. In fact, the unique development of the American School system may be said to be largely due to the work of expert bodies and associations on the one hand and to the comparative internal freedom and ample scope for experimentation on the other—a feature totally absent in our province.

Our Problem

It is necessary before we conclude to state in a few words some of our problems and suggest tentatively a line of action that may be expected to remove our present difficulties. It has been made sufficiently clear that the Board system as proposed by the Sadler Commission is not going to be introduced now, nor can we justify the Board system in the light of actual experience in this country and elsewhere. It is also to be remembered that satisfactory results elsewhere is no guarantee of the successful working of the Board system in this province, for as the Sadler Commission remarked :

"It would be unwise to infer from the experience of the working of the school final system in other provinces that public opinion in this Presidency would be indifferent to any substantial transference of powers from the University to the Department of Public Instruction. In Bengal, such a transference would jeopardise the good understanding between the Government and the educated classes upon which the prospects of effective reform in the existing system mainly depend."

It may, therefore, be pertinently asked: What should be our line of action now ? Our reply to this question would be that if it is necessary in the interests of education and education only not to overburden the University with administrative work, a board may be permissible, but on certain definite conditions. It is absolutely clear that such a board will not only be devoid of the objectionable features of the proposed board; not only that it should satisfy the educational interests of the province and not merely certain political parties and thus secure a strong public opinion in its support; not only that it should have sufficient funds to carry out necessary schemes, but it must also take into consideration certain broader issues as well. It should, in short, have the whole picture of education of our province in mind before it introduces any far-reaching changes.

In fact the rapid succession of events in recent years and the still more rapid changes in the structure of our society call for a change in our educational policy. It has been aptly pointed out by the Abbott-Wood Committee that education uptil now imparted in India was mainly of the literary type and this system was generally accepted as suitable. But the gradual worsening of the economic condition of the masses—specially since the great Depression, the overcrowding of literary professions, the increasing cost of literary education with comparatively little benefit are, among others, reasons for the growing demand for vocational bias in education if not for complete vocational education. Any board desirous of solving the present difficulties must therefore take these facts into consideration before launching on any new scheme of educational reform. But this again leads up to a number of knotty problems. Any such scheme of reform would at once break down the division between secondary and primary education; for as the Hadow Committee observed in its *Report for the Education of Adolescents in England*, any diversion of the flow of students from institutions imparting only the 'literary' type of education cannot but begin from the primary stage. This again would lead to the breaking down of the so-called distinction between general and vocational education, for as the Abbott-Wood Committee remarked :

"General and vocational education ought not to be regarded as essentially different branches of education but rather as the earlier and later phases of a continuous process fostered by the community with the object of helping the immature child to develop naturally into a good citizen."

* *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, article on "Education" p. 420.

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It is also necessary for the board not to be oblivious of the dangers of undue emphasis on vocational education at the present stage of our industrial development, for, to quote the same Report again :

"It would be a great misfortunte if a large body of men received a prolonged technical training, and on its completion found that they had no opportunities of using the knowledge they had acquired."

Any true educational reform, therefore, cannot in our country but be the part of a well-planned drive for all-round improvement. Such a broad vision is sadly lacking not only in the proposed measure but in the government policy with regard to education. Any attempt to restrict secondary schools without any effort to deal with these broader problems, would not only check the growth of literacy (a casual glance at our wastage figures is sufficient to convince us of the fact that primary schools are perhaps not sufficient for widespread permanent literacy) but would positively strangle the limited opportunities of employment that are yet available to the educated Bengali youth—for we cannot forget that present literary education, in the opinion of the Sadler Commission is meant more for eeconomic benefit than for liberal culture. The bill thus not only falls far short of our national needs but is positively retrograde in its character born as it is not of a spirit of genuine educational reform but of a conspiracy between imperialism on the one hand and group-interest on the other. It is the duty of every patriotic citizen to oppose this measure and thus save the cultural integrity and economic future of the country.

MEDICAL ADVERTISEMENTS

By N. V. ESWAR

The unregulated advertisement of "universal remedies" is the direst of all standing menaces to the health of all nations. This menace cannot be eradicated by merely restricting the advertisement of those drugs and tonics that have been on analysis found to possess the curative qualities claimed for them. For, though advertisement of drugs in itself is not an harbinger of calamities, through it the very human tendency of "self-doctoring" is stimulated and made to play a dangerous part in undermining the health of the individual.

It is not on rare occasions that one comes across people who, taking the advertisements as their infallible guide, use medicines for the diseases they are actually suffering from without consulting any doctor. This practice is almost universal in case of fever and headache and other slight indispositions of such nature, because by so doing a considerable saving in the doctor's bill is effected. In some cases through the good fortune of the patients nothing untoward happens. But there occur cases where, through an over-confidence in one's medical abilities, complications are given rise to. And then ensues a frantic effort to discover a doctor who will straighten things up. All this happens not before considerable harm has already been done to the individual's health.

The catchy advertisement has been partly responsible for the individual indulging in bad economy which leads him to greater trouble and heavier expenditure than would have been legitimately his lot. The attending doctor also is given added trouble in that he has to treat the patient not only for the original complaint in a distorted form but also for the further entanglements the patient has brought upon himself through being a little too "clever."

The above, however, constitute only one kind of wilful and conscious victims. There are other cases where normal people with obviously no trace of disease of any sort consider themselves to be incurably ill and commence "doctoring" themselves.

Seeing medicines advertised for the removal of all modern complaints people are so besides themselves that they begin to diagnose in themselves all the symptoms enumerated in the advertisements. They totally forget that living conditions in our cities are such as will make us a bundle of nerves after work in the office or factories. Through overwork exhaustion sets in. Not realising this, to escape from the drudgery of a monotonous routine life, they naturally go in for some light work. A thoroughly fagged out body cannot reasonably be expected to withstand such strains. Soon they develop heaviness of the head or some such slight indispositions. All these symptoms are

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promptly connected up with nervous debility and failing health. Poor souls, the most important fact that their bodies need rest more than anything is never realised by them. They are obsessed with the idea that they are ill. A majority of diseases is due to the patient's self-doctoring and apprehensive imagination.

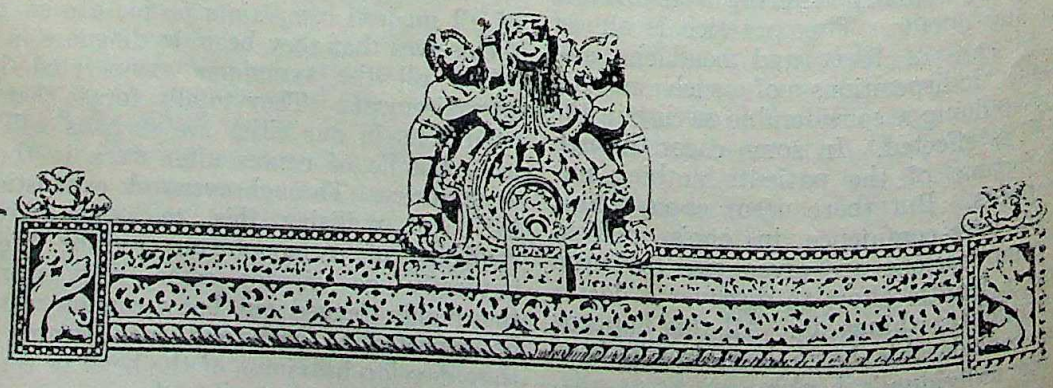
As is to be expected, the next step is to scan all the advertisements in newspapers or other cheap magazines to light upon a wonderful nerve tonic or brain cooler that will through some mysterious process build up a man out of him! What the after-effects of these potions will be on a perfectly normal body nobody stops to ponder. They think they are going to build up bodily strength and brain power. Perhaps they may beat hollow the geniuses of our times both physically and mentally! Even here there is no consultation with the doctor. For the self-styled patient thinks that he knows all about his afflictions, and the most clamorously advertised medicine commands his unstinted reverence. The process does not stop here. Friends are advised to follow in his trail: it is a case of a blind man leading the blind. This is at once the best and worst form of advertisement.

Individuals may through their "cleverness" go astray. But society has its duty by them, Its task is to claim them back to normal human condition. This cannot be accomplished by mere propaganda against "self-doctoring". The temptation to "self-doctoring" is fostered by advertisements which must be removed. The profit that will accure to a few drug manufacturers is not a fit and adequate compensation for the health of a nation. This consideration must on no account be allowed to stand in our way.

Legislative measures have to be taken against any form of advertisement of drugs. The value and properties of drugs need be known to only those engaged in the medical profession. A little knowledge of these things as regards a layman is dangerous both to him and to society. There is no analogy between this and the advertisement of other products. Economic ruin is certainly not on a par with the undermining of health, for the latter involves both economic and physical ruination.

A latitude may be given to drug manufacturers. Their advertisements may be allowed to appear in medical journals. The circulation of such journals is confined to the profession. Chemists and druggists and those engaged in the medical profession alone constitute the fittest and most proper agency through which the man in the street is to receive his remedies for the diseases that are not offsprings of his fancy, so that all the curative qualities of the drugs manufactured need only be laid before the profession in order to win the ear and heart of this legitimate agency. This will go a long way in the elimination of spurious drugs that are undermining the health of the country. It is an unwary and ignorant public that renders the spread of spurious and adulterate drugs possible.

It is not difficult to get at those engaged in the profession. Even the names and addresses of persons engaged in the medical profession can be obtained by offering some prizes to those submitting the largest number of addresses from a particular locality. This will also bring to light the prominent members. This kind of medical propaganda is nothing new. Many firms have tried it. The drug manufacturers have, therefore, nothing to grumble about. The health of the society requires that the advertisements of drugs be restricted to the medical profession.



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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor. The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1939-40. *League of Nations. Pp. 285. Price in wrappers 10/-, $2.50; bound in cloth 12/6d., $3.50.*

Notwithstanding present events, the technical work of the League of Nations continues without interruption. Proof of this fact is furnished, *inter alia,* by the appearance of the *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1939-40.* This new edition comes at an opportune moment when objective and comprehensive statistical information is more necessary than ever but —owing to the inaccessibility or absence of regular national publications—singularly difficult to come by. In spite of such difficulties the *Year-Book* is highly up-to-date. It contains figures covering the year 1939—in some cases also the first half of 1940—for a large number of subjects and for all countries of the world; the most recent territorial changes and the monetary measures introduced since the outbreak of hostilities are likewise reviewed in detail.

Population problems are nowadays of considerable topical interest; population statistics accordingly occupy an increasingly prominent place in the *Year-Book.* These statistics deal not only with the present population position of the various countries, but also with their past and prospective future demographic evolution.

The League Economic Intelligence Service estimates the population of the world at the end of 1938 at 2,145 millions, 450 millions being tentatively attributed to China. Population censuses have been carried out recently in three large countries; according to these returns the population of the U. S. S. R. in January, 1939, was approximately 170.5 millions; that of the United States, in April, 1940, 131.4 millions, while the population of the German Reich amounted to 79.7 millions in May, 1939. The latter figure includes neither the 7 million inhabitants of the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" nor the 10.5 million inhabitants of territories incorporated since the outbreak of the war.

The birth-rate in Germany has continued its upward movement and in 1939 reached 20.3 per thousand (against 14.7 in 1933) in the old Reich, 20.9 0/00 (against 12.9 in 1937) in Austria and 21.9 0/00 in the Sudeten district. There was some decrease in the United States. In Denmark, in Hungary and in the Balkan countries, a rise in the Union of South Africa, in Oceania, Sweden and Norway. In the past few decades there has been a general decline in mortality unprecedented in history. Every year millions of lives have been saved as a result of the progress in public health and welfare.

The upward movement in industrial production, which began in many countries about the middle of 1938, continued up to the outbreak of hostilities and, in some cases, notably the United States and Canada, during the whole of the second half of 1939. However, discordant the statistics relating to the U. S. S. R. may sometimes be, it is clear that a very striking increase in industrial production and in several branches of agricultural production has occurred in that country in recent years.

The development of industrial technique, often encouraged by a policy of autarchy, has led to a growing use of substitutes. The German production of synthetic rubber in 1939 was estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 tons, world production of natural rubber amounting to 1,020,000 tons. Benzol, alcohol and synthetic motor spirit have in certain cases replaced petroleum spirit. In regard to textiles, the past ten years have witnessed a veritable revolution: while the world production of natural silk has tended to decline, the output of artificial silk (rayon) was in 1939 two and a half times greater than in 1930 and the output of staple fibres rose in the same period from 2,800 tons to 490,000 tons.

In almost all countries note circulation has tended to rise; in some cases this tendency was accompanied by an increase in the reserves of central banks.

X.

HOLY IMAGES—An Inquiry into Idolatory and Image worship in Ancient Paganism and in Christianity: *By Edwyn Bevan. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 1940. Pp. 184. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

This book is part of a course of lectures delivered by Dr. Bevan in Edinburgh under the Gifford Trust in 1933. It was the good fortune of the reviewer to have been in Edinburgh at the time. I attended the lectures, deriving great benefit from them. The four lectures which constitute the book under review, have been expanded considerably but the general idea remains unaltered. The rest of the lectures have appeared under the general heading of Symbolism and Belief. The general title of the book "Holy Images" may strike the reader as rather archaic, unconnected with modern and up-to-date problems. The Christian may be reminded of ancient controversies of little or no value for him at present. Two instances, however, are mentioned by Dr. Bevan which forcibly bring to our minds the up-to-dateness of the subject. Referring to the beginnings of the Arya Samaj, the author quotes the naive story of Swami Dayananda's night vigilance when he was a lad of fourteen, "to watch an image of the God Shiva." What shock

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the young lad received when he saw a mouse running all over the body of the deity and yet the god remain motionless, not even raising a mild protest against the desecration. No, the youth concluded, the image could not be Shiva itself, as the priests delight in teaching. Another instance refers to some disquieting reports from Japan. What value and significance have the gestures of homage offered to the Emperor of Japan? Can Christians visit the temples and pay respect to the image of the Emperor without compromising their attitude? Are these symbols purely honorific without implying any further ideas? The relation of the sign to the thing or the reality signified, the implications of the symbol as to the real nature of the object symbolised—these are some of the problems that are raised by the veneration of Holy Images.

The "learned" and the "wise" will laugh at the suggestion that in bowing before a stone or before a well-carved wooden image, homage is paid to the stone or the wood. They know that there exists no relation whatever between one and the other. But can it be claimed that the same is the case with the average person? The tendency in emotional and sentimental human beings is to translate to the object worshipped the properties and qualities of the symbol, and also to attach to the symbol the power and attributes of the person represented. This danger exists everywhere in primitive people and in advanced societies. As a mystic points out why should a devout person become absolutely miserable if four instead of six candles are lit before the statue of her favourite Saint?

Dr. Bevan quotes the authority of the great Fathers of the Church St. Augustine. This great writer of the 4th century admits that the appeal to the senses, through images, ritual, music, etc., to uplift the soul is a natural one. Psychology tells us the same. But the snare, the Saint points out, lies here. Whatever is helpful to uplift the soul, music, art, ritual, might also "*retains it and holds it back.*" And he confesses to have fallen into the snare; "when however, I catch myself being more moved by the singing than by the things sung, I confess that I have fallen into punishable sin, and then I would wish all sound of music away." But how many strong characters are there who, like Augustine, on realising by introspection their dependance on symbols and ritual would cast them out? Most people would fan the flame of aesthetic satisfaction and enjoy the subjective emotion although by so doing their soul is held back from the real spiritual flight to the supreme reality.

This prepares our minds to subscribe to one of the conclusions reached by Dr. Bevan at the end of his book. If the use of Image is justified as means to bring home to the mind the unseen world, then as modes of suggestibility differ widely in different individuals, it should have been left to the individual's discretion to use images or not as he found them helpful or otherwise to his spiritual life.

The foregoing analysis will indicate the importance of the issues raised in this book. Religion, using freely symbolism, images, ritual, music, should scrutinise carefully the extent to which real and deep spiritual convictions are planted in the soul or whether the soul is held in the captivity of these sensuous and material elements.

P. G. BRIDGE

SPEECHES ON FOREIGN POLICY: *By Viscount Halifax, K.G., D.C.L. Oxford University Press. 1940. Price 10s. 6d.*

This volume contains a selection of the speeches on Foreign Affairs and on principles of British policy made by Lord Halifax from February, 1934 to February, 1940. Although Lord Halifax did not become Foreign Secretary until after the dramatic exit of Mr. Anthony Eden in February 1938, he had been intimately connected with the direction of foreign affairs for some years before. The collection therefore begins in 1934.

These speeches, the majority of which were made in the House of Lords, give a more or less connected narrative of the events leading up to the present war and mark the slow, almost painful, change in the British Government's attitude towards Hitlerite Germany. British foreign policy during the period in question formed the subject of bitter controversy in Home politics and created not a little suspicion in the minds of outsiders, particularly of the American people. Many competent critics have ascribed to the National Government a large measure of responsibility for the steady deterioration of the international situation. For they consistently pursued the policy of appeasing the aggressors—Japan in Manchuria, Italy in Abyssinia and Germany in Europe—and never gave any firm and courageous lead to the League of Nations in its dealings with the aggressive Powers. And, while the German menace was daily increasing, the National Government did not adopt timely and energetic measures for re-arming the nation nor did they make any serious attempt at a *rapprochment* with the U. S. S. R. until it was too late. Perhaps they were chary of too close contact with Soviet Russia and one of the basic assumptions of British foreign policy seems to have been a profound conviction that the gulf between Communist Russia and Nazi Germany could never be bridged. The British Government were therefore rudely shocked when on the 22nd August, 1939, they heard about the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact. "I do not conceal the fact," said Lord Halifax in the House of Lords, "that this announcement came as a surprise to His Majesty's Government."

Events have only too painfully demonstrated the short-sightedness and futility of British foreign policy during the last few years. Nevertheless, the speeches collected in the volume under review are worth reading. For herein one finds a very able and reasoned defence of the policy of the Government by one of its most respected and distinguished members. And there is a philosophical quality underlying these speeches which greatly adds to their interest.

A. B. RUDRA

ITALIAN ECONOMY AND CULTURE: *By Manindra Mohan Moulik, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome). Published by Chuckerverty, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The study of Italian history and culture is of interest to Indians for more reasons than one. Italy was for a long time under foreign domination and achieved nationhood only in the latter half of the last century. The evils of foreign exploitation were combined in her case as well with chronic poverty and the memory of a glorious past. In Italy as well an intellectual renaissance preceded political emancipation. The problem of problems on the achievement of freedom was the reconstruction of the social, economic and political life of the nation and the temper exhibited in this task of reconstruction is often strangely similar to that which we find in the resurgent, but yet unfree India of today. India has therefore much to learn from in the recent history of Italy.

The task which Dr. Moulik has set himself is an interpretation of the modern Italian outlook on life and things. He looks upon the present Italian regime as a

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natural and indeed inevitable development of the resorgimento that led to the political emancipation of Italy. Whether one agrees with his judgment or not, there is no denying that this has made his analysis one of great interest and value. Only one who is in sympathy with the spirit of a people or a movement can truly interpret it, for without such sympathy the inner meaning and motive of the movement remains inaccessible. Dr. Moulik writes with zest and enthusiasm of the art and literature of Italy. He finds the same creative spirit in her social and economic experiments as well. The agricultural remaking of Italy is for him an expression of the same integrating spirit which reveals itself in the new idealisms of Croce or Gentile.

This underlying unity binds together the different essays in the book and makes it of great interest and use to all who want to understand the spirit that has gone to the creation of modern Italy. Dr. Moulik handles his material with ease and assurance and deserves the gratitude of all who want to understand modern Italy. The production of the book leaves little to be desired.

HUMAYUN KABIR

ORNAMENTAL ART: *By Nanda Lal Bose. Published by the Author, Kalabhavan, Santiniketan, Bengal. November, 1940. Pp. 13. Price annas five.*

Professor Nanda Lal Bose, the Silpacharya of Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, has published a remarkably stimulating essay on some of the Principles and Fundamentals of Indian "Decorative" Art, and have illustrtaed them with a series of excellent drawings of his own. The author very modestly claims that "these notes are merely suggestive and might help a student to work better: in no case do they claim to teach one how to *create*." He devotes a special section to the evolution of the Lotus Motif, and its various applications in Indian Art, and has demonstrated his ideas by a very valuable series of drawings illustrating the numerous applications of this motif. This modest little essay—so tantalisingly brief—but very suggestive and pregnant with ideas for creative artists—will be of great use to artists and designers and help him to originate new patterns and decorative types—based on direct studies from nature. The way and the process of deriving new conventions of decorations have been very happily demonstrated in this valuable pamphlet. In the last section on Elemental origin of Decorative Forms, the author has borrowed illustrations for Earth, Water, Fire, and Clouds from Far Eastern, instead of from Indian examples of Decorative symbols for Water, Fire and Clouds and Earth which could have been usefully added as illustrations. The manner of rendering 'Water' in Guzerati Miniature paintings is of particular interest. It is unfortunate that the author has been very badly served by his literary hack who has paraphrased his ideas into English, and the ignorance of the paraphraser of the current vocabulary of the literature of aesthetics has made many of the Author's ideas cryptic and meaningless (e.g., 'outward limitation' for 'outline delimiting forms,' 'abstract forms' for 'elemental' or 'fundamental forms and patterns'). The title of the pamphlet—'Ornamental' Art is very unfortunate and is particularly inapplicable to the so-called decorative motifs of Indian art. In the rich vocabulary of Indian 'aesthetic' design no form occurs for its own sake, for the mere purpose of filling in a space, or offering a pleasing experience to the eyes—that is to say no Indian motif fulfils a mere decorative or 'ornamental' purpose, but as a general rule, every design stands for a definite religious, symbolistic, auspicious, ritualistic, or other esoteric significance, or idea. Besides the word 'ornamental' suggests something put on, super-added, something in the nature of an useless upholstery, something which does not grow and evolve from the nature, or the necessity of the design. There can be no worse condemnation of Indian Art than to characterize its typical designs as 'ornamental' or 'decorative,' for to think of 'decoration' as the essence of any art would be the same as "to think of millinery as the essence of costume or of upholstery as the essence of furniture." But we need not quarrel with the Author or his translator for the unhappy vocabulary used in the text. To us the illustrations are the real text of the essay, and they convey a world of profound ideas which need not be sought for in the misleading words of the text. It is very desirable that the Author should publish a Text-Book of Indian Designs, covering all the leading motifs and patterns.

O. C. G.

THE SOUL OF INDIA—A CONSTRUCTIVE STUDY OF INDIAN THOUGHTS AND IDEALS: *By Bepin Chandra Pal. Published by the New India Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1940. Rs. 2.*

This is the third and revised edition of a book written by the author and published about thirty years ago. It has not yet lost its freshness for those who are interested in the knowledge of Indian culture. Sj. Pal's political dictum as quoted in the Publishers' preface to the first edition will still appeal to many both in India and England. "Britain and India united will be able to exercise a far more potent influence for the avoidance of war and the arrangement of some *modus vivendi* than could be done either by Britain alone or by India alone. It is in the combination of Britain and India that my hope of the future lies. I object to call it an Empire. I would rather call it a co-operative partnership. . . . . India would not be sacrificed to Britain nor Britain sacrificed to India." The words have a prophetic ring about them.

Though Bipin Babu was much better known as one of the stalwart politicians of New India as New India was in 1905, yet his equipment as an expositor of cultural India was considerable, even to an astounding degree. He rightly pointed out that the interpretation of India could come only from an Indian, an Indian not merely by birth but in heart and in spirit. For such interpretation he turned to men like Baba Arjundas and Bijoy Krishna Goswami, whose influence had transformed, for him and many others besides, the whole world and its significance.

It is a commonplace objection against Indian unity that India is a mere geographical expression and that the various races inhabitating the country with their confusing diversities of languages and customs can never give it a sense of oneness. Bipin Babu pointed out that tradition helped up *Bharatbarsha* (the name by which the country was known to its people) as a single, closely knit country, knit by the tie of one common culture. There might be racial and religious, political and administrative differences but this common culture was a cement which has stood the test of ages. The Aryan culture succeeded in imposing upon the non-Aryans its socio-ethical arrangements and discipline; and it was not an imposition in the objectionable sense of the word. It conserved the customs and practices of other races and gave them a place in the Aryan's scheme of things, which is known as the Varnasrama Dharma, so much misunderstood and villified in our days. The bond of unity was to be found in the sacred text to be

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uttered by every Hindu, Brahim or non-Brahmin, when he would sit down to worship his gods. It was a daily reminder of the national unity of the Hindus. The Mahomedan influx did not destroy this unity, but developed it to a new unity, a more organic national life and consciousness than before. As a matter of fact, nationality in India was different from that of Europe; the word stood for an element of homogeneity not to be found in India, but Indian evolution through ages had changed the heterogeneous character of the nation into a federal type. It represents the advanced type of social organisation towards which all humanity was slowly moving. Bipin Babu showed how India had responded to the new patriotism by re-orienting the Mother cult, a part and parcel of the general spiritual culture of India; for the collective life and conscience of society are represented in an ideal and spiritual form by the vision of the mother and related to our highest conception of humanity envisaged as Narayan or Mahabishnu.

Such universalization of patriotism is the last refuge of a war-racked humanity. Superficial thinkers might consider India as steeped in idolatory, but really there is more ideolatry than idolatry in the country. The conception of the absolute is immanent in the refined spiritual imagery which swept over the land in the Pauranic age and which still musters strong throughout the length and breadth of India. If we look deep enough we shall find that the cult of the mother leads to the eternally self-differentiated being of the Absolute. Thus the cult of Radhakrishna, Pal holds, stands on a higher ground than the mother or sakti-cult, though there is no superiority claim in any sectarian sense. But the Radhakrishna cult, with its very close affinity with the fundamental laws of Christianity, more correctly represents the soul of India, and there is no going away from the universal ideal, the vision of human unity, in terms of Vaishnavism.

This synthetic interpretation of Indian culture as we find it in the *Soul of India* is full of interest for the modern reader because the issues opened up by the distinguished writer are still instinct with profound significance of the different items of Indian culture no less than the future course of the world at large. In the short compass of a small handbook of 260 pages we have comprehensive view of Indian life, a study from the philosopher's standpoint of the great Varnasramdharma, of so highly developed a religion as Gaudiya Vaishnavism. Sir Radhakrishnan's *Hindu View of Life* and Bepin Chandra Pal's *Soul of India* present interpretations of Indian life which will surely prove a healthy stimulus to the students of the complex web of national life of India. We hear in these days so much of the new order in the East and in the West; such order may only be established on the basis of a philosophy like the one outlined in the book.

P. R. SEN

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE HELD AT TRIVANDRUM, 1937: *Published under the auspices of the Government of Travancore, 1940. Pp. 1406+lxxxv+vii.*

The first part of this big volume contains information about the constitution and working of the Conference. This session is of special importance as it was held at Travancore, the sacred birthplace of Sri Sankaracarya, and was presided over by Dr. F. F. Thomas, the renowned scholar and sincere friend of Indian culture. More than 700 ladies and gentlemen were present at the Conference. One hundred and ninety-nine papers were received from members and all the papers were accepted by the Sectional Presidents. The valuable address of the General President, Dr. Thomas, is to be found in pages 15-38.

The second part contains the addresses of the Sectional Presidents and the 85 papers selected for publication. Even a cursory glance at the list of papers will convince any one of the variety of entertainment, the Conference provides to its delegates and members. To show the variety, we may mention (1) Reference to eagle and other mysterious birds in ancient literature, (2) Mystic elements in Jainism, (3) A letter to Maharaja Ajit Singh, (4) Dietics in Ayurveda and (5) The empirical and noumenal truths in Sankara's philosophy.

The fact mentioned above that all the 199 papers submitted were accepted does not mean, however, that all the papers are of a high order of excellence. It cannot even be said that all the papers selected (85 out of 199) for publication are important. The value of these Conferences will increase a great deal if only first rate papers are accepted.

N. K. BRAHMA

THE I. C. S. (AND THE OTHER ALL-INDIA SERVICES): *By J. B. Petit, Bombay. Pp. 55.*

This pamphlet is a reprint of a series of articles contributed to the *Sunday Chronicle* of Bombay in October last. After making very brief reference to what we call the beneficent departments and ascribing the unpopularity of the officers of the Police and the Military services to the nature of the work they have to perform, the author devotes the space at his disposal to giving his readers a very short history of the origin and development of the I. C. S. He then points out the various psychological defects of its members and goes on to prove that it has strenuously opposed every attempt at granting India a larger measure of self-government. He has referred to many forgotten and far from pleasant incidents in support of his contention and towards the end, comes to the following conclusion which as affording a very clear idea of his approach to the problem is quoted below:

"It is a cruel irony of fate that such a tremendous power, coupled with such unlimited possibilities for doing good, thus obtained and exercised by a handful of men over a fifth of the population of the world, by a purely accidental combination of fortuitous circumstances, should have been so wantonly and so coldbloodedly directed towards the deliberate misgovernment of an enormous country and the persistent suppression of a great and historic people for the selfish and unrighteous purpose of perpetuating the vested interests of their own class, and of strengthening and consolidating England's hold and domination over it, by the continued exploitation of her human and material resources for England's benefit and for England's advancement, in a manner and by a method, the persistence, the ruthlessness, the injustice, the inequity and the inhumanity of which, are perhaps without a parallel in the history of the world, barring of course the totalitarian methods of today."

A defect from which the pamphlet suffers is the strong language used by the writer. It is felt that his arguments would have carried equal if not greater weight by moderation in this direction. Another criticism which may be made with justice is that he has not referred to any standard work bearing on his subject except Montagu's *Indian Diary*. The opinions advanced lack balance and sobriety. The pamphlet is not likely to be popular

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with those in search of a reasoned statement of the problem of Indianisation.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE (between the E. I. Co. and Indian rulers and notables), Vol. VII, 1785-87. (Govt. Publications, Delhi, 1940). Pp. xvi+468+xxxvii. Price Rs. 20.

We cordially welcome this volume, especially for its prompt publication only two years after its predecessor the sixth volume, which ended with the retirement of Warren Hastings. It covers the officiating governor-generalship of Sir John Macpherson (19½ months) and the first 15½ months of Cornwallis's tenure, three years in all. Very little authentic and detailed was known about Macpherson's proconsulship before this volume came out, because no English record about it worth speaking has been published, except the diplomatic correspondence and news contained in the Poona Residency correspondence series, vols. 1 and 2. These two Poona volumes treat of the same period, but from another angle, namely the view-point of the British residents with the Peshwa and Sindhia. The light which the present volume throws upon the social and economic conditions of the country is to be highly prized. *E.g.* the Ghosal zamindars' proposal about an Industrial Home for the poor and unemployed in Calcutta. Happy Calcutta of those days! it had only 500 such vagabonds. The decline of the Murshidabad Nawabs is truly pathetic. The Keeper, Imperial Records, in a short 8-page introduction draws attention to the chief topics.

This volume is no doubt meant by the Government of India for millionaires only, because an octavo volume in English only, running to just over 500 pages, without a single plate or word in Oriental type, is priced *Twenty Rupees*. But we know our millionaires, Government does not.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

CHARKHA, MARXISM, INDIAN SOCIALISM: *By Professor Brij Narain, Lahore. Published by Rama Krishna & Sons. 1941. Pp. 195. Price not mentioned.*

The author is well-known as a scholar and student of public affairs. In recent years he had been, however, playing the rather dubious role of a sceptical critic of modernist views and the present brochure is another example of his misguided zeal. He seeks to prove first the inconsistencies and pitfalls of the Gandhi cult, by means of an imaginary conversation between Chaudhuri Sahib "for several years engaged in constitution-wrecking as premier of a province." In third chapter, a Marxist and an "Indian" Socialist expound their views and here the author pleads for an "Indian" socialism as against flamboyant Marxism. On examination, this indigenous hybrid is found to be a curious amalgum of (1) the leadership principle, (2) the acceptance of state-control as against state-ownership with a view to the introduction of the ideas of Sombart of "German Socialism" fame and Rathenau (Jr.), the exponent of totalitarian economics, and (3) the rejection of the western political links in favour of a hegemony under Japan miscalled an Eastern Federation." Brij Narain is against democracy for India. International-totalitarian basis only. "The political problem in India is not that of a wide extension of the franchise, or of summoning a constituent assembly, or of drafting a constitution, but that of finding the best men in the country who can plan, and of investing them with full powers to execute their plan, irrespective of the 'will of the people'." If ideas like the author's gain currency and support amongst our intellectuals, one has to despair about the future. As a sign-post and warning the brochure may be useful.

The author's wide range of studies and critical faculty, however, can be evidenced interpersed in the footnotes, and Appendix B "India and the New World Order" is an informative criticism of some of the proposals for post-war reconstruction by Beveridge, Wells, Acland, Streit, Cuny, Joad, Laski (misspelt Lasky), etc. Apparently, the Professor is in his proper element in these academic discussions. One wishes he had not appeared in the field of practical politics as a Don Quixote.

BHAGANAGAR STRUGGLE: *By S. R. Date. Published by the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha, Sadashiv Peth, Poona. Pp. xiii+249. Price Rs. 2.*

Bhaganagar is an old name for Hyderabad current in Maharashtra. This is an informative story of the struggle for Hindu Civil Liberties carried under the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha in conjunction with the Arya Samajists and, for a time, the State Congress. Though giving the Mahasabha version, it is appreciative of the Arya Samaj contribution.

The first three chapters on the State, its Ruler and Muslim Bureaucracy give the background for understanding the *raison d'etre* of the agitation. There are also full reproductions of important documents, *viz.*, the Nizam's firman of July, 1939 based on the Iyengar Committee's Report, statements by the State Congress, Savarkar, the Aryan League, etc. It is to the credit of Maharashtra to have contributed most to the sinews of the Mahasabha in carrying the struggle to a successful conclusion and to have cried 'halt' at the right moment. The story is well-told and should inspire all fighters for civil liberties.

BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA

YOUR DIET—IN HEALTH AND DISEASE: *By Harry Benjamin. Published with permission by Juthabhai Amarshi Shah, Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati. Pp. 16+199. Price annas twelve.*

Considering the fact that Gandhiji's non-violence covers many fields other than politics and social relations, it is not surprising that his followers and admirers should be interested in such a question as diet reform or the preservation of health. The A. I. V. I. A. has already published a small booklet on diet; and the present book is another published from the Harijan Ashram at Sabarmati.

Mr. Harry Benjamin's book was originally published in England and sold for 3/6. As it is a very useful book and deserves wide publicity, the publishers of this Indian edition have priced it at twelve annas only, thus bringing it within easy reach of every one. The book deals in simple language with the fundemental principles of dietetics and finally gives us a complete guide to health and rational dieting as well as a chart for the treatment of common ailments.

The dietetic reform and the methods of treatment suggested by the author are of a radical nature. But as all good things come from bold and intelligent changes, we hope the lay reader will follow Mr. Benjamin's instructions carefully and thus be able to build up a sound health without the aid of professional medical men.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS. *Conference Number. 1940. Allahabad University. Pp. 395-846. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This bulky special number of the *Indian Journal of Economics* contains the proceedings of the 23rd Confer-

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ence of the Indian Economic Association held at Allahabad in January, 1940, and the papers read before the Conference by distinguished professors of economics from different parts of India. These papers cover a wide range of subjects and have been treated with a high level of academic skill and scientific detachment. This volume also contains the reports of discussion held at the Conference on some of the most pressing economic questions of the day. Among the contributors to this volume are: Amarnath Jha, T. E. Gregory, Jawaharlal Nehru, L. C. Jain, B. P. Adarkar, Gyan Chand, S. K. Rudra, Parimal Roy, C. N. Vakil, D. R. Gadgil, B. G. Bhatnagar, Professor Karve, Akhtar Hossain, S. G. Beri, M. Abdul Qadir, Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, J. K. Mehta, P. S. Lokanathan, G. D. Karwal, Bhabatosh Datta, S. R. Bose and N. H. Gopal.

Students of economics will find this volume extremely interesting and useful.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

COPY AND PROOF: *By Krishna Prasad Dar, Manager, The Allahabad Law Journal Press. With a Foreword by Sir C. Y. Chintamoni. The Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad. Pp. xi+155. Price Rs. 2-4.*

A successful printer must have a thorough knowledge of his trade. Much time, money and labour can be saved, and errors and omissions avoided by a careful and methodical preparation of the MSS. and scientific proof-reading. This depends upon practice as well as a bit of theoretical knowledge by studying books on the subject. Authors in general are more or less careless and this has increased the responsibility of proof-readers.

An acute need is felt for a handbook which will serve as a ready reference. The book under review will be found useful by all those who are connected with printer's proof. The author's long connection with the printing line has enabled him to spot out the peculiar needs of the printers, authors and proof-readers and he has spared no pains to make the book as useful as possible by inserting list of homonyms, compounds, use of suffixes, useful tables, such as, sizes of types, sizes of papers, cards, etc., the point system, etc., etc., and a dictionary of printing terms. The printing and get-up of the book is excellent.

SOUREN DE

SANSKRIT-TIBETAN-ENGLISH

THE "TRI-SVABHAVA-NIRDESA" OF VASUBANDHU: *Sanskrit text and Tibetan versions. Edited with an English translation, introduction, and vocabularies. By Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya, Cheena-Bhavana (Sino-Indian Research Department), Visva-bharati, Santiniketan. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 10.*

The Editor of this work tells us in the Introduction:

"*The Trisvabhavanirdesa*, which edited here for the first time with its Tibetan translations, is a small treatise of thirty-eight verses (*karikas*). It is written by Vasubandhu (A.D. 420-500), as is evidenced by the colophons of the Sanskrit text and one of the Tibetan translations.

"It belongs to the Yogachara school of Buddhist philosophy. In this school, things are viewed from three aspects, *viz.*, (*i*) the Imaginary (*kalpita*), (*ii*) the Relative or Conditioned (*paratantra*), and (*iii*) the Absolute (*parinispanna*). These are called the three *laksanas* or *svabhavas* (aspects)."

The book contains an introduction in English, Sanskrit text in Devanagari characters, Tibetan versions in Tibetan characters, parallel passages, English translation, and word indexes (1. Sanskrit-Tibetan, 2. Tibetan-Sanskrit).

Those who desire to have a complete knowledge of Indian Buddhist philosophy should study this scholarly work.

X.

BENGALI

RABINDRA-RACHANABALI, *or the complete works of Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali. Vol. VI. Royal 8vo., pp. 674. Three portraits of the Poet at different ages and a reproduction in facsimile of a page of the manuscript of his great novel "Gora." Price Rs. 4-8, 5-8, 6-8, and 10, according to get-up. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This volume of Rabindranath Tagore's works will be a delight to young and old.

The short poems forming the contents of *Kanika* are full of wit and wisdom and humour, many being among our best epigrams.

The section named *Hasyakautuk* contains many pieces, dramatic in form, which resemble what are called Chardes in English. They are full of humour and can be played, each performance occupying a few minutes.

This volume contains the Poet's great novel *Gora*, which originally appeared serially in *Prabasi*, and in *The Modern Review* in English translation.

The last section contains *Loka-Sahitya* (or Folk Literature), comprising *Chhelebhulano Chhada* (or Nursery Rhymes and Lullabies), *Kavi Sangit* (or Songs of the Kabiwalas or Improvisatores), and *Gramya-Sahitya* (or Rural Literature).

The first of these contain a collection of Bengali nursery rhymes and lullabies—the first to be brought together and printed in Bengal, with reflections on them in a semi-philosophical, semi-poetic vein. The rhymes themselves have delighted our children for generations. The reflections, full of humour and wisdom, will entertain and enlighten their elders.

The second and third parts are also illuminating and delightful.

AROGYA (OR RECOVERY): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1 and Rs. 4.*

This is the latest poetical work of Rabindranath Tagore, containing, besides the Dedication, thirty-three of the poems composed in January and February this year.

They are entirely free from any querulousness, though during his long life of eighty years the Poet has had more than his share of bereavements, vicissitudes and bodily suffering. In some of the poems there is beatific vision. Serene joy and placid content mark them all.

The pieces cannot be individually noticed in this brief note. But one cannot refrain from mentioning the poem on *Nari* (woman), one of the finest and noblest that we have read in Bengali or English. And what flash of insight, what joyous appreciation, is there in the last four lines of the poem on "Didimani"—the grand-daughter who is affectionately so addressed!—

"So much feebleness [in *me*] was needed
To make this sweetness [in her] a blessing.
I gaze on her with speechless wonder—
Has she seen the Eternal Infant in the person of
the invalid!"

(Free translation by the reviewer).

X.

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CHARANI : *By Sri Surendranath Das Gupta, Mitra and Ghosh, 10/1, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

The author is well-known for his work on Indian Philosophy. Poetry is to him a favourite recreation, but here also he wields a facile pen. The influence of Rabindranath is noticed in many of the poems. Some of the pieces contained herein are rich in solemn music. Not for their emotional fervour, but for the smooth flow of language, the poems afford a pleasant reading.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEA

PERSIAN

THE TAZKIRA-E-BENAZIR (ARABIC-PERSIAN SERIES, VOL. I) : *Edited by Manzur Ali, M.A. Published by Allahabad University. 1940. Pp. 154+12.*

There is much to be said about most of the Persian *Tazkira* writers. While most of them possess a peculiar power of vivid description and a gift of a truly virile and graphic style of narrative, they lack critical judgment and sound observation and are always swept off their feet, by either personal relations of friendship or keen hatred due to personal dislike. The author of the present work, a memoir of Indian and Persian poets of 1200 A.H., Mir Ghulam Ali Iftkhar belongs to the latter category. While he utterly lacks the honest and sane standards of literary criticism and is full of sweet words of compliments for the poetic achievements of his teacher, Azad Bilgrami, he cannot brook a discordant note of criticism on the poetic flaw of the latter by Siyalkoti Mal, Warusta. He is so enraged by the objections raised by this "venomous reptile and poisonous scorpion" which are "baseless hollow and frivolous" that he begins chastising him in the most vehement and ruthless manner. He excludes him from giving a place in his memoirs, but even that does not subside his wrath and he attacks Warusta's co-religionist as writers of Persian, on flimsy grounds. "It has struck me strange" he says, "that the Hindus in imitation of the Muslims, have started writing on Islamic Sciences ..... they should write on subjects concerning their own religion. Should they wish to meddle into Islamic sciences, they should first obtain the fortune of the Faith and thereafter start writing on Islamic Sciences. . . . ."

But this narrow outlook of its author, does not in any way minimise the worth of the *Tazkira* itself. Notwithstanding its one-sided and shallow observations here and there, its value lies in its inclusion of notices on some of the hitherto unknown obscure poets, both Indian and Persian, who lived during the first seventy-two years of the twelfth century of Hijra.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

MARATHI

SRI RAMANPRASTHAN-TRAYI : *By Nagesh Vasudeva Gunaji. Vasudeva Ashram, Thalakevadi, Belgaum. Pp. 175. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a Marathi translation of the three principal works in Tamil, viz., *Saddarshan, Updeshsar and Ramanguta* of Sri Maharishi Raman, of Arunchalam, whose fame as the silent seer of the south has been broadcast in recent years, by well-known writers like Paul Brunton. The Maharishi's main teaching is on all fours with that of the sages of old : "You must find the master within you, within your own spiritual self." And this can be done, he says, by one's constantly asking himself the question, "Who am I ?" and answering it analytically till on him, there dawns the truth. "I am the Self, indivisible, immortal and ageless." He, therefore, suggests the cultivation of silence in which all doubts and difficulties are resolved, provided one is earnest and indomitable. His way of assisting the aspirant when the latter comes up against a "dead-stop" in his search is Socratic; for, he leads him to the truth step by step. The result is a remarkable degree of simplicity in unfolding even the most abstruse of spiritual concepts and convictions. The translator by giving a short sketch of the Maharishi's life, together with a few pictures, and of the background to his self-realization and rendering his teachings in simple Marathi, has added further to the debt of gratitude which the Marathi-reading public owes to him already for his earlier works on Sri Ramakrishna Paramhamsa, Swami Ram Tirath and Doctor Booker Washington.

G. M.

HINDI-PALI

PALI MAHAVYAKARAN : *By Bhikhsu Jagadish Kasyap, M.A., Lecturer in Pali, Benares Hindu University. Published by Brahmachari Devapriya, B.A., Secy., Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnath, Benares. Pp. 573+18+52+10. Price Cloth-bound Rs. 5.*

The entire Hindi-reading world is indebted to the learned author for this scholarly work, which is undoubtedly a lasting contribution to the growing literature of the Hindi language.

The erudite author has followed the Moggallan Vyakaran the most ancient and comprehensive of all extant Pali Grammars. He has arranged the original Sutras (aphorisms) of the Moggallan Grammar (with lucid Hindi renderings) in such a way that a perusal of this book is sure to impart to the reader a thorough knowledge of the Pali Grammar. Though the size of the book is somewhat big, only a quarter of it is occupied by the Sutras and the translations; and the rest by the appendices and the footnotes. Its standard is not too high for the students of schools and colleges who will find this book immensely interesting and useful for their purpose. The copious footnotes are, however, meant for higher studies and should, therefore, be omitted by the beginners.

At the end of every lesson, Pali paragraphs mostly from the Holy Tripitaka, have been added to facilitate study and understanding. Moreover, valuable hints to the study of Pali have also been appended at the end of the book. Sutra-patha, Dhatu-patha, Gana-patha and Nwadi Vritti of the Moggallan Vyakaran as well as long alphabetical indexes of Sutras and illustrated words are given in the appendices.

In a masterly introduction in Hindi extending over fifty pages, the author who is a Buddhist scholar-monk discusses some very pertinent problems of Pali. At the outset he traces the origin of the word *Pali* and points out that it is not found in the early books even in the Moggallan Vyakaran in the first sloka of which, it is said that the language in which the original words of the Buddha are preserved is called Magadhi and not Pali. The grammarian Moggallan names his great work as Magadha Sabda Lakhsana. For the first time the word *Pali* is found in the original Tripitaka such as Udan Pali, Digha Nikaya Pali, etc.

Acharya Moggallan and another grammarian derive the word *Pali* from the root Pa + li (from nwadi) and gives it the meaning of row or line. The author does not accept the opinion of MM. Bidhushekhar Shastri and other scholars who following the derivation of Moggallan hold that Pali means a line of the original work.

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The author contends probably rightly that Pali has originated gradually from *Pariyay*. From *Pariyay* comes Paliyay, and then Paliyay which is reduced to Pali meaning the words and the language of the Buddha. He is definitely of opinion that Magadhi modified by the impression of the Buddha's own words has given birth to Pali. To support his view he quotes A. Berriadiel Kieth who observes that the speech of the Buddha which is assumed to be reproduced in the canon was doubtless the educated Lingua Franca which had been devised for the needs of the intercourse of learned men in India. Rhys Davids and Geiger are unanimous with Kieth in this matter. The author however admits that Pali like Prakrit is an offshoot of the Vedic Bhasa which was once a spoken language. He quotes from Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* and Arnold's *Historical Vedic Grammar* to show the visible affinity between Pali and Vedic languages.

Lastly, the author gives an interesting comparison between the Sanskrit and Pali Grammars. As the Aindra, the Chandra, the Paniniya and the Saraswati are the best among Sanskrit Grammars, so the Kachchan, the Moggallan, the Saddaniti are the greatest among Pali Grammar. The Kachhan has 675, the Moggallan 817 and the Saddaniti has 1391 Sutras. Pali Grammar just like the Sanskrit Grammar classifies the Sutras into six kinds; such as Samja, Pari-bhasa, Vidhi, Niyama, Atidish and Adhikar. A list of 25 Pali Grammars is also given to show that Pali has many grammars as Sanskrit.

Moggallan Vyakaran which is best composed about 750 years ago in Ceylon at the time of Parakrama Vahu. Bhikku Moggallan lived in the Thuparam Vihar of Anuradhapur in Ceylon. It is said of the Moggallan Vyakaran that he who masters this, becomes Vayiakaran-Kesari, *i.e.*, the Lion of Pali Grammarians.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANAND

TELUGU

MUNIMANIKYAM KATHALU : *By M. Narasinha Rao, B.A., L.T. Published by Nammalwars. Post Box 251, Madras. Pp. 120. Price annas six.*

This volume contains ten clean and wholesome sketches depicting the domestic vicissitudes of a middle class family. The author has already made a name for the creation of that delightful housewife *Kantham*, and the book under review keeps the flag flying aloft. He can really be acclaimed as the Barry Pain of Telugu Literature. The book is a real charm.

PANCHAJANYAM : *By Chakrapani. Published by Navasakti Press, Bezwada. Pp. 114. Price annas six.*

The author evinced a good taste in selecting these stories from Bengali for purpose of translation. Eminent writers like Bankim, Tagore, Parasuram, Asoka Chatterjee, Pramathnath Bisi, and Robindranath Maitra flit through the pages. The translation is brilliant, characterised by skilful ease and naturalness. The spirit of the original is kept up jealously throughout. All the stories have a political background which adds to the importance of this publication. The style is limpid and graceful, and the deft touches in the originals have been very carefully handled. I dare say this is a welcome addition to modern Telugu literature in as much as it serves to demolish the morbid provincial boundaries, thereby fostering a spirit of intellectual co-operation between Bengal and the Andhra Desa.

A. K. ROW

KANNADA

ANNANA SULNUDI : *Editor and Publisher V. R. Koppal, M.A., B.T., Teacher, Raja Lakhamgouda Sirdesai High School, Dharwar. Size Crown 1/16. Pp. 12+88+11. Price annas four.*

The booklet under review is a collection of some of the proverbs from the various Vachanakaras. The Vachanas occupy a very unique place in Kannada literature by their pithiness and perspicacity. They are the lyrical outpourings of the yearning souls and as such they have both an individual and a universal appeal. It is in these Vachanas that we find a happy blend of the maximum of personality with the maximum of impersonality. The writers of the Vachanas or rather the sayers of Vachanas have given us in their sayings beautiful glimpses of contemporary society and its morals. It is in this respect that they are valued as a precious treasure trove of mystical human experiences. Even today Kannada people can derive much benefit from this source. Shri Koppal has indeed done a good service to Kannada language in culling out the best sayings and weaving them into a fine string of pearls and jems. The editor deserves our sincere gratitude for his illuminating introduction wherein he has tried to peep into the spiritual back-yard of Kannada literature. It can be said without hesitation that it is the emotional intensity of the Vachanas that has lent beauty and colour to the Kannada language. We find in the Vachanas a beautiful blossoming of our ancient culture.

This book is modelled on the pattern of a dictionary of quotations. Although the editor claims that his attempt is wholly new we humbly point out that as far back as the 13th century Mallikarjuna did a similar service by his *Sookti Sudharnava*. We are aware of a similar modern collection of proverbial sayings gleaned from Purandhardas by Mr. Udapirao Bidi. Hence Mr. Koppal's is not the first attempt of its kind. However, he deserves our sincere and warm tribute for the handy and at the same time handsome get-up of the booklet. A glossary at the end of the book has added to its utility.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

KAVYA NI SHAKTI : *By Ramnarayan V. Pathak. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Prtss, Ahmedabad. 1939. Pp. 366. Cloth-bound. Price Re. 1-12.*

SAHITYA-VIMARSHA : *By Ramnarayan V. Pathak. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1939. Pp. 376. Cloth-bound. Price Re. 1-12.*

Both these books of Prof. Ram Narayan Pathak are collections of certain essays, lectures and reviews of publications, now reprinted. They range over a very wide area, and are confined to pure literature. Each performance shows a cultured outlook on the various branches of literature, poetry, drama, prose, present tendencies, and similar subjects. They are the results of deep study made with the eye of a critic. Take for instance his paper on Premanand's Nalakhyan. It compares the poetic work of Premanand with the text of the subjects in the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata and points out where the Gujarati poet has used his own fancy to supplement or improve upon the original. He comes to the conclusion that the performance of Premanand is almost an independent one. In the other book also there are some striking papers, *e.g.*, that a "short story" in Gujarat literature, a recent phase.

K. M. J.

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RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

III

The Bengal Library, Calcutta, publishes quarterly, as Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette*, a catalouge of books registered in the Presidency of Bengal. We have already published in two instalments the list of Bengali books culled from the catalouge for the quarter ending 30th June, 1939.

A further list of Bengali books registered during the quarter ending 30th September, 1939, is published below. We have excluded from it the names of text-books as also the number of issues of different periodicals.

Art

Gita-Malika, Pratham Bhag. Garland of Songs. Part I. By Rabindranath Tagore. A collection of miscellaneous songs. Pp. 2+108. 15th May, 1939. 2nd ed.

Bharater Karu-Silpa. Indian Arts and Crafts. By Asit Kumar Haldar. Pp. 74+12. 25th July, 1939.

Biography

Ajesilas O Pampi. Agesilaus and Pompey. Trans. by Panchanan Sinha. Pp. 37+82. 27th May, 1939.

Sri Sri Sarada Devi. A biography of Sarada Devi, wife of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, the Famous Saint of Dakshineswar. By Akshaychaitanya Brahmachari. Pp. 5+14+340. 14th August, 1939. 2nd ed.

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——— No. 29. 22nd July, 1939.
——— No. 30. 29th July, 1939.
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MODERN BEE-KEEPING IN INDIA

Past and Present

By KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

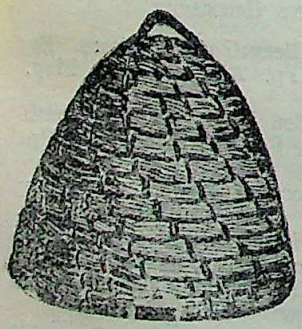
Attempts in the Past

The history of the attempts made in the past in introducing modern bee-keeping in India dates from as early as 1882. We find in the Preface to Pusa Bulletin No. 46—"Bee-Keeping" by Mr. C. C. Ghosh, published from Calcutta in 1915—a passing reference about "A Collection of Papers on Bee-Keeping in India" (Calcutta, 1883), and a "Handbook of Bee-keeping in India" (Calcutta, 1884). The Preface to Mr. C. C. Ghosh's book on bee-keeping is by Mr. T. Bainbrigge Fletcher, Imperial Entomologist, dated Pusa, the 16th July, 1914. He writes :

"Thirty-five years ago Government inquired into the question of Bee-keeping in India and published the replies from Local Governments under the title of "A Collection of Papers on Bee-keeping in India" (Calcutta, 1883). A few years later Mr. J. Douglas brought out a small Handbook of Bee-keeping in India (Calcutta, 1884) ; this is now long since out of print and unobtainable. After this the subject seems to have languished for many years, although bees were kept in frame hives by a few people in some of the Hill Stations."

The preface then continues :

"In 1907-08, a few colonies were brought to Pusa from Simla but these were not successful and soon died out. In 1910 and again in 1911 we imported European Bees and tried these at Pusa and in the latter year I published notes on Bee-keeping and on Wax-moth in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Vol. VI, Part IV, and projected a further series of articles and a practical manual on the subject. My transfer to Madras and pressure of other more urgent work has delayed this and this Bulletin has been prepared for present use by Mr. C. C. Ghosh, who has acquired some knowledge of bee-keeping mainly under my direction. It is frankly to a large extent a compilation from various excellent manuals on the subject prepared in Europe and America but these of course do not deal with Indian bees or Indian conditions, nor are these books readily accessible in India; so that it has been necessary to add some account of Indian bees and of the modified form of Standard Frame-hive which has been found practically useful with *Apis indica*, the only Indian wild bee which it seems possible to domesticate in any way. . . . ."



The "Straw Skep" in which bees, in the old method, were used to be kept in European countries. (*See* Lieut. Cousins' introduction to his booklet)

The above Bulletin No. 46 is now being issued in a revised form as Miscellaneous Bulletin No. 6 of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

Lieut. Cousins' Booklet (1916)

Reference must also be made of a booklet named *A Guide to Successful Bee-keeping in the Hill Districts of Northern India* (1916), by Lieut. F. S. Cousins and issued under the authority of the Director of Agriculture and Industries, Punjab. Lieut. Cousins, being himself a bee-keeper of 25 years' experience, was much interested in improving the methods adopted by the Indian villagers. He placed his experience at the disposal of those who might want it, and referred those bee-keepers who desired to go more deeply into the subject to works like the *British Bee-keeper's Guide* by Thos. W. Cowan, and *Fifty Years among the Bees* by Dr. C. C. Miller. In the introduction to his booklet, Lieut. Cousins wrote :

"It took many years to overcome the prejudice against frame-hives in England, and even now, in some out of the way places the old straw skep with its attendant 'brimstone pit' are still in use, but in India, where the unnecessary destruction of animal life is contrary to the teaching of the religion of the people, the 'better way' one would think needs only to be known to be adopted."

This booklet was priced at annas four. It is still available at that price from the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore. It contains a beautiful photo of the apiary established by Lieut. Cousins at Sanawar (Simla Hills), showing over 25 hives accommodated in a yard with a lovely background. We find that an association known as the "Simla Bee-keepers' Association" was started in September 1914 for the purpose of encouraging apiculture in the Simla district, and there was also *The Bee-keepers' Record*, a monthly journal. The Director of Agriculture and Industries, Punjab, was the President of the Association, and Lieut. Cousins was the Honorary Secretary, Sanawar,

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Punjab. The bee-keeprs were invited to join the Association. In the last page of the booklet there is a price list of bee-appliances then sold by Messrs. E. Plomer and Co., Simla.

Rev. Newton's Article on Bees (1917) Experiments in the Gardens Attached to St. Joseph's College, Trichinpoly, Since 1890

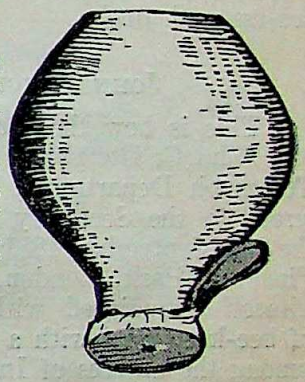
In the "Bee-keeping in South India" 1937, (Bulletin No. 37 of the Department of Agriculture Madras), we first find reference to Rev. L. V. Newton's article on "The Domestication of the Indian Honey-bee," published in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Vol. XII, 1917. Readers will find in the said article the earlier experiments in those days in domesticating *Apis indica* in artificial hives.

In that article, received for publication at the office of the *Agricultural Journal of India* on the 3rd September, 1916, Rev. Newton wrote that Indian honey-bee was cultivated and observed in the gardens attached to St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, for a period (with some slight interruptions) of over a quarter of a century. Rev. J. Castets, S. J., began to make a study of the various Indian bees about 1890. At that time he tried successfully to domesticate the Rock Bee (*Apis dorsata*), the Little Bee (*Apis florea*) and the Indian Bee (*Apis indica*), but soon came to the conclusion that the last one could be kept profitably in a hive. In these experiments Rev. Castets was greatly helped by Rev. Father Bertram, S. J., the then Rector and Principal of the College. Rev. Newton was also lending an occasional hand. Later on, Rev. Father Bertram had opportunity to continue his observations at Shembaganur, near Kodaikanal, on the Palni Hills. He also tried to introduce Italian bees. In the meantime, Rev. Newton had continued to busy himself with the bees and made a careful study of their habits, manners and honey-yielding capacity in the garden of the College at Trichinopoly.

In his article Rev. Newton dealt about the economic value of Indian Bee, amount of honey it could be made to yield and about the difficulties with wax-moth. He gave a table showing the amount of honey he extracted during six years between 1911-16, with every detail regarding the names of months as also dates on which such extractions were done, using a simple extractor which he constructed for his use. He described methods of capturing wild colonies and housing the same in artificial hives, and discussed at length about the sizes of hives and frames suitable for *Apis indica* in the Plains.

He gave measurements of the brood-frame and shallow-frame he used and recommended these for bee-keepers in the Plains of India. It may be mentioned here that these frames, smaller in size, known in India as "Newton Frames" are much favoured by the bee-keepers in South India, and are generally in use in the Plains. Bee-keepers in the Hills use frames bigger in size.

Rev. Newton espoused the cause of *Apis indica* the Indian hive-bee to establish it in its rightful place, and was keen in introducing bee-keeping in India as a subsidiary industry. The present writer acknowledges with a deep sense of gratitude that it was Rev. Newton who made modern bee-keeping in India practicable. He had occasion to write a series of three articles on "The Domestication of the Indian Honey-bee" in the pages of *Rashtravani* (Vol. II, Nos. 42, 43 and 44, dated respectively 12th, 19th and 26th December (1940), in appreciation, and quoted therein extensively from Rev. Newton's article.



The "Ghurrah" in which bees were kept by the Waziris (N.-W. F. Province). The mouth of the ghurrah is covered with a piece of leather having a hole in the centre for entrance and exit of bees. (*See* Rev. T. Mayer's letter dated December, 1881)

The "Collection of Papers On Bee-keeping in India" (1883)

So far as the books,—the "Collection of Papers on Bee-keeping in India" (1883), papers on bees and methods of bee-keeping in India, collected from the various provinces and Indian States and published under the orders of the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, as also the "Handbook of Bee-keeping for India" (1884), by Mr. J. C. Douglas, Superintendent of Telegraphs, Indian Telegraph Department, published with the sanction of Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India—are concerned, the lovers of bees in India cannot be satisfied simply to know that these books are not available being out of print. On the other hand that very fact of non-availability only increases one's inquisitiveness as to know what those books contained; for, they deal with

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honey-bees as also bee-keeping, modern and primitive, and conditions that existed in India nearly 60 years ago. Naturally, the subject brings along with it the production, demand, sale-price and market of both honey and wax. From the stand-point of the subject and the relative importance of conditions that prevailed in those days, the 'Papers' containing 95 pages of foolscap size, printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, (Calcutta, 1883), are well worth to be reprinted. And the 'Handbook' if reprinted, will be equally helpful to bee-keepers in India. These are old treasures which, if available, every bee-keeper should possess with pride.

John Douglas' Letter

This is how the 'Papers' came into being. Mr. John C. Douglas of the India Government, Telegraph Department, then at home on leave, wrote to the Secretary of State for India, on the 29th September, 1881, from 207 Isledon Road, Finsbury Park, London, stating that he made himself acquainted with the practical details of bee-keeping, "with a view to its introduction among the natives of India, who", so far as he enquired, "take honey and wax from wild bees alone." He continued, "As sweets form so important a constituent of the native dietary there would, no doubt, be ample demand for honey for domestic consumption." He was of opinion that the climate was favourable to successful bee-keeping, and "some of the plants extensively cultivated (*e.g.*, mustard) would yield honey in abundance." His definite proposals are quoted below:

"(4) I propose to interest the Europeans and more educated members of the Native Community in the subject by actually exhibiting bees, hives, etc., and showing the several operations performed by the bee-keeper.

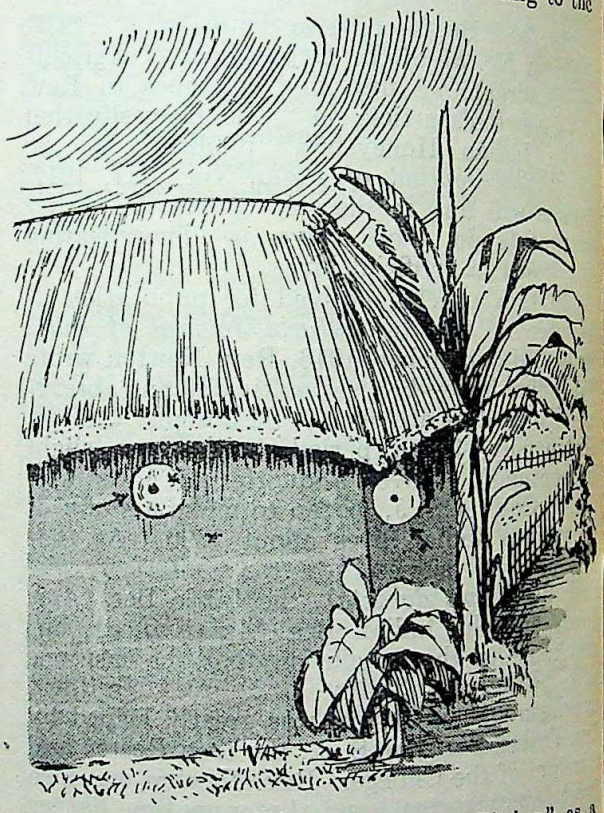
(5) I have the honour to apply for the favour of any information on the subject the Government may possess, particularly copies of Blue Books, if any, relating to past efforts in the same direction, and I should have much pleasure in explaining further, in person, the measures I propose to take, the results attained elsewhere, and the results I might hope to attain in India."

He concluded by stating that his motives were to benefit the natives of India, and not to make a profit for himself.

Secretary of State for India Takes Action

In reply, Mr. Douglas was informed by the Secretary of State for India that no official reports on bee-keeping in India had ever been received in the India Office, but that it was probable that the Government of India might possess papers relating to the production of honey in India generally.

The Secretary of State for India forwarded on the 10th November, 1881, a copy of the above letter of Mr. John Douglas to the Government of India together with a Memorandum by the Special Assistant in the Revenue, Statistics, and Commerce Department on Mr. Douglas' letter, with the remark that the subject relating to the



The arrow mark shows an "Earthen Pitcher" as a decoy-hive kept horizontally embedded in the mud wall of a dwelling house. Another pitcher is hanging from the eaves. Villagers within a few miles from Calcutta still practise this primitive method of bee-keeping. The bottom of the pitcher, facing outside, has a small hole for the bees to enter

introduction of bee-keeping in India appeared to him to be of sufficient practical interest to engage the attention of the Government (Despatch No. 97: Revenue; dated 10th November, 1881).

Machinery Set in Motion

The machinery was thus set in motion. The Secretary to the Government of India, on the 29th December, 1881, forwarded copies of the above despatch (No. 97: Revenue) regarding bee-keeping in India to the Secretaries to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal (Bihar and Orissa were in Bengal then), North Western Provinces and Oudh, Punjab; to the Chief

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Commissioners of British Burma, Central provinces, Assam, Ajmere, the Chief Commissioner for Coorg, and the Secretary for Berar to the Resident at Hyderabad, with the request that any particulars which might be useful to Mr. Douglas might be reported. And that the extent to which good honey found in any part of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, N. W. Provinces and Oudh, Punjab, British Burma, Central Provinces, Assam, Coorg, Ajmere, Berar, might be indicated and methods followed by natives in bee-keeping might be described. Attention was further drawn to the fact that Mr. Douglas also wanted some account of the past efforts in the direction of successful bee-keeping.

Copy was forwarded to the Honorary Secretary to the Trustees of the Indian Museum for information.

Copy was also forwarded to Foreign Department for information, with a request that the Residents in Kashmir, Nepal, Mysore, Resident at Hyderabad, Agents to the Governor-General in Central India, Rajputna and Baroda, may be asked to furnish any information that may be available on the subject of bee culture in the several territories named.

Douglas' Further Queries

The first letter of Mr. Douglas was followed by another letter from him, dated London, the 27th November, 1881, in which he wanted further information on the following points, and any others likely to suggest themselves as important:

"A.—What quantity of honey is produced in India, and how is it disposed of? What price is realised on that sold, or exported, and how is the remainder consumed? Is there any demand for honey, and is any imported?

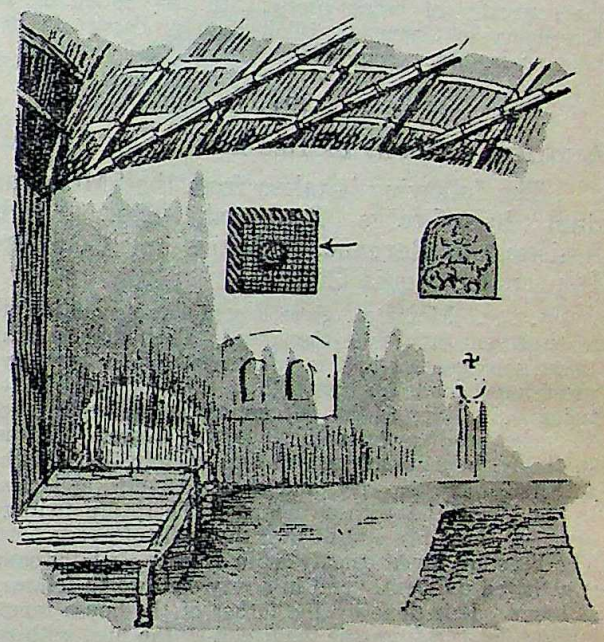
B.—Are bees domesticated in any part of India, and is there any information available of the habits, yield, habitat, mode of harvesting, etc., of the wild bees? Probably the forest department could give valuable information.

C.—What are the varieties of bees indigenous to India likely to prove valuable, if domesticated? Do they resemble the black, Italian, or other European variety, and how are the habits of the insect altered by the climate of the plains of India as compared with the habits of bees of colder climates?"

These were also forwarded to the Local Governments and Administrations as before.

In due course, information on bees and bee-keeping began to be collected from the districts all over India through the District Officers and the Forest Departments. These were forwarded by the Provincial Governments and other authorities to the Secretary to the Government of India. Papers so collected were printed in 1883 in a book form of foolscap size with the title, "A Collection of Papers on Bee-keeping in India."

I desire to present the readers with the most important informations contained therein considered from the practical point of view, province by province. But for that I must wait for the next opportunity. Any attempt to give a short note here would neither be possible nor be doing justice to the 'Papers' and to those persons who took so much pains in collecting those valuable informations, for, every province, nay, every district has its own interesting account to render. At present I must keep myself satisfied by quoting a few lines as to show the extent to



The mouth of the embedded pitcher (in Fig. 3) is shown here inside the room. Mouth is kept closed with a piece of cocoanut shell and then luted with mud. At the proper time, this end is opened for the removal of honeycombs

which bees were kept in a state of semi-domestication in those days in Kashmir and the Punjab on the North-West of the Himalayas, and in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills on the North East in Assam, as also the attempts made in keeping bees in bar-frame hives.

Bee-keeping in Kashmir: 60 Years Ago

(1)

Mr. F. Henvey, on special duty in Kashmir, wrote the following to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in his letter No. 36, dated Sialkote, the 16th January, 1882:

"In reply to your Office Communication No. 36 I. G., dated 9th January, 1882, I have the honour to

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state that, so far as my observation goes, bees appear to be still kept in Kashmir in precisely the manner described in the Memorandum by George Birdwood, Esq., and at great length on pages 21-23 of the Introduction of Bates' *Central Asia*, Part VII, Section I, Kashmir.

"2. My impression, however, is that bees are not so universally kept by the Kashmir Zemindars as they used to be, and I was told, in the course of the famine, that the falling off was due to the tax levied by the Maharaja's Government on every hive. I can assert from personal knowledge that the round holes in the walls of village houses, indicating bee hives, are no longer so numerous as Mr. Moorcroft seems to have found them.

"3. On my return to Kashmir next summer I will endeavour to ascertain whether there are any further facts worthy of being brought to the notice of His Excellency in Council." (Collection of Papers on Bee-keeping in India, page 47).

(2)

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF BEE-KEEPING IN KASHMIR

The following is taken from the 'Memorandum by George Birdwood, Esq., Special Assistant in Revenue, Statistics and Commerce Department, India Office :—

". . . . Moorcroft gives a complete account of the management of bees in Cashmere. Their domestication there is so general that in some parts of the country a provision is made for hiving them in every house as it is being built. Spaces are left empty in the walls, about 14 inches in diameter and 2 feet, the average thickness in the walls, in length, which are carefully lined with a mixture of mortar, clay, and chopped straw, and closed in the inner end with a flat tile. There are ten or a dozen of these hives built into the walls of every house. The bees are hived exactly as in Europe, but the comb is gathered differently and in a way well worth following at home. It is done by the father of the house removing the flat tile from the inner end of the hive with one hand, and at the same time, blowing the smoke of a smouldering whisp of straw he holds in the other hand vigorously through the hive on which the bees at once leave the hive, and he gathers in their store of honey. He then replaces the flat tile at the inner end of the hive, and the bees, after recovering their stupefaction, gradually return to it. The same colony of bees thus produce honey year after year in the same hive, and generation after generation, and have probably done so from the original Aryan settlement of the Cashmere Valley. In consequence of their being thus literally domiciled with the human race, the bees of Cashmere are milder in their manners than those of any other country, although they have a most villainous sting when unduly provoked to use it. Their honey is as pure, and clear, and sweet, Moorcroft says, as the finest honey of Narbonne* . . . ." (Collection of Papers, page 2).

IN N. W. FRONTIER PROVINCE : 60 YEARS AGO

Rev. T. Mayer, Church Missionary Society, Bannu, wrote to the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu,† on the 7th December, 1881 that he kept bees in frame hives, and in December, 1881 had eight colonies in such hives. He brought a colony of bees from Makin which were quiet, bees farmed by the Waziris in a *ghurrah* with a piece of leather over the top into which a hole was cut for the bees to enter. While writing about this colony, Rev. Mayer said ,—

"The Mahsuds and the Afridis also take the greater part of the honey, leaving them enough for the winter, and putting back all brood comb, at least so they all say, though it does not appear how they fasten the brood comb into the ghurrah again. After opening this ghurrah yesterday, I cut out the few remaining combs and put them in bar-frames, and by night all the bees were fairly settled in their new home." (Collection of Papers, page 6).

The sketch of the ghurrah printed here is after the one drawn by Rev. Mayer.

BEE-KEEPING IN ASSAM : 60 YEARS AGO

The following is from the note by Mr. S. E. Rita, of the office of the Commissioner of Assam, dated Shillong the 15th January, 1882 :—

"In the Khasi Hills bee-keeping is practised, and the honey both sold, and used for domestic purposes. According to the Khasi Hills General Administration Report, 1875-76, 325 maunds of honey were exported, and in 1876-77, 330 maunds, the price stated being Rs. 15 per maund. Subsequent reports from this district do not mention this subject. No mention is made in the Sylhet Administration Report about honey, nor in the Assam Trade Reports. The Khasi Hills report states that the best honey is obtainable at Cherra. The honey that one purchases in Shillong is not clean, but has the comb crushed in it. The prevailing price is between 8 and 10 annas per seer.

"I may mention that I have kept bees for the past two years, and obtained over 30 lbs. of honey, exclusive of wax, every year. This honey is every bit as good as Narbonne Honey. This was the produce of portions of two hives. At first, I followed the Khasis' plan of keeping bees. Their hives consist of a small box about 18 inches square and the same in depth, kept near their houses under the eaves of the roof. It is a very rude fashion, as when they wish to remove any honey they have to force open the back of the box. They do not destroy or stupefy their bees when engaged in extracting honey, they merely remove them from the comb, as they break it cut it away from the box. They cover their faces only with a thin cloth, usually covering their face with *pugree* they wear. As a means of keeping the bees away from their faces they generally chew a little ginger, the aroma of which is apparently not agreeable to the bees for they appear to keep away. In case of stings, the *pan* leaf is applied to the puncture which allays the pain almost immediately.

"Recently I procured from England a small pamphlet on rational bee-keeping, and have adopted the Ribecourt-hive, which I find very suitable in every way. This hive is a box 13½ inches square, by 6½ in depth. On the top it has nine bars, or reglets, running from front to back, each bar is ⅞ths of an inch wide and ¼th deep; these rest on a rabbet in the front and back pieces of the box. There is a glass window at the back which can be opened and the working and condition of the bees examined. A crown board goes on the

* Narbonne is in France, famous for its honey.
† Bannu was then in the province of Punjab.

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top of the box which is held in its place by hooks or screws . . . . . ." (Collection of Papers, pages 73-74).

"Hand-book of Bee-keeping" by John Douglas

A few words about the *Hand-book of Bee-keeping for India* (1884), by Mr. Douglas. The book, which is about one-fourth foolscap size of 145 pages, is divided into 15 chapters with different subject headings. In the introduction Mr. Douglas wrote :

"As to the productiveness of the indigenous bee-hive under the best system of culture, the data available is very limited; there can be, however, no doubt that the indigenous bee is sufficiently productive to be very remunerative. The Italian is probably better;—it is certainly easier to handle, but the bee culture commenced with the indigenous bee can be readily extended to the Italian bee. The latter has been successfully introduced, and will probably very shortly be distributed for breeding in the hills. As to the quality of the products produced by the indigenous bee and the imported bees, Mr. Todd, who keeps the indigenous bee, produce as excellent honey in as marketable a form as any produced elsewhere. The extracted light honey sells very readily at 12 annas to one rupee a pound, while the darker qualities just as good, or even better in flavour, would probably be quite as valuable in India, as the native consumer has not yet got the European prejudice in favour of the lighter kinds. Bee-keeping in India has before it a great future . . . ." (*Hand-book of Bee-keeping*, page 5).

Bee-keeping in Calcutta : 60 Years Ago

It is interesting to note that Mr. Douglas devised cheap but serviceable hives and appliances for use in India and arranged with Indian contractors to supply these articles. Artificial bee-keeping was also introduced by Mr. Douglas in Calcutta. He wrote in page 137 of his book,—"It is hoped that Italian bees will shortly be offered for sale in India, as they have been introduced and done very well in Calcutta."

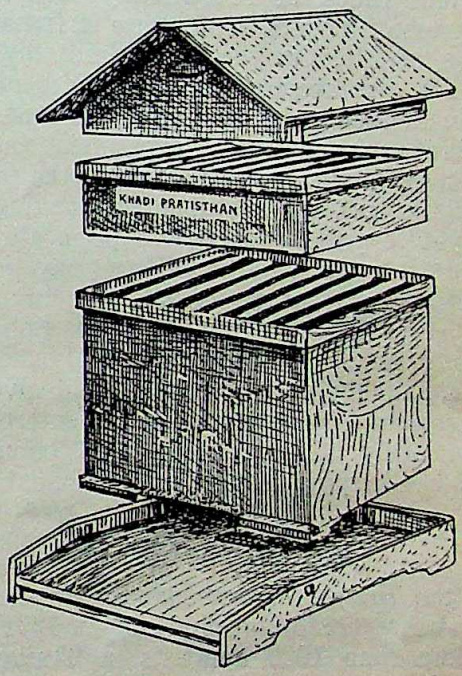
At the time of his writing the *Hand-book*, Mr. Douglas had two colonies of *Apis indica* of his own, under observation in Calcutta, which were doing well, and at his instance more than a dozen persons were keeping bees "including two native gentlemen and one English lady." Mr. Douglas concluded his book thus :

"With simple instructions and proper appliances available, there can be no doubt the number will readily increase, and India may have its Bee-keepers' Association and its journal of bee culture. At agricultural, and by special, shows, apiculture may be represented, and prove that culture of the honey-bee under favourable conditions presented in India may prove a notable addition in the wealth of the country and to its food-supply. . . . . ."

At the end of the book is given a price list of hives and appliances obtainable and "designed with special reference to Indian requirements," as also the names of the two following contractors who supplied the bee-keeping requisites,—(1) "Gunesham Nath Mistry, Nushkarpur, Behala P.O., near Calcutta, and (2) Oomesh Doss Mistry, Monsa Tollah, Kidderpore, near Calcutta."

It may be mentioned that even today bees are kept in a state of semi-domestication in earthen pitchers embedded in mud-walls or suspended from the eaves of houses, in villages only a few miles from Calcutta.

About the year 1882, when Mr. John C. Douglas took upon himself the task of introducing frame-hives in India, bee-keeping was



A Modern Hive showing the various removable parts. At the bottom is the "bottom-board" over which stands the "brood-chamber"; next above is the "super" from which surplus honey is collected. At the top is the roof of the hive. In modern method of bee-keeping the frame-hive has saved the lives of bees from unnecessary death

an established rural industry in other countries where bee-keepers were doing a good business in honey and extracting the same with modern appliances, without killing bees and destroying combs. Naturalists there, were then busy in finding out the language of these social insects, their methods of communication, and their colour-sense and also trying to solve numerous other problems. Books were written about bees, their relation with flowers as fertilisers and fruit-producers, and on the general management of apiaries. Sir John Lubbock's *Ants, Bees and Wasps* which is a record of his observations on

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the habits of the social hymenoptera, was published in 1882 (London), and Frank R. Cheshire's *Bees and Bee-keeping* which is a treatise on the anatomy, physiology, floral relations and profitable management of the hive-bee, was published in 1886 (London).

Present Position

Mr. Douglas came back to India, put himself to the task, started keeping bees himself, induced others, arranged to supply bees and appliances and published his *Handbook*. In spite of the attempts made by different persons in different times, as has already been stated, the progress of modern bee-culture in India since the days of Mr. Douglas has admittedly been slow. Yet, bee-keeping in India under modern scientific methods, should neither be considered any more as a matter of experiment, nor its success need be doubted. Though at the present moment the industry is still in the making, and it has yet to grow, expand and permeate more and more into the villages, still it may be said with confidence that bee-keeping in India has come to stay. Efforts in modern bee-keeping that are being made in Travancore, Mysore and Coorg are highly praiseworthy. Lead given by philanthropic organisations and enterprising individuals by starting apiaries to popularise modern bee-keeping is highly commendable.

In Indian States

In the *Brief Memorandum on Bee-keeping in Travancore* (1935), we find that in 1931 there were more than 1000 apiarists in Travancore, each owning one to ten hives, of whom 689 were keeping bees as an additional means of income. The number of hives has swelled to several thousands now. In the villages of South Travancore alone, there are more than three-thousands bee-colonies in modern hives reared by the villagers.

In the Foreword to the booklet on bee-keeping (Bulletin No. 10, 1938) published from Bangalore by the Department of Agriculture, Mysore State, we find that steady work in introducing bee-keeping in improved hives among the ryots was started there in 1927. With a view to demonstrate the possibility of the educated unemployed persons taking to bee-keeping as an occupation, and to make the people more bee-minded, six apiary centres had been started by the Department with twenty-five colonies each.

Coorg, lying on the Western Ghats in South India, possessed over 2500 modern hives in 1939, distributed all over the place. Work first began here with forty hives and in three years it attained that figure.

Efforts By Provincial Governments

Attempts in this direction are also being made by some of the provincial Governments. At the instance of the Madras Government an apiary was started by the Government Entomologist at the Agricultural College, Coimbatore in 1931. Recently the Governments of Punjab, United Provinces and Bombay have taken up the industry and trying to popularise it. In Punjab there are two Government bee-farms. One is at Nagrota (Kangra), and the other which was at Raison (Kulu) has, we understand, since been shifted to Katrain (Kulu). In U. P. the Government apiary is situated at Jeolikote (Nainital). In Bombay the Government bee-farm is located at Ganeshkhind Fruit Experiment Station, Kirkee.

Efforts by Organisations and Individuals

The all-India Village Industrias Association maintain (1939 Report) one apiary at Wardha in the Central Provinces, and have started with the aid of Government grant, seven more apiaries in the said province. In Orissa they have an apiary at Bari-Cuttuck. In Bihar they have established two apiaries, one at Muzaffarpur and the other at Brindavan. In Karnatak (Bombay) they have an apiary at Honavar.

In Bengal, the Khadi-Pratisthan has a central apiary at Sodepur near Calcutta and three branch-apiaries in the mufassil.

I do not attempt to give here an exhaustive list of apiaries that may be found established in India, today, but would point out that apart from apiaries run by other institutions as well, there are lots of modern apiaries well kept and managed by individuals in different places in India.

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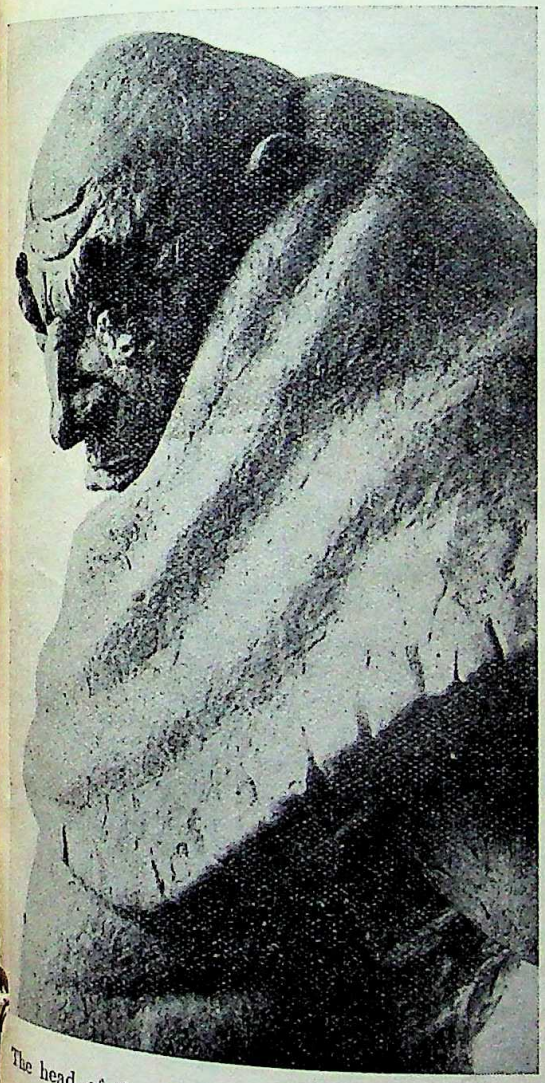
CARL MILLES, THE SCULPTOR. AND HIS WORKS

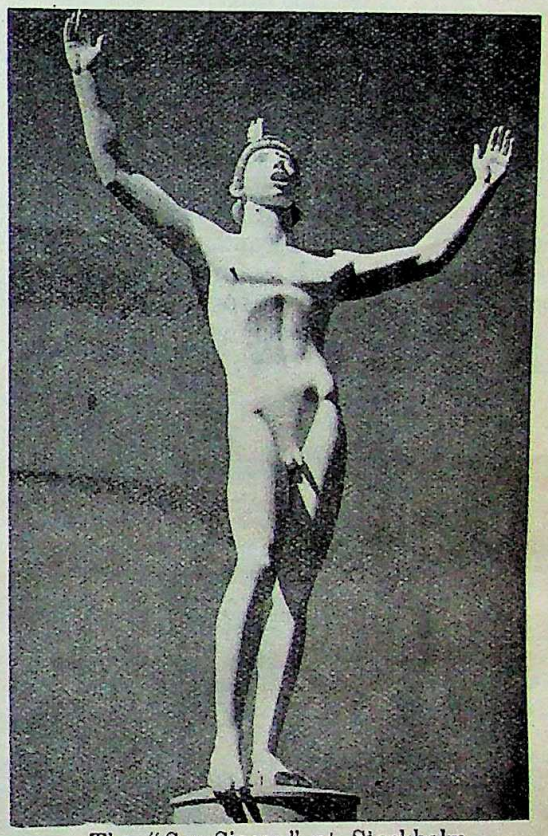
By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

AMONGST the younger sculptors of Sweden—nay Scandinavia, Carl Milles, by his stout creative faculties, has occupied a dominating position, and his works are today to be found all over the country in many a market place, park, harbour and other public places. "Carl Milles



The head of the Folke Filbyter, the central figure of the Folkunga well by Carl Milles

...gs," says Dr. Axel Romdahl, Professor of History of Fine Arts, writing on Art in Scandanavia, "by unremitting energy, brought to fruition a creative conception in Sculpture that has but few rivals in modern times." His latest creation is the 'Life-fountain,' completed as recently as 1936, just before he left Sweden. It stands on the front of the famous concert hall of Stockholm. The Artist's home, which can be reached within an hour from the centre



The "Sun-Singer" at Stockholm

"The Horse" by Carl Milles

of Stockholm by tram, is situated on a lovely cliff, known as Herserud in the Island of Lidingo. It is itself a beauty spot, surrounded

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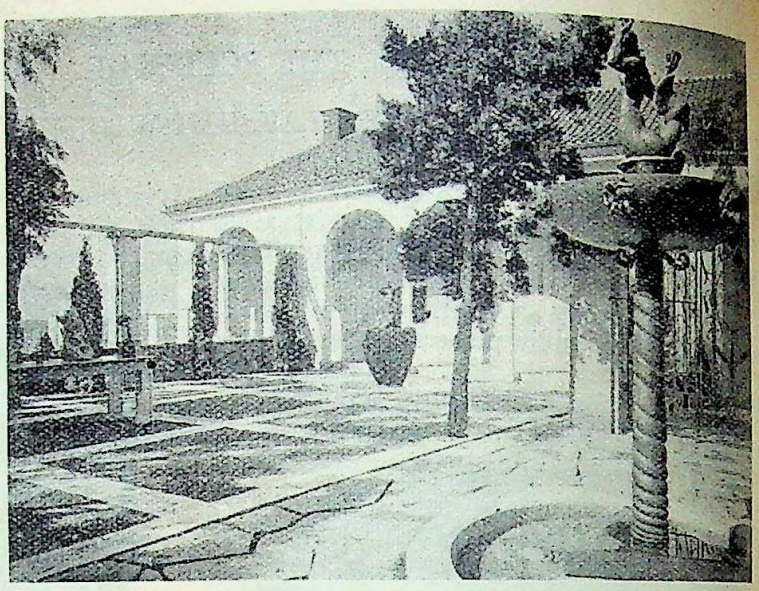
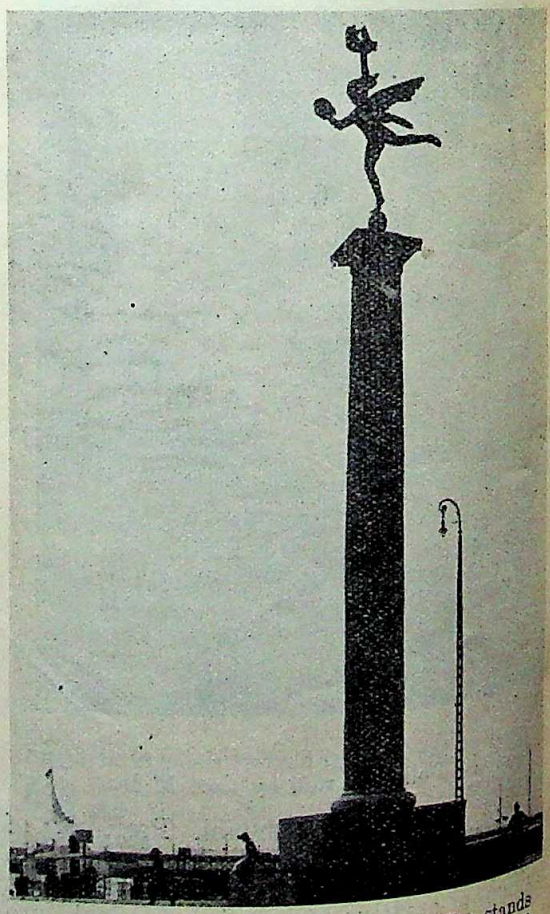
by the dark blue water of the sea and connected with the city-island by a huge bridge, and the artist's home thereon is to be seen in its best form in the flash of the enchanting summer sun of the Nordic sky. As one enters through the gate one finds to his surprise a world full of figures, nymphs, Tritons in the pond, the Singers of the glory of Sun and many other plastic figures, as if in dream, with living expression of their own, which makes such a deep impression upon the entrant that one is struck dumb with wonder. It is a place where I roamed hither and thither and spent many a Sunday during summer months while staying at Stockholm.



The home of Sculptor Carl Milles, his garden and loggia at Herserud, Lidingo, near Stockholm

The statue "Vingarna" (the wings) by Carl Milles, Gothenburg



The maritime monument by Carl Milles stands at Halsingborg in Scania along the shore of Oresund—the storied highway of commerce between the Baltic and the Atlantic.

While presenting a few pictures of the works of Carl Milles, the sculptor, I, being a layman, refrain from explaining them, as it is

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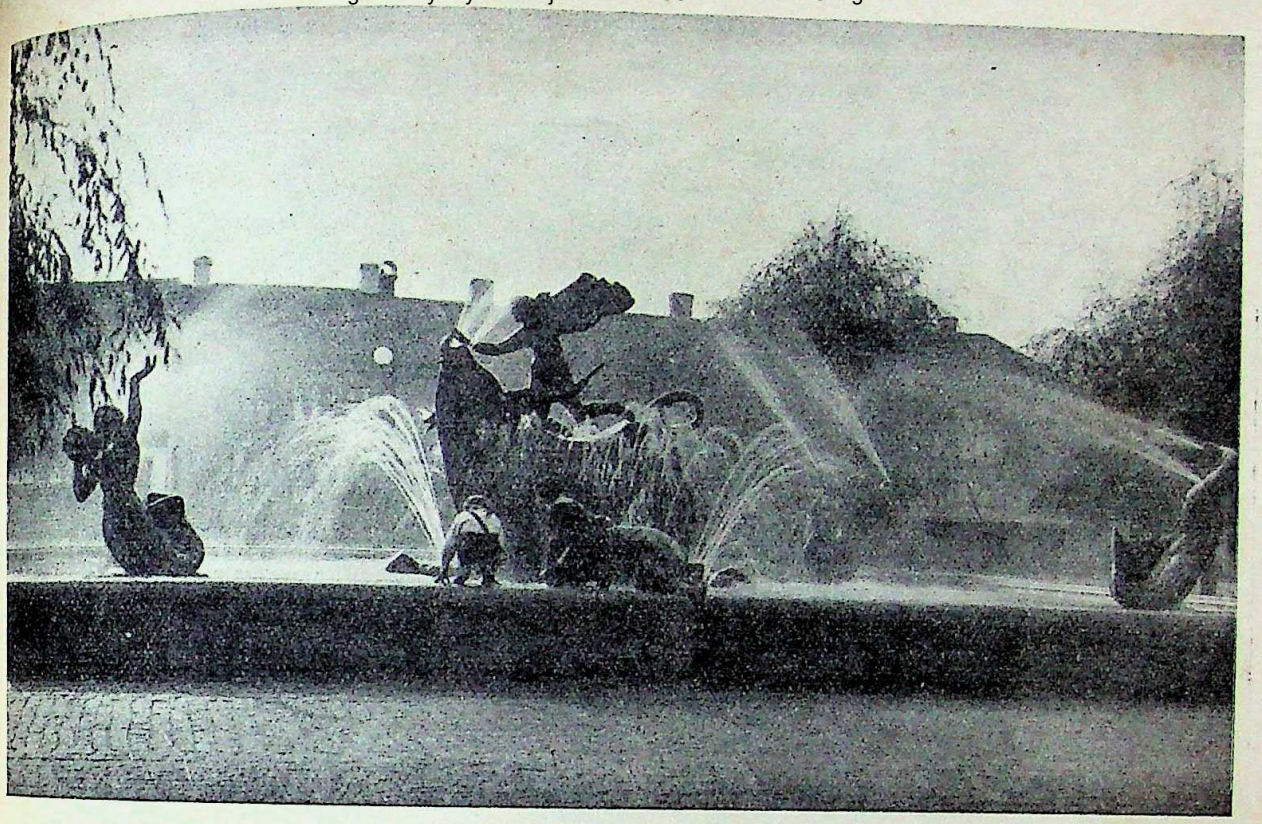

The monumental fountain—"Eurona and the Bull" by Carl Milles stands in the Square Stortorget at Halmstad in the province of Halland

The terrace with the torso of the "Sun-Singer" in the background under summer sun

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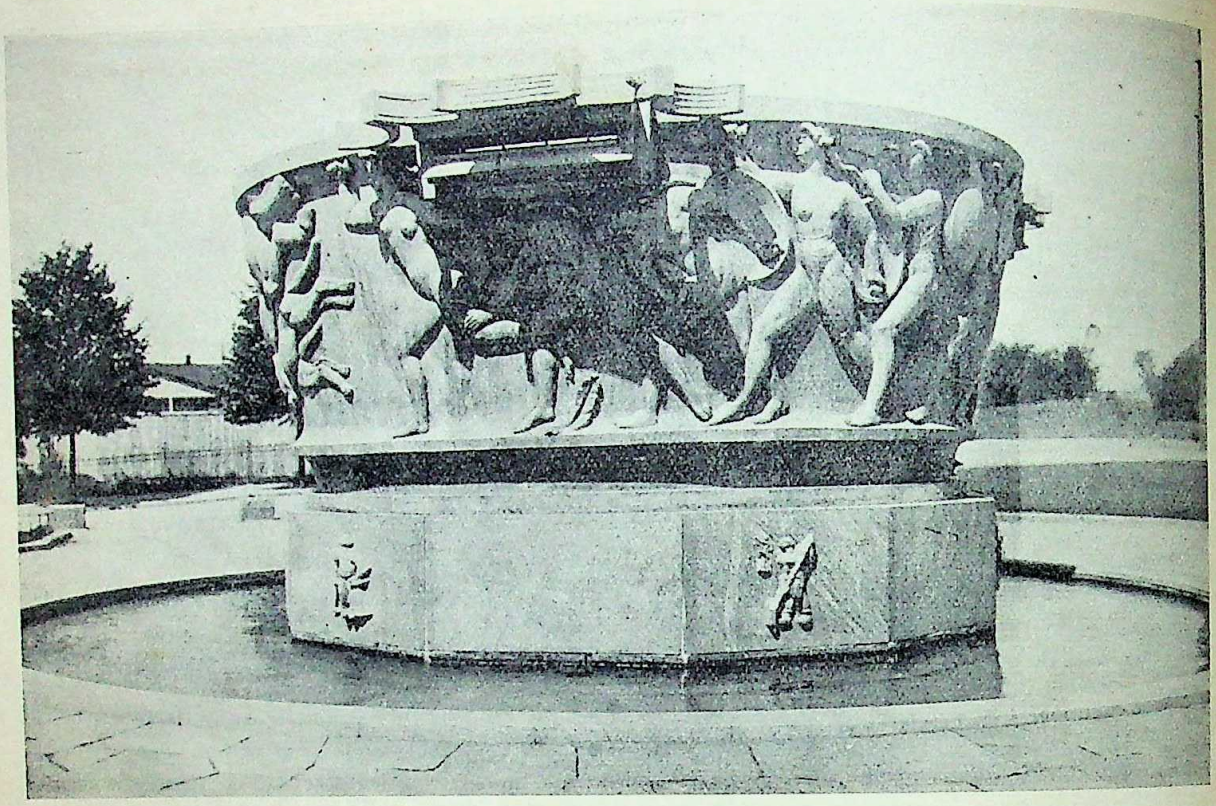
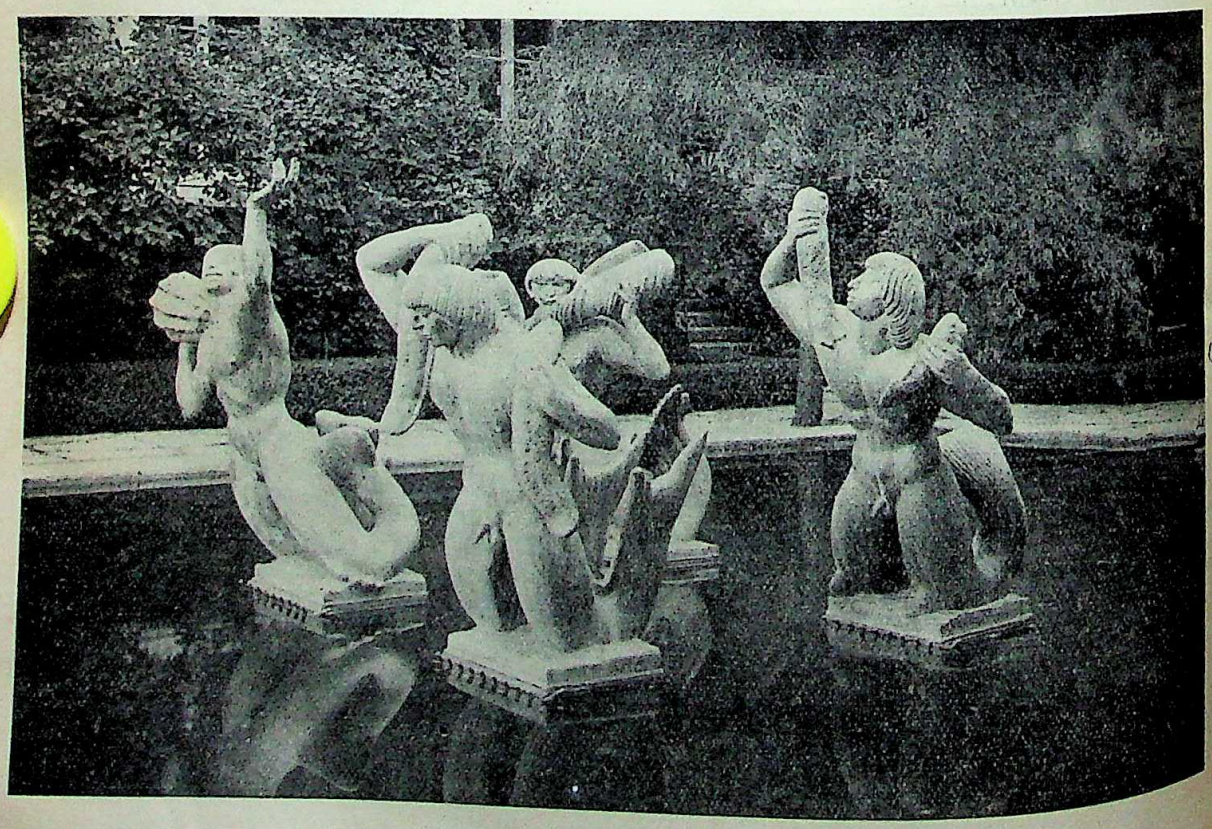


"The Monument of Industry" by Carl Milles at the Technical High School, Stockholm



"Tritons in the pond" at the home garden of the Sculptor

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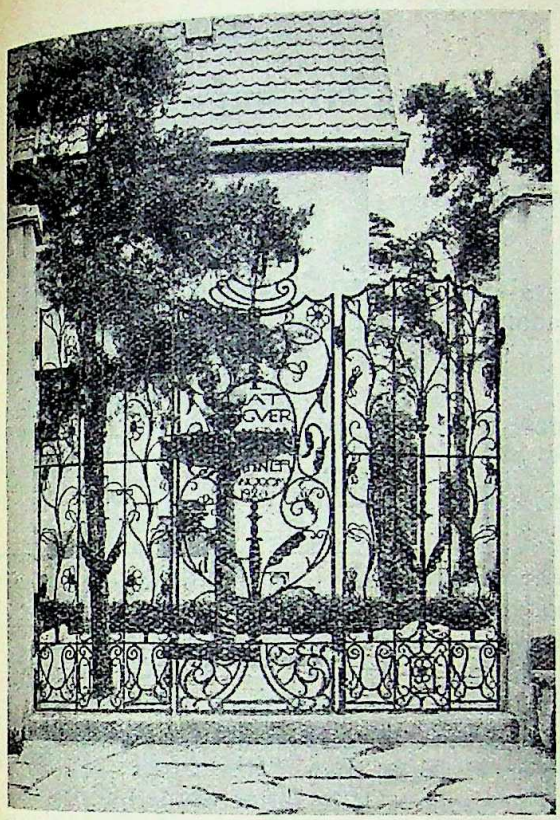
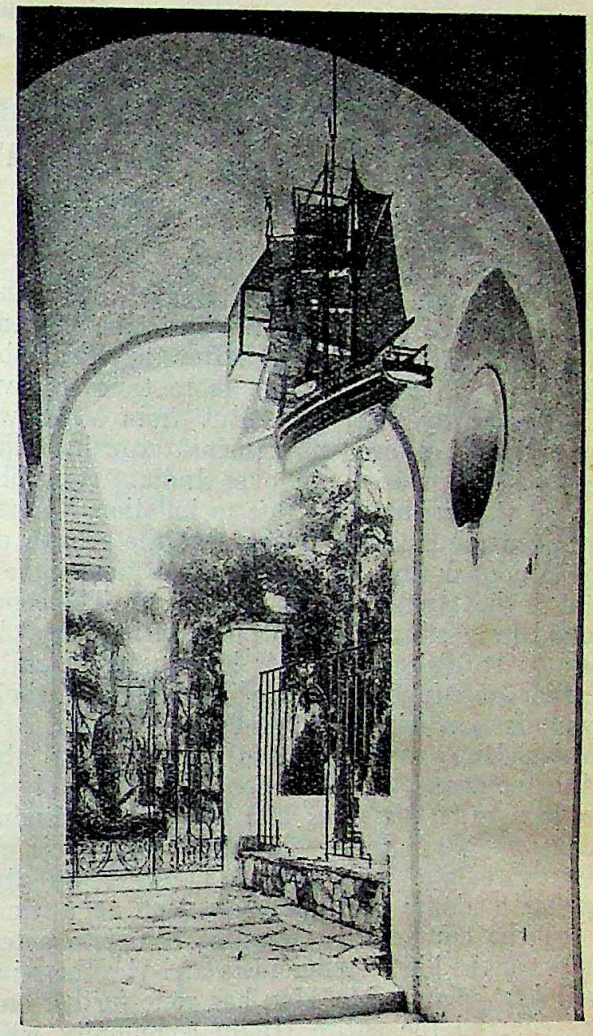
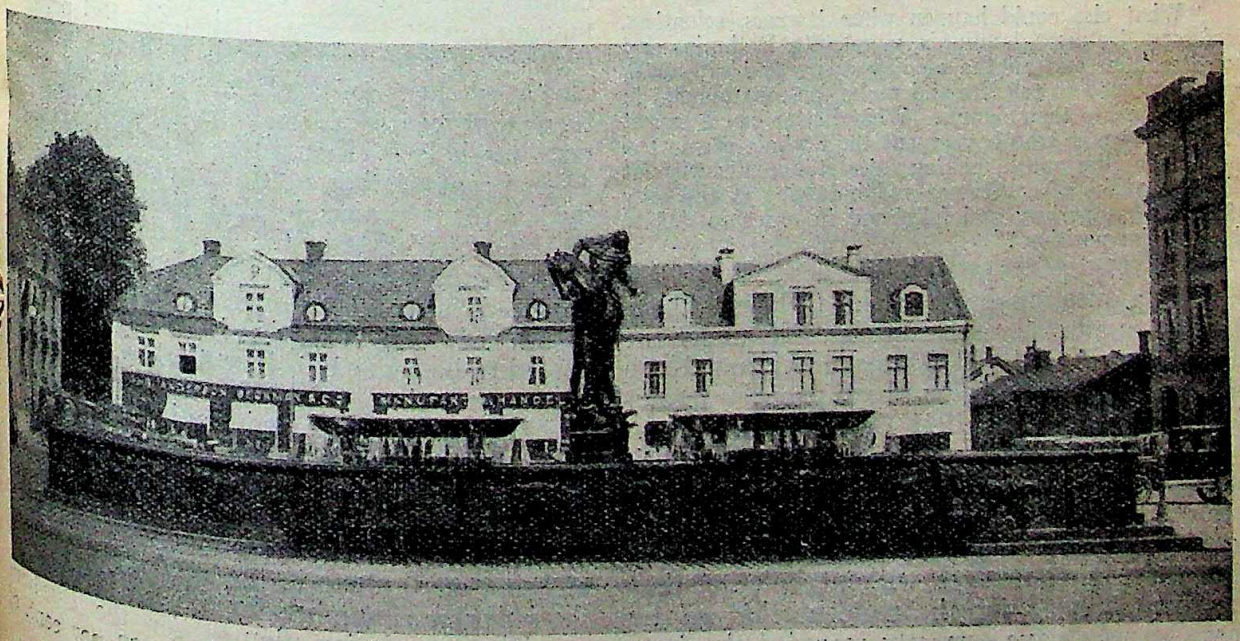


The gate of his home, which he designed himself



The entrance of the sculptor's home

understood that the true work of art itself expresses its essential purport and is comprehended by all who are capable of seeing and feeling like an artist.



The famous Folkunga well by Carl Milles, Linkoping

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GREATER GROWTH OF THE HINDUS POSSIBLE WITHOUT INFLATION

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THE figures for population of Bengal, according to the Census of 1941, have not up to the moment of writing, been published. After they are published, it will require some more time to give the figures by religions. But from what we know there has been phenomenal growth or increase of population all over India. It would not do to say that it is due to inflation. There are good grounds for saying that the growth of the Hindus during the last decade is greater than that of the Muhammadans in Bengal. The communal proportion of the population in Bengal is sure to be disturbed. This has upset a certain section of Muhammadan politicians and their Anglo-Indian friends. The Chief Minister, Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, says that the proportion of the Muhammadans in the population has been reduced to 30 per cent; and that of the Hindus inflated to 60 per cent. This he said to cover up the systematic inflation of numbers by the Muhammadans; and his statement at a time when the enumeration was not complete acted as a spur to his co-religionists and 'brothers-in-faith' to inflate. Mr. Huq has gone further and has charged the entire Hindu community with deliberate inflation in the following terms:

> "What else could happen when lawyers, scientists, professors, lecturers, landlords, merchants, Brahmins and non-Brahmins and all the medley castes and sub-castes have combined to tell lies and make false statements in order to inflate their figures. What better can I expect when I find men who have spent their whole life in the teaching of the youth making false statements without slightest qualm of conscience and indulging in the orgy of chicanery, perjury and falsehood in order to deflate the Muslim position?"

At a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall on Sunday the 9th March, 1941, under the presidency of the old Maulana Akram Khan M.L.C., the Muhammadans have passed a resolution condemning the 1941 Census in advance.

We are not now concerned with the political motive or motives behind these utterances and resolutions. We shall try to show that it is possible for the Hindus to grow at a greater rate than the Muhammadans without inflating their number. *Assume* for the moment that *all* the past Censuses have correctly recorded the facts. The variation per cent during the several inter-censal decades of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal has been as follows:

Decade	Variation per cent Increase +, Decrease − Hindus	Muhammadans
1872-1881 ..	+ 4·70 × 10/9	+ 8·96 × 10/9
1881-1891 ..	+ 5·0	+ 9·7
1891-1901 ..	+ 6·2	+ 8·8
1901-1911 ..	+ 3·9	+10·4
1911-1921 ..	− 0·7	+ 5·2
Average during 1872-1921 ..	+ 3·9	+ 8·8
1921-1931 ..	+ 6·7	+ 9·1

During the fifty years 1872 to 1921, the average rate of growth of the Hindus was 3·9 per cent; while that of the Muhammadans was 8·8 per cent. Or in other words the Hindu rate of growth was only 44 per cent of the Muhammadan rate of growth. But what do we find in the last decade 1921-1931? The recorded Hindu growth—and it is according to the hypothesis of the Muhammadans themselves absolutely correct, the recorded growth during the last decade, *viz.*, 6·7 per cent is 1·75 times their average growth during the previous half a century; and the recorded growth of the Muhammadans during the same period, *i.e.*, 9·1 per cent, exceeds their average growth by 3 or 4 per cent. The acceleration of the Hindu growth is far more than that of the Muhammadans. During the previous half a century the Hindu growth was 44 per cent of that of the Muhammadans; but during the last decade 1921-1931, it was some 74 per cent of that of the Muhammadan growth. If the same relative acceleration in the rate of growth is maintained during the present census decade of 1931-1941 the Hindu growth is expected to be some 1·6 times that of the Muhammadan growth.

It would not have been just or proper to conclude from the Census statistics of 1872 to 1921 that the Hindu growth during the decade 1921-1931 would be considerably less than half or nearly two-fifths that of the Muhammadans; and that any growth in *excess* of that was due to the *inflation* of numbers by the Hindus.

The population figures for the Burdwan Division (where the Hindus are 83 per cent of

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the population) and of all Bengal at each successive census are given below :—

POPULATION IN LAKHS

Year of Census	Bengal	Inter-censal increase +, or decrease —	Burdwan Division	Inter-censal increase +, or decrease —
1872	347	..	76	..
1881	370	+ 23	74	— 2
1891	398	+ 28	77	+ 3
1901	429	+ 31	82	+ 5
1911	463	+ 34	85	+ 2
1921	476	+ 13	80	— 4
1931	511	+ 35	86	+ 6

It will be seen that in the Burdwan Division, the increase of population during a period of about 50 years between 1872 and 1921 was 5·9 per cent; while in the rest of Bengal (excluding it) it was 46·1 per cent during the same period. It would not have been just or proper to conclude from the census statistics of 1872 to 1921 that the population growth of the Burdwan Division is only one-seventh or one-eighth of that of the rest of Bengal. During the census decade of 1921-1931, the increase in the Burdwan Division (7·4 per cent) is slightly greater than that in the rest of Bengal (7·3 per cent). It would not do to say that this *excessive* growth is due to *inflation*. During the period of 59 years from 1872 to 1931 there has been actual de-growth or decrease of population during 20 years in the Burdwan Division; and it contains about 33 per cent of the total Hindus.

For some reason or other the proportion of children among the Hindus is increasing at a greater rate than among the Muhammadans. The relevant statistics are :

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AGED 0-5 PER 10,000

HINDUS

	Males	Females
1911 ..	1,187	1,348
1931 ..	1,326	1,484
Increase per cent ..	20·1	10·1

MUHAMMADANS

	Males	Females
1911 ..	1,476	1,631
1931 ..	1,598	1,756
Increase per cent ..	8·2	7·6

Hence it is likely that in the present decade (1931-1941) the Hindus will be seen to have grown at a greater rate than the Muhammadans.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Dipti Basu

MISS DIPTI BASU has recently passed the special B.Sc. examination in Physics from Bedford College, London.

Perhaps she is the first Indian lady to pass such an examination.

W. Wilson, F.R.S., Professor of Physics of the London University has strongly recommended Miss Basu. She is the daughter of Mr. J. M. Basu, Ex-Principal of Rajshahi College.

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ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

The recurrence of wars through all human history has caused men to inquire into the nature and causes of war. The principal motives of war have no doubt been the desire for domination and the desire for gain, that is, for power and for wealth. These have been the causes of invasions and conquests from the dawn of world's history. The conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, of the Moghuls and the European Powers were all actuated by these fundamental motives. Economic motives, in this sense, have been at the bottom of the process of war which was originally a venture for plunder. But with the complexity of social life and economic relationship, economic motives have also assumed different forms and operate in different ways. Various interests striving for raw materials and cheap labour, for markets to dispose finished products and profitable fields for investments are at the root of many modern wars. Wars between Sovereign States have sprung from their economic rivalries and ambitions. But there lurks in this economic interpretation a danger of over-emphasis and it is therefore necessary to have more precise explanation if it is to conform to facts. What is exactly meant when we say that wars have economic causes and what are the economic factors which lead to war is the subject of a recent admirable and stimulating book by Prof. Lionel Robbins (*Economic Causes of War* by Prof Lionel Robbins. Jonathen Cape). Prof. Robbins is at a young age a teacher of economics at the London University. He is one of the brilliant products of the London School of Economics and a writer of distinction on economic subjects whose works because of their classical heterodoxy have been the subject of controversy in academic circles. Speaking in popular language, Prof. Robbins is a Liberal economist believing more in the free play of economic forces than in rigid planning: he is an internationalist, free trader and anti-collectivist. He has propounded his own views on the nature and significance of economic science, dealt with the great depression and written on economic planning and the economic basis of class conflict. His works show him as one who is anxious to evolve a detached and scientific approach to economic problems and relations; he handles abstruse questions with skill and lucidity. His method does, indeed, tend to be a little too abstract because in trying to make every question concrete, he too is liable to live in an unreal world created by himself wherein the existing system of production seems to harmonise with consumers' wishes. His present work, however, which is based on a series of lectures delivered at Geneva before the present war is not only a more racy but also a balanced and illuminating survey of a vital question.

When we set out to analyse the economic causation of war, observes Prof. Robbins in a suggestive appendix which is strictly a prologue, we must learn to distinguish between reason or motive on the one hand and external events or conditions on the other. Nor is it less important to understand precisely what we mean by a cause as being economic. Consistent with his definition of economic science, Prof. Robbins states that the causes of war are to be regarded as economic if the objective is purely instrumental to securing for some person or persons a greater command of resources in general, a larger power of choosing alternative types of real income. Enquiry into the causes of war should therefore concern itself with the question of the particular motives or particular institutional settings amid which such motives are engendered. But it is essential to be clear about the nature of the problem. Nearly all wars have some economic motives mixed up with the desire for political domination or religious fanaticism or other causes. The economic interpretation of war however, goes much further than this. It is not merely a historical explanation of particular wars but the general explanation of the consequences of a certain form of social organisation. For instance, it is a familiar socialist criticism that international friction and struggle ensuing in war are due to capitalism and the constancy of economic motive. In the modern form, this theory is put forward by Marxians and Communists but Prof. Robbins distinguishes between its two principal branches, namely, the under-consumptionist theory of Rosa Luxemburg and J. A. Hobson on the one hand and the imperialist theory of Lenin on the other and seeks to analyse them. So far as the former is concerned, Prof. Robbins holds that to the extent the theory is

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logically admissible, it indicates a deficiency not of the system of private property as such but of the machinery for supplying money. Mr. Hobson's references to the stickiness of interest rates are very similar to the analysis of J. M. Keynes. "Investment is a cost-reducing process" says Prof. Robbins who contends that if prices are allowed to fall sufficiently, there would be no difficulty in disposal of output. As for the theory of Lenin, its central assumption is not under-consumption but the influence of monopoly finance out of the clash of whose interests modern imperialism has arisen. Prof. Robbins tests this theory and finds that while it does not suffer from logical deficiency, it does not always conform to facts. He suggests that Lenin was influenced in his ideas by the system of industrial banking prevalent in Germany and it is essential to interpret the term finance capital in the sense of investment capital. Prof. Robbins examines certain concrete causes of wars and suggests that wars are not caused by the machinations of finance capital but have complex motives. With one important exception of the relationship between strong capital-exporting and weak capital importing States, Prof. Robbins considers that finance has been continually used as a power and an instrument in the game of diplomacy and balance of power. For example, governments have frequently interfered with the flow of capital in certain directions and have promoted loans for ulterior political reasons. Highly developed countries such as Scandinavia, Holland and Switzerland have not been expansionist in their tendencies and have remained neutral in wars; on the other hand, Italy and Russia which were definitely borrowing areas have been expansionist. There is something here not accounted for by Lenin's theory.

Prof. Robbins then propounds his own analysis of war. Starting from the premises that national power rests on economic factors, he suggests that this involves command of raw materials and over communications. Foreign investments, he agrees, are a great source of strength in war and certain types of foreign assets provide apt instruments for exercising some kind of diplomatic control and pressure. Prof. Robbins agrees that economic motives have played an important and predominant part in the causation of historical conflicts and sets out to examine how they operate. He finds that such economic motives are not necessarily class interests in the Marxian sense but group and sectional interests in the sense of the theory of markets and taxation. In other words, certain financiers or industrialists in a country might gain as a result of a war but so also would their workers while other interests would lose. Prof. Robbins does acknowledge, however, that there is something objective and fundamental which can be described as "national economic interest" which could, for example, be furthered by extension of markets or acquisition of economic opportunities in other territories. But such conflicts are due to national sovereignties and restrictionist policies rather than the capitalist nature of society. Negatively, there is nothing to show that wars will disappear even if national units become socialistic. "Aristocracies" of labour share with capital the gains of colonial exploitation and have the same interest in resisting the curtailment of markets. Geographical inequality would continue to be a permanent cause of disharmony particularly when the national feeling is reinforced by socialist zeal.

Prof. Robbins holds that any purely economic interpretation of war is vitiated by a consideration of the non-economic motives such as lust for aggrandisement, desire for liberation from a foreign yoke, religious zeal, historical rivalries, strategic and diplomatic considerations and all other ramifications of power politics. The urge to war, he argues, is a sort of psychological atavism, some impulse to destruction which seems to be a deep rooted constituent of the unconscious mind. Quoting Hawtrey's significant remark that the principal cause of war is war itself, Prof. Robbins contends that the root-cause of war is not capitalism but the existence of independent sovereign States. Unless we destroy the sovereign State, he says, the sovereign State will destroy us. He therefore pleads for a United States of Europe, however flimsy that hope might appear at the moment, to overcome the prevailing international anarchy.

It must be said that Prof. Robbins' survey is detached and balanced as any scientific analysis should be. He is undoubtedly right in insisting that no purely economic theory can explain the genesis of war. If war is a product of capitalism, how is it that wars have been known long before capitalism, that fighting is habitual among men and animals? On the one hand, nationalism is not generated by economic motives and is sometimes determined, in fact, by instincts and sentiments opposed to economic interests. If the economic motive predominated exclusively, all groupings would be like joint-stock companies or co-operative societies and would not have the passionate strength attaching to national feelings. Nationalism like other feelings might be exploited for economic ends but it is broadly independent of economic motives. No economic motive, for example, can

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adequately explain the suicidal nationalism of some of the smaller States in Europe or the disastrous wars waged for the vindication of "national honour". Hitler, for instance, is not an economic man. He has a desire to conquer and rule the world like Cæsar and Napoleon and in him, the motives of spoliation and plunder are less than those of revenge and of personal and racial glory.

Nor is that all. Economic interests, there is no doubt, transcend political boundaries today and are in vital respects, harmed rather than helped by the dislocation of normal relations and the destruction of life and property involved in warfare. The fact that in several industries there are international trusts and combines and even the armament industry supplies its manufactures to several countries shows that economic interests are not confined to the political State. Moreover, the economically prosperous and developed countries like the United States, Scandinavia, Switzerland and others prefer to remain neutral rather than participate in wars which would be injurious to their economic structure and activities. Britain and France, the "pluto-democracies" as they are called, tried to avoid war as long as they could because they knew that they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by a war. Capitalists in these countries had become pacifists because they had realised after the last war the truth of Norman Angell's dictum that it is a great illusion to expect economic gains out of a victory in war. It is on the contrary the less prosperous countries which wanted a change of territories and possessions of colonies and protectorates that have been bellicose.

The economic advantages of successful wars are at best doubtful and small while the disadvantages of unsuccessful wars are certain. Practically the major portion of the expenditure of a modern State goes in either paying for previous wars which leave a heavy burden of national debt or preparing for present and future wars through taxation and loans. It is no doubt hoped that the indemnity from the vanquished might to a large extent reduce or wipe out such national debt. But the economic consequences of the Versailles Peace showed that reparations and indemnities recoil on the victors themselves and throw the whole machinery out of gear. Even Britain and France who were the victors of the last war did not repay their debt to the United States. For nearly ten years until the rise of Hitler, Europe was struggling in attempts to resolve the economic difficulties created by the economic and financial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Apart altogether from political hatred and the desire for revenge aroused by such penalties, it has been clear that there would be no victor or vanquished in the economic sense after modern wars. In brief, the economic benefits of a war are problematic.

We can therefore agree so far with Prof. Robbins that the motive of power is more fundamental than of national wealth. The question is all the more complex because power unlike wealth is a qualitative concept and one of the imponderables of life whose precise content or implications are not easy to gauge. It is also true as Prof. Robbins contends that a recognition of the complexity of forces generating war is more in harmony with our everyday experience of human action with its mixed motives, its shortsightedness and its muddle than the theoretic explanation which sees ruthless and Machiavellian economic interest behind all diplomatic friction.

Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that the feelings of cupidity and envy aroused by the possession of large empires by a few powerful nations have impelled other countries to emulate their example and induced them to make conquests and enlarge their territories for winning national glory. It does not surely lie in the mouth of those who have established large empires to deny the economic advantages of colonies and ridicule the notion of *Lebensraum*. If this is honest, the existing empires should first be dissolved and all possessions returned to their original inhabitants or placed under international control. In arguing that the underlying motives of some war or episode were "strategic or diplomatic" or were of "a more general economic nature" as Prof. Robbins does the argument is thrown only one stage back. For, if a war is fought, say "to safeguard British position in the East," does it not mean that the position in the East has itself certain strong economic advantages which need safeguarding? Do not the imperial possessions in the Far East necessitate the control of Singapore or in the Middle East of Aden and Suez and so inevitably to Malta and Gibraltar? This is the logic as well as the dynamic of imperialism. To fight a war for say, Gibraltar might have superificially a political complexion but the ultimate cause is undoubtedly the safety of strength of the Empire. There may not be any investors' interests directly and immediately involved in maintaining British hold on Gibraltar but the strategic considerations are undoubtedly based on economic factors such as preserving a channel for merchant shipping, and for Britain's trade and raw materials and markets. Britain would be economically crip-

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ded if these were gone and to deny economic causation because the immediate occasion or factors are non-economic is to commit a fallacy exactly opposite to the Marxian. Moreover, in this context, it should further be stressed that economic interests as it might be conceived by governments or their advisers might, in fact, influence policy although subsequent events or a more objective view may discount the existence of such interest or the necessity of such action. But this does not prove that economic factors did not operate in the causation of the incident or war. Prof. Robbins himself acknowledges that in the relations between strong capital-exporting and weak capital-importing countries, there is a real danger, owing to political weakness on the capital-importing side of government pressure being exerted on behalf of investors. There is, indeed, no doubt that where capital from powerful countries is invested in the expansion of the less developed countries, there develops an economic control of the investing country over its subjects as shown in British hold over Egypt and the extra-territorial rights which European powers enjoyed in China, Turkey and other countries or in the commercial safeguards in the Government of India Act. Whatever Prof. Robbins may say of "spiritual unity" in the concept of Dominions, for the vast masses of the coloured peoples of the Empire it means something else. Can it be denied that it is the needs of foreign trade and the profits of the investors rather than the welfare of the inhabitants themselves that has led to colonial development? Or that British finance and industry rather than philanthropy have, in fact, determined the economic and colonial policies? Or that armament interests as seen in repeated disclosures played a sinister part in international crises and even in engendering and keeping alive misunderstandings?

Prof. Robbins pleads for a federation of European States (*minus* Russia) but it is doubtful whether even he realises how deep-rooted is the disease of Europe. War is a crisis of peace and peace as we know it is a concomitant of social injustice. As Slavader de Madariga says, "We are always at war." War is a function of the social system and a social rather than a purely military development. Perhaps the West where the physical powers of men have outstripped their moral sense is unworthy of peace; if so, it is unworthy of civilisation. The governments of Europe, America and Japan renounced war as an instrument of policy before the present war but have allowed no peace to themselves or the world because they have never renounced the domination and exploitation of weaker peoples as an objective of policy. The shadow over Europe is cast by economic imperialism and the way in which it is refracted in the moral disintegration, social chaos and economic decadence should make all thoughtful Europeans pause and ponder.

DR. P. N. BANERJEA'S SPEECH ON THE BUDGET IN THE CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

Dr. P. N. Banerjea (Calcutta Suburbs—Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, this is an occasion neither for flippant congratulation nor for thoughtless condemnation. The situation is a serious one and it demands clear and deep-thinking.

The budget presented by the Honourable the Finance Member the other day has been called the second war budget. This statement is somewhat misleading. Though it is a fact that in the present budget we find the complete account of the income and expenditure for the current year and also an estimate of income and expenditure for the year to come, yet this is not the second war taxation measure of the Government. In fact, this is the fifth occasion on which fresh war taxation is being imposed.

Now, what is the total burden that has been and is being imposed on the people? It seems to me that the total additional burden of taxation for the coming year would amount to about 31 crores of rupees. How do I arrive at that figure? A sum of nine crores will be derived from the original Excess Profits Tax, a sum of Rs. 6½ crores will be derived from the enhancement of railway fares and freights: 3 crores will be derived from the surcharges on sugar and petroleum; 6 crores will be derived from surcharges on income-tax and the enhancement of postal rates; and lastly, 6½ crores will be the amount of additional taxation imposed in connection with the present budget, making a total of 31 crores of rupees. On whose shoulders will this burden fall? This burden will fall on the rich as well as the poor—on all classes of the population ranging from the richest to the poorest.

I will now examine the incidence of the new taxes which are going to be levied in the coming year on the different classes of the population. In the first place, I take the enhancement of the Excess Profits Tax. Excess Profit is derived from war industry, and it is right and proper that a large proportion of this profit should go into the public exchequer. Last year, the Finance Member demanded 50 per cent. Now he demands 66-2/3rd per cent. Some are glad that he has raised this amount, but it would be taking a superficial view of the thing if we look at the question only from this aspect. There is another aspect of the question,

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namely, the development of industry and trade in the country. India's situation in this respect is different from that of the industrially advanced countries. Industry in this country is still in a nascent condition, and if it gets an impetus through an accidental circumstance, that is all to be welcomed: From this point of view, the raising of the Excess Profits Tax is not desirable. But taking all things together, if money has to be found, I cannot say that this is not a desirable form of taxation.

I come next to the additional surcharges on the super-tax and income-tax. Super-tax is paid by the very rich people and income-tax is paid by the well-to-do people and people belonging to the middle class. The lowest ranges of the income-tax fall on the poorer section of the middle class. This section has a fairly high standard of living; and when a surcharge was imposed last year, there was a great deal of hardship on this poorer section of the middle class. If a further surcharge is levied it will be felt all the more; and if that results in reducing the standard of living it will be a calamity, not only from the individual point of view, but also from the national point of view, because the poorer section of the middle class is the most advanced section in the country.

Coming now to the third item, namely, the duty on matches, I am sorry to have to say that this is a form of taxation which is open to the most serious exception. The Finance Member ought to have thought twice or thrice before resorting to this form of taxation, because it falls very heavily on the poorest people. It is nearly akin to the salt tax, and it should have been avoided by all means. It is well-known that prices have now gone up, and with the increase in prices the condition of the poorest classes of the population has become miserable. Now to add to their burden is nothing short of cruelty. The Honourable Finance Member says that this burden will not fall on the consumer and that it will fall on the producer. But, will he guarantee that the prices will not be raised? The Government has the power under the Defence of India Act and the rules framed thereunder to prevent the raising of prices. Will the Honourable Finance Member take the proper steps to see to it that the price of a matchbox is not increased?

An Honourable Member: It has already gone up.

Dr. P. N. Banerjea: It has already gone up. Why did he not take any steps? It looks like special pleading when he says that there will be no rise in price.

Coming to the fourth item, I am in entire accord with the Honourable Finance Member. He has my full and wholehearted support. This additional taxation on artificial silk yarn and thread will give an impetus to the silk industry of the country. It is a very desirable form of taxation.

I come now to the new excise duty to be levied on pneumatic tyres and tubes. The burden of this tax will fall on all classes of the people, including the poorest classes who travel by bus, and it will handicap the growth of the motor transport industry. It would be desirable, if possible, to avoid this tax.

I have no desire to embarrass the Government in its effort to finance the war, but I must insist that the methods which the Honourable Finance Member adopts should be fair and reasonable.

An Honourable Member: And honest!

Dr. P. N. Banerjea: I would not add that word, because I have faith in the honesty of ordinary men. I, therefore, urge that the excise duty on matches be withdrawn and the additional surcharge on income-tax be so modified as to exclude incomes below Rs. 5,000.

The acceptance of these suggestions of mine will entail a loss of revenue which will perhaps amount to one crore and three-quarters, a crore and a half on account of the tax on matches and about 25 lakhs on account of a modification of the income-tax at the lower ranges. Now, how is this deficiency of a crore and three quarters to be met? This can be met by economy and retrenchment. Unfortunately, there is not a word in the Finance Member's speech about any measures of economy. Everywhere we hear tales about the extravagance of Government expenditure, particularly in relation to the war. Sir, it is my view that if proper measures of economy are resorted to, then this sum can be found. But granting for the sake of argument that this sum cannot be found, what is the other alternative? There might be a slight addition to the amount of borrowing in the coming year. That is another alternative. I agree with the Finance Member in the view that a judicious combination of taxes and loans is the proper method of financing a war. Now, what is this judicious combination? This is a point on which opinions differ. My own view is that a fifty-fifty rates would be a proper distribution between the burden which is laid on the present generation and which will be laid on posterity. If we take this criterion, what do we find? The expenditure for the coming year will be 126¾ crores, but what is the normal expenditure of the country? 80 crores was the figure for the year 1937-38. Therefore, 46½ crores may be regarded as war expenditure. You may look up the figures, Sir Jeremy Raisman, later on.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman (Finance Member): The figure for next year is 126·84 crores.

Dr. P. N. Banerjea: Yes, it is 126¾ crores, and the normal expenditure was 80 crores for the year 1937-38,—the year just before the war. Therefore, what do we find? We find that the war expenditure will amount in the coming year to 46½ crores. (An Honourable Member: More). I am talking of the estimate. I have already shown that out of this war expenditure 31 crores will be supplied by means of additional taxation, and therefore what remains is about 15½ crores. That would be about one-third of the amount of the additional expenditure. So the proportion between expenditure financed by taxation and expenditure financed by borrowing would be something like two-thirds and one-third. It would not be very unreasonable, if we add a crore or two to the amount to be borrowed. In this connection I should like to point out two important facts. During the current year, the amount which has been borrowed to meet the deficit is only 5½ crores, and we should remember that the Government.....

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Where do you get it from?

Dr. P. N. Banerjea: From the Finance Member's speech.

The amount of deficit which has been met by borrowing is 5½ crores, and you should remember that the Government has floated some loans which are interest-free. That means that there is less additional burden on the taxpayer. That point has also to be taken into account. In view of all these facts, therefore, I do not think there would be a great burden on the future generation if the amount to be borrowed is increased by 1¾ crores in the Budget. The Finance Member says that he fears criticism from certain quarters that he is providing too small a proportion of the war expenditure by means of taxation. He need not have any hesitation in this matter. A slight addition to the amount of borrowing will not be undesirable.

Sir, I urge the Finance Member to accept my point of view, which is, "Tax the profiteer and the rich person, but spare the poor man."

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DAME DEMOCRACY

By Professor M. C. MUNSHI

"O World! O Life! O Time!
On whose last steps I climb,
Trembling at that where I stood before,
When will return the glory of your prime?
No more—O never more!"

It is not Shelley "lamenting" with his eternal pining for what is not, but perhaps Dame Democracy in the fifth decade of the twentieth century, that child born after the French Revolution and baptised in the blood of freedom's martyrs of the early-nineteenth century Europe—the child whose lullabies were sung by Tennyson and Swinburne and Walt Whitman, that blonde, bedecked in the latest Paris fashions, strutting in North America, for whom the Imperialist bards overflowed with chivalry when they sang: "Who stands if Freedom fall? Who dies if England live?"—the blonde for whom the "Philsopher-king" plunged in battle in 1917 ("to make the world safe for democracy"). That old dame now (like the old woman in Gujarati adage) has lost something—her youth or liberty. Yes Madam, "out of the day and night, a joy has taken flight," and we have to walk too much "on ordinary feet" and we cannot "faintly trust the larger hope."

Today, an Alcibiades might as well arise, at the end of the Peloponnesian War, and say, "As for democracy, why should we discuss acknowledged madness?"

In the following paragraphs, while we will not recall the life-story of Dame Democracy, we may attempt to examine the significance of her career, the soundness or otherwise of her mission.

In a sense an exhaustive theory of Democracy is sorely needed; for in the welter of modern controversies in which there are so many half-truths angrily denying one another, people fail to see the wood clearly for the trees. The authoritarian doctrines appear to be clear-cut, definite and systematic, while the democratic doctrine seems vague and tentative. In 1917 Lenin restated Marxianism in his *State and Revolution* in the form he later on sought to adopt. Between 1925 and 1927 appeared the two volumes of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and in 1931 and 1937 Pope Pius XI revealed in his Encyclicals the Catholic doctrine of economic society. In 1932 Mussolini tried to lift the political strategy of Fascism into a "social and political doctrine."

A statement of the fundamentals of Democracy is necessary not only because we may believe that it cannot "recapture its first careless rapture," but because it is often forgotten that Democracy has been called upon to face newer and newer circumstances and to perform more and more onerous tasks.

The democrat believes in individual freedom and self-development as eternal verities. He subscribes to "the undeniable maxim of Government." That all Government is in the free assent of the people. "The prison unto which we doom ourselves no prison is" provided we doom ourselves. It follows that the state is made for man and not the latter for the former. Perhaps none has put this point of view better than Robert Bridges:

> "The high goal of our great endeavour is spiritual attainment, individual worth, at all cost to be sought, at all cost pursued, to be won at all cost, all costs assured."

It can be argued that it is feeling rather than reason which says that the summum bonum of the state is to give the individual the scope, the leisure, the equipment to develop the best that is in him, and this in its practical application has invited a formidable indictment of democracy both by Fascism and Communism.

Secondly, the democrat argues that what concerns all must have the consent of all. The wearer of the shoe must choose it himself, for he alone knows where it pinches.

Argued Colonel Rainboro, before Cromwell on 25th October, 1647:

> "Every man born in England, cannot, ought not, neither by the law of God nor by the law of nature, to be exempted from the choice of those who are to make laws for him to live under and for aught I know to lose his life under."

The democrat thus believes in liberty and equality as ultimate values, like truth, beauty, love, happiness. In these he will neither change nor falter nor repent; and then he goes further—he believes in the principle of rationality—that men will be swayed, in the last analysis, by reason; that if an opinion is true and is demonstrated to be so, men will come to embrace it. Indeed it is pertinent to add here that democracy is more than a form of Government it is a principle of organization, an attitude to society,

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a way of life. It is for this reason that we often emphasise the great educational value of democracy. It enables us to keep alive the thought that the happiness of every person counts for as much as the happiness of any one else, and that no one can be regarded as a mere means to the happiness of another.

But how can these salutory ethical principles be applied to the art of governance? When the democrat applies his principle of equality with the infinite worth of individuality, he aims at multiplying contacts and at providing opportunities for co-operation and service to all for drawing out latent talent (and at maximizing the welfare of all.) Negatively, to him ignorance of the technique of the art of government is no impediment to self-rule. He would even assert that it is better to have ruled and failed than never to have ruled at all; that democracy may be a rule of trial and error and of profiting by them, rising above the stepping stones of our dead selves to higher things. Less dogmatically put, the argument implies that an expert may rule or administer not by virtue of his special knowledge but because he is willing to harness that knowledge for a purpose that is given to him by a non-expert. The rule of the experts is likely to suffer from two great handicaps. The objectives of experts may not be the same as those of the community. This is implied even in the Aristotelian classification of governments into the normal forms and their perversions. Secondly, power, if history is to be trusted, is unequalled as an intoxicant. There is no subtler corruptor of human character than unbridled power. This is true not merely of individuals but of groups as well. Both can start with good intentions and yet end with an abuse of power. The true democrat recognises the universality, the ubiquitousness, of "vested interests." This principle has been summarised in that trite saying, "Good Government is no acceptable substitute for self-government."

Thus democracy emphasises the worth of the individual as no other form of government does, and it calls upon the individual by affording every citizen the opportunities to give the best in him to and take the best out of the State. And in order that this objective may be realized, in order also to make the government the least fallible, it is to be a "government by discussion."

But it would be a mistake to think that democracy is an apotheosis of individualism. The predisposing circumstances are often ignored as much by the enthusiast as by the individualist. In order to evoke the melody that we want out of that government "by the people, for the people and of the people," we have to provide for its conjuncture. It has been truly said that a people get the government they deserve. The society must make for peace, its people must have public spirit, its social forces must display a longing for self-rule, its men and women must be infused with integrity, with a spirit of co-operation and much work for effective equality (for the absence of poverty) with intelligence and knowledge. Democracy presupposes "an inward state of mind" of the individual and of the society, which is clear enough to see the general good and willing enough to sink minor differences—a "public mind" that is honest and discerning enough about the policies of governments and of parties and bold enough to deliver judgment on the doings and misdoings of its representatives. That is what we call "eternal vigilance," the price that Democracy demands.

And when we once again offer our arm to the Dame, she will perhaps confess to us that the ship in which she put out first to the Mediterranean and then to the Atlantic was wrecked against the rock of economic inequalities. She might say that she mistook numbers for quality, that her oarsmen formed a self-seeking junto, that they, like poor mortals, quarrelled and forgot the high cause of her great endeavour, that their strength degenerated into lust for power and they somehow jettisoned Liberty.

When we recollect the Imperialisms on which the western democracies thrived, the poverty on which they built their plenty, the golden calf they came to worship and the terrible onslaughts they have invited, we feel she is justified in crying:

> "Once I was wise in my youth,
> I went my way alone;
> Before the world destroyed my trust
> And turned my heart to stone."*

And is it really possible to console her, as she goes to her "lonely mountain," with the question:

> "Or is it all in God's good time
> In keeping with His plan
> That I may put more trust in Him
> The more I lose in Man?"*

* W. H. Davis: *The Lonely Mountain.*

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Message

The following is an extract from the English translation published in *The Visva-Bharati News* of the original Bengali address written by Rabindranath Tagore on the occasion of the 11th Magh service in the Mandir :

The religion of Christ is pre-eminently a human religion. The Christ was also the Son of Man and accepted a human existence. That is why we find that the true Christians are always the true philanthropists wherever they may be. Even if we may discover some imperfections and flaws in Christian precepts we must at least admit that the ideal of fellowship and dedication inherent in Christianity affords its followers the unique opportunity of coming into a loving contact with the whole human race. From what I have seen and known it is clear to me that whenever and wherever they have touched the apex of eminence, in life or literature, they have also been truly and convincingly human. In that higher plane they have shown no poverty of spirit, there they have definitely ascended to a level of civilization which is not tainted by the clash of selfseeking pursuits. Whereas, in our own country, religion instead of acting as a binding force has served to disrupt all friendly association; religion which should properly have been an aid to spiritual realization has only served to create endless dissension and quarrels.

Where social conduct is not regulated by separate religious groups the virus of communalism cannot bring about disharmony amongst the individual members of the community. China is a good example; her civilization makes room for many sects but sectarian or religious views even when widely different, have never been able to deal a blow to the integrity of China's social condition. There was a time when the inner spirit of Christianity was denied by Christians themselves. In the name of crusade and on the plea of divine wrath they had camouflaged their tyranny over non-Christians, while their essential motive was to gain sovereignty over the weak by sheer physical force. They allowed their own rational powers to be clouded by a superstitious faith in the tenets of a corrupt church. In spite of many weak spots in the social structure of Europe today, one must admit that religious intolerance or communalism is not one of them. One of the secrets of the might of her nations lies in the fact that in Europe society and religion have been kept definitely apart. The predominance of meaningless ceremonies in the name of religion in our day to day life has been mainly responsible for the sapping of our national strength. It degrades the ideal of pure religion and emphasises the tyranny of superstitious customs.

Very rarely have we had great souls born amongst us who had raised their voice against sacrilegious religion and irrational practice. They had cried in wilderness and their pains have been rewarded by the repetition of the very same rituals and ceremonies. As it has been, so it is today; and so will it be so long as society is allowed to abuse the Religion of Man.

Anglo-Indians and the National Movement

C. E. Gibbon, President of the Anglo-Indian Civil Liberties Association, writes in the Special Annual number of *The Indian Review* :

There is little doubt, that, as a community, Anglo-Indians have not as yet been fused with the spirit of "Indian Nationalism," nor have they realised their responsibility, both to themselves and to the other communities of the country. One has only to read the speeches of our representatives in the various Houses of Legislature and to watch their actions, to notice, and that with regret, that, their opinions are personal and far from universal. Their determined reluctance to take a larger view of things, is the greatest stumbling-block in the progress of the community. The community, obsessed with the idea that they are "the British in India," are readily made to believe, by their representatives, that anything which savours of "Indian Nationalism" is rank sedition, and must be put down with a strong hand.

To put it quite bluntly, the Anglo-Indian community have been made to believe that they are more British than the British themselves, and it is this sentiment that has been so successfully exploited to their political, social and economic detriment and the aggrandisement of the exploiter.

There is, however, an awakening; confined though it may be to a small section of the community; and as the tree takes time to grow before it can be expected to bear fruit, so likewise, this political awakening, if given time and encouragement, will grow. What might appear to be weak and under-nourished today, will sooner or later, be strong and healthy, and the Anglo-Indian will take his proper place, in the political, social and economic structures of the country, along with his fellow-Indian countrymen.

It is this small, though fairly well-placed, section of the community that realises that if the present occasion is not pressed into service, a more favourable opportunity may never arise, and that consequently, the community will permanently lag behind other communities in the race for self-advancement. What we feel as essential, is to submerge personal and individual interests and prejudices in the work for the community as a whole.

The psychology of the community must definitely change.

This, we feel, can only be brought about by a change in leadership accompanied by the pressure of realities.

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They will have to develop a sense of pride that is given to them to be a bridge, as it were between the East and the West; to serve the interests of the nation and the Commonwealth, by the interpretation of the one to the other, not as the "British in India" but as the "Sons of the Soil."

Finally the Anglo-Indian community cannot hope to be accepted into the bosom of Mother India, to be trusted, respected and cared for, unless it is prepared to throw in its lot with India in her struggle for Independence. She must help, shape policies and develop movements in an India which has still many years of struggle before her between the forces of alien authority and national liberty. She must produce men of courage, not satisfied with words, but ever searching for the means to transform them into action,—intrepid souls who know that it is necessary to dare in order to succeed.

Some Thoughts on Indian Architecture

Nature herself is the greatest architect of all. Sir C. V. Raman observes in *The Indian Home*:

The investigations of crystallograprers and of the physicists have revealed the amazing skill with which Nature builds her structures. The architecture of a crysatl reveals both in its exterior form and its internal construction an eye for beauty rivalling that of the greatest artists and an appreciation of geometric principles such as even Euclid could never claim. When she chooses to exert hersedf, as for instance, when she builds a sparkling diamond out of the blackest coal, her technical perfection of finish puts even the Taj to shame. In the inanimate world of crystals, Nature shows an infinite variety of form, but she is restricted by the severity of her mathematical laws. To witness her highest efforts, we have to pass into the world of living things and see the delicateness of touch and the exuberance of fancy with which she fashions the tendrils of a creeper, the opening buds of a flower, or the grace and strength of the trees and wild animals of the forest.

It follows that Nature herself is the greatest inspirer of man in architecture.

To build a shelter from the sun and rain is a necessity for man. But he would be untrue to himself and to Nature if he did not seek to make the dwelling worthy of himself and express in its design an appreciation of the beauty and a sense of the fitness of things. It is no accident that the hightest architectural efforts of man have usually been reserved for houses of worship, for it is inevitable that man's deepest emotions express themselves in appropriate surrounding. But for architecture to exhaust itself in building temples or memorials for the dead is a negation of its real purpose. The spirit of the builder should exhibit itself also in dwellings intended as a home or for the daily task of life. Only there can be the subtle influence of the environment make itself felt in the spirit in which the daily life is lived or the daily task is done.

India today, if she is to be true to herself, must seek to find her own soul in architecture.

Scattered over her length and breadth we find priceless vestiges of her ancient glory in *viharas* and temples built by her pious monarchs and in the magnificent relics of more recent Mahomedan rule. India can proudly claim these as her own, built by men who claimed India as their home and who sought to express in brick or stone or marble the spirit of her age-long culture. If history teaches us anything, it teaches us the immense strength of the civilization of India which has conquered and made vassal even those who have sought to destroy or enslave her. The waves of invasion which passed over India left the essential continuity of Indian culture and the essential solidarity of the sub-continent unbroken. It is this essentially Indian culture that has expressed itself in the architectural monuments of India, and it is in these remains of the past and in the ever present spirit of Nature that we must seek to find the inspiration which will maintain and enlarge our architectural heritage.

If there is any aspect of aesthetics which has an intensely practical value, it is architecture.

Published some years ago a symposium on the Benares Hindu University illustrates my meaning. The volume contains a series of illustrations of the buildings of the University and reviews of its activity by the various eminent persons who visited it. It is easy to trace the subtle influence of the distinctively Indian and very striking architecture and lay out of the buildings of the University in inducing the tone of enthusiastic admiration of the University which pervades the pages of the symposium. A Hindu University of Benares, housed otherwise than it actually is, would have left the visitor cold and would have failed to elicit the enthusiasm, sympathy and support which it rightly claims and receives. Mr. Srish Chatterjee has done valuable service by his advocacy of the Indianisation of the architecture of both public and private buildings. In my opinion this is a subject of vital importance which should receive the earnest attention and practical support both of public bodies and of private individuals throughout the country. By practical examples, Mr. Chatterjee has shown what can be done even with the restricted opportunities at present available. An enlargement of those opportunities is much to be desired. The endowment of education in architecture with Indian outlook is much needed in India.

The University and Adult Education

Veerendra Swarup Mathur writes in *The Indian Journal of Adult Education*:

The 1931 Census revealed that abourt 92% of the population of India could not even read and write. The causes of this distressing state of affairs are manifold but certainly the utter neglect on the part of the Government and the failure of primary education are very great contributory factors. The Bombay Adult Education Committee Report rightly says that

"Hundreds of thousands of children who have been 'exposed' to education have never attained literacy. Here are various factors which enter into the situation of which by no means the less important is the failure of the parents to take an interest in the education of their children. Although the percentage of school-going age to the total population is calculated at 14, only 1·[illegible] per cent of the population of British India are actually schooling." The report concludes: "If a campaign of Adult Education did little more than overcome apathy and indifference of the parents, it could not be said to have been wholly in vain."

Of course the primary responsibility for the education of the masses rests with the State.

It is desirable that a concerted effort be made by the State, the Universities and the employers of labour.

Certainly the Indian Universities can help in educating the masses in the following ways:

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I. By organising extra-mural activities.

II. By giving a practical training to young University students in social service by making them teach in the literacy centres thus producing a huge number of trained social workers.

III. By encouraging young educated people to settle and do social work in villages.

Sewell in 1850 asked : "Though it may be impossible to bring the masses requiring education to the University, may it not be possible to carry the University to them ?"

Falling Birth-Rate in France

France has committed race suicide. France has sacrificed herself at the altar of birth regulation. S. Mazumdar writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

Along with inadequate and obsolete armaments and faith in non-aggression when a menace was continually growing at her doors, a rapidly dwinding birth-rate has been responsible for the dismemberment of this great country. . . As long as war remains a human institution, the control of the birth-rate in any country is but a profound suicidal measure.

Marshal Petain's bewailing broadcast to the world before France capitulated is full of deep meaning. The revelation may have been shocking to the world at large, but every word that the Marshal said was known years ago to military experts both in France and Great Britain, as well as to British eugenists.

"*Too few children,*" wailed Petain, "too few arms, too few Allies—there is the cause of our defeat."

Two well-known men protested vehemently against the eugenic theory causing the decline of the birth-rate and man-power. One was the late Theodore Roosevelt who fought the eugenists years ago on the ground that birth regulation was 'race suicide' so far as the needs of a State threatened with war was concerned. The eugenists, visualising the general prosperity of a smaller State exercising such regulation effectively, laughed at Roosevelt as "an enraged race suicide marionette." The other person who vehemently opposed the theory that man-power is of secondary importance in the needs of *modern mechanised warfare* is the well-known British critic, Richard M. Titmuss, who has dicussed the British National Defence and anticipated some calamities in England.

It is necessary to mention before this discussion proceeds any further that the age-group which contributes to the youth and efficiency of the army of a nation is from fifteen to thirty-four. Some authoritative writer says that eighteen to twenty-four is the best fighting age of a soldier.

The ruin of France began sometime before the Great War of 1914-18, when the French birth-rate was already on the decline.

In the Great War the flower of the youth of France was either annihilated, mutilated or disabled, and this great loss of man-power was never since adequately made up as births became alarmingly few in the period, and since then it became so restricted as the population was never restored to the previous normal. A French official military expert observed the effect of this sad change in 1935 that "the French army entered the critical period when the number of conscripts annually available begins to decline from 230,000 a year towards a figure of 118,000 in 1940 *owing to low rate of birth during the war.*"

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In the meanwhile, let it be observed, France imposed the bachelor tax on unmarried males, subsidized marriages, besides having previously legalised 'war babies,' measures adopted in common with Germany. But on account of extreme individualism in France, to which question we shall return presently, the measures proved a failure.

This state of affairs had a profound influence on the army.

According to the same military observer: "In March, 1935, the French Government announced its intention to keep the recruits enrolled in the spring for eighteen months with the colours instead of twelve, and all subsequent classes till the end of 1939 for two years. This was effected under the special powers given by the Army Act, and was to be only a temporary measure and not to involve any lasting increase in numbers. The French Government has also authority to call up conscripts at the age of 20 (instead of 21 as at present) if it so wishes, and to incorporate the whole annual contingent at once, instead of calling it up in two sectoins. The number of long service professional soldiers may further be increased from its maximum fixed in 1934 to 117,000, of whom 103,000 were actually in service in March, 1935. The French peace force was thus organised in 1936: Active Home Army, 360,000; Colonial Army (including colonial troops), 190,000—a total of 550,000 men."

And the neighbouring country feared most on account of its downright "philosophy of conflict," as Havelock Ellis aptly described the Moltkean spirit in Germany, amassed a mass of soldiery, calculated by British experts as a 100 divisions. The same British experts say that the German peace strength of a division was about 15,000, that is, Germany had an enormous peace figure of 1,500,000 of which "the first-line strength in August, 1936, was 800,000." Marshal Petain has said in his famous broadcast that France had 2,780,000 men "under arms" at all points, including the garrison in the Maginot Line (160,000 in peace time and reservists in adjacent villages) and the French Navy. Germany flung 150 divisions, *i.e.*, 2,250,000 men on France alone, leaving behind a vast remnant at her other fronts and the subjugated countries.

It was remarked by Havelock Ellis that the French increased faster in the term of survival rate in the recent years just before the Great War, when the birth-rate was estimated at the very high figure of 40, from which it fell to 19 approximately in 1917, when the birth-rate in England also sank to 17·8. From this catastrophe France never seemed to have recovered.

Marshal Petain has accused France that since the victory of 1918 *the spirit of pleasure* has prevailed over the spirit of sacrifice, people have demanded more than given, they have wanted to spare themselves effort.

We have interpreted it as France's effort towards only an economic and cultural prosperity, while war-mongers of the von Moltke school have recognised "war as the only means of progress."

It is difficult to say whether France's faith in non-aggression emanated from this viewpoint or from her love for Individualism, about which the fact is that under any economic system the responsible personal direction of the individual and the family remain quite equally necessary, *and no progress is possible so long as the individual casts all responsibility away from himself on to the social group* he forms part of. The social group, after all, is merely himself and the likes of him-self. He is merely shifting the burden from his indi-dual self to his collective self, *and in so doing he loses more than he gains.* This viewpoint has assisted the progress of birth regulation in France more than in any other country.

Collectively, birth regulation and the decline of the birth-rate have spelt ruin for the intellectual and pro-fessional classes from which the best brains of a country are drawn, as these classes are liable to be swept away by the growth of the lower classes which multiply quickly. H. G. Wells has protested against the theory of equalitarian democracy on this ground. From the national point of view, as proved by France, they point to the extermination of a country and tend to cause abject slavery.

Let us not think that Great Britain, facing a cata-trophic war as the last defence of democracy and civi-sation, is in any way better placed than France in the matter of an enfeebled population. According to Richard Titmuss, the child population, an asset of Britain, has declined by over 2,270,000 or 18 per cent. compared to the figures of 1911, and her liability mea-sured by the ageing of the population over 45 has in-creased by 5,260,000, that is, by sixty per cent.

Titmuss aptly observes: "The importance of man-power was not apparently appreciated until we were on the verge of defeat."

This now wholly applies to France.

Manipulation of Census

Unfortunately our census statistics are not only inaccurate, but they are often manipulated for political purpose. Jatindra Mohan Datta observes in *The Indian Review*:

"The Census statistics are the common tools and materials of business of the Government," says the Encyclopædia Britannica. If they are to fulfil the above function they must be correct.

There are serious inaccuracies, such as the inter-change of the number of the Hindus and the Muham-madans in some places, in the Bengal Census Report of 1931. . . . . When the Indian Census Bill was being debated on the floors of the Indian Legislative Assembly at Delhi, Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea, M.L.A. (Central), formerly the Minto Professor of Economics in the Uni-versity of Calcutta, referred to these inaccuracies and challenged the Government to answer them. No answer was given then; and no attempt has since then been made by the Government to justify the Census Report of 1931.

The Halalkhors of Bengal were Muhammadans in 1901. Sir Edward Gait, in the Bengal Census Report of 1901 describing the Muhammadan castes and tribes says:

"In some places a third class, called *Arzal*, or 'low-est of all' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halalkhors, Lalbegi, Abdal and Bedi-ya, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate and who are *forbidden to enter the mosque* or to use *the public burial ground*" (italics ours).

In the 1931 Census Report, they are shown as Depressed Hindus. They are the Muhammadan untouchables; and their position is worse than that of the Hindu *Panchamas*, for they are not even allowed to be buried in the public burial ground. The object of this misrepresentation is to show that the Muhammadans have no untouchables amongst them. As a result of

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such misrepresentation the Halalkhors have been included in the list of the Scheduled Castes under the new Government of India Act, 1935.

One example will convince the reader that there have been exaggerations even in the number of persons.

The number of Muhammadan males aged 20-25 was 9,67,000 in 1921. Ten years later, they would be in the age category of 30-35; and the number of such men was found to be 11,47,000 in 1931 by the census authorities. Even if we assume that there have been no deaths among these 9,67,000 men during the decade 1921-1931—a very big assumption, how can they swell into 11,47,000—an increase of about 10 per cent! Immigration cannot be the cause, for even according to the Census Report itself immigration is decreasing in Bengal during the last twenty years.

According to the Census of 1931, there are 44 Hindus to 55 Muhammadans in Bengal. But thanks to the Communal Award, for 80 Hindu Legislators there are 120 Muhammadans in the local Assembly. This cannot be justified under any circumstances. To justify the communal representation, or *mis*-representation in the Legislature, the Muhammadans must be 60 per cent. of the population.

Although the Government of India did not so require, the Bengal Government, or rather the communally-minded Ministry is out to record the castes among the Hindus, but not among the Muhammadans. The number of castes recorded in 1921 was 102; it increased to 144 in 1931 (including 2 male Kichaks); and it is feared many more will be found or manufactured this time, to show that the Hindus are hopelessly divided amongst themselves.

Ruinous Railway Policy

On Government budgets depend the welfare of the populace, and it is as such that we have to look at them. *The Social Welfare* of Bombay criticises the Railway policy of the Government:

The Railway Member seemed to take it as a proud achievement that his administration was able to secure a surplus of Rs. 14·59 crores, a record surplus in the history of railway finance in India since its separation from the general budget. The manipulation of railway rates and freights, and the policy of discrimination based (*i*) on racial considerations in the selection and remuneration of employees, and (*ii*) on the tarnsport of different commodities, have a very great effect on the life and prosperity of the population, more so of the agriculturist and the poorer classes. The fact that even without having had recourse to the recent increase in rates and fares, there could have been a good surplus, and that the budget estimates for income last year were unnecessarily conservative, should have persuaded the Railway Member to bring down the rates and fares in the coming year to their original level. The third class passengers would not have groaned under the burden of the recent increase in rates, had the war brought about a big rise in their income as was expected. On the contrary the practical slump in the export trade of raw materials has hit the producer very hard.

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The right way to sound railway finances would seem to be to reduce the top heavy railway administration which perpetuates gross injustice by maintaining racial discrimination pampering the Anglo-Indians at the cost of the sons of the soil. The Railway policy in India still remains as disappointing as in the past, without any attempt to lessen the burden of the third class passengers or increasing their amenities. Encouragement of foreign trade resulted not only in the neglect of but to the detriment also of Indian trade and agriculture, by manipulation of rates and fares in favour of imported articles from other countries. The urgent need for organising the transport system of the country to the interests of agriculture was emphasised by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee in 1931. There is a greater need today for such a policy, because the agriculturist has been deprived of the foreign market, and yet he has to pay heavy freight to send his products to markets in other parts of India. In no other country —even the most industrialised ones—the interests of agriculture are neglected in such a manner.

Two Problems for American Education

In the course of his article on American education in *The Aryan Path* Hervey Wescott observes:

One of the greatest traditions of Western Europe has been the university and its aura of culture. North America has, in the past, venerated the European University, sent students to its renowned scholars and sought to imitate in so far as possible those attitudes which had served as the cultural backbone of all the great nations

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of the continent. Now, however, especially in the United States, North Americans have seen their own higher educational institutions outstrip those of Europe both in number and in quality of equipment and buildings. This is a "scientific" age, and America has been consistent in attempting application of new scientific methods to old problems of education.

American scholars in general feel that the European University is incapable of solving their problems, but it is equally true that American theories of education fall short of the mark. It may be necessary to realize that those values which endured so long as a matured state of mind in Europe are much needed amidst the hurry and the confusion of experimental education.

The most suggestive characteristic of the present American university is standardization.

America, the greatest single depository of international ideals, is thus internally threatened by an intellectual provincialism—a strange anomaly. The Universities throughout the United States reflect nearly identical approaches to the various departments of learning.

The mistakes of European Universities seem to lie in an over-sophistication and in eclecticism rather than in standardization.

Every great European University is located in or very near the capital of a nation, the very centre of its everyday governmental activities. In America we have isolated our Universities by their location, and from the pleasant hillsides of a fine University location the theories of politics have been "practically" explained.

The same homogeneity which manifests so clearly in devotion to the Book-of-the-Month Club does not inspire creative thinking.

What is the source of American standardization?

As in all cases of striking national uniformity of the past the source is a religion. In this case the religion is science, and its priests are the caretakers of atoms, molecules and genes. The American educational institutions have patterned themselves as closely as possible on the model of the physical sciences. "Nothing can be known which is not subject to statistical or laboratory verification."

The greatest practical value of education, in its broadest sense, is the development of a sense of responsibility. It is precisely in this all-important respect that America may be able to take a suggestion from Europe.

Neither teachers nor students in Europe are subjected to the red tape and the regimentation imposed upon them in this country. Can it be that European learning, despite its present lack of vitality, has discovered that the human being is not a formula in a test-tube?

Excessive specialization throughout the majority of American Universities contributes to the lack of the broad philosophical perspective so necessary for intelligent solution of social problems—a hopeful perspective able to give direction to the vitality of a young nation in the interests of the entire world.

Native Land

Why do you love this Ireland so?
they ask in accents bland.
Ah, heed them not, they do not know,
they cannot understand
That 'tis the life-blood of our kin
that nourishes its soil,
The blood by Irish patriots shed
for their own native isle,
That scarcely did a decade pass
for nigh eight hundred years,
But every flower and blade of grass
was drenched with blood and tears,
That every hill, and dell, and plain,
where plant or shrub upstarts,
Was watered by the red, red rain,
from Irish patriots' hearts.
They know not of a promise made
by the Almighty God,
That love and faith would e're abide
where good Saint Patrick trod!
They've never known Killarney's lakes,
or the lordly Shannon stream,
Or Blarney's groves, or wild Giguane, or
Wicklow's hills so green;
They have not seen the gentle Suir,
meandering on its way,
Among Tipperary's emerald fields
by castles old and grey,
Nought do they know of Tara's hill,
where blood-tinged Shamrocks grow,
Avoca's Vale, or Glendalough, or
rockbound Aberlow,
Then heed them not, those strangers cold,
but listen with a smile,
The while they prate, and sneer and preach,
and pity them the while,
They have no ties to bind them so
to their own native land,
They only think of, strive for, gold,
they cannot understand;
But, we who love our native isle,
shall love it all the more,
And think of it with yearning,
while we tread a foreign shore,
And cursed be every Irishman,
wherever he may stand,
Who'd dare deny or e're forget,
his own dear native land.

Ben O'Hickey (*Songs of the Irish Struggle*)

as quoted by *The Readers' Digest*

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Freedom of Conscience

Recently the conviction of eight students of Union Theological Seminary of New York, for refusing to register themselves under the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 made headlines and subject of editorial comment in the Metropolitan Press. Extracts from two of these editorial notes and comments on them forms the subject matter of an article under the caption "Freedom of Conscience" by Haridas T. Muzumdar in the *Unity* of Chicago.

In defining the issue of conscience versus the State, of soul force versus brute force, he writes :

The conscientious objector to war, to be worthy of the name, must respect the right and sincerity of those who believe in upholding their cause, whatever it may be, by a resort to violence and by preparation for an armed conflict. It is precisely because the conscientious objector cherishes the inherent value of freedom of conscience that he is willing to bear his witness to it by inviting upon himself the highest penalty the State can inflict upon him for violation of a law which conflicts with his own conscience.

The conscientious objector to war believes in the philosophy of soul force, of truth force, of love force, of *Satyagraha*—you may choose any of these names for the gospel preached by and incarnated in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. And what, pray, is the basic motivation behind the philosophy of soul force ?

To begin with, soul force postulates that violence proceeds from an error of judgment; that continued shelter under the structure of violence embodied in the war system tends to lower the dignity of man, to corrupt his soul, and to jeopardize freedom of conscience; that the State is the highest embodiment of force—of *Danda*, of the Hindu political scientists. The dilemma of human living is that man cannot live except in groups and that group life is impossible except under the ægis of a state machinery. And since the State is an embodiment of force, yes, of naked brute force, man—let us say, the citizen—must exercise eternal vigilance to prevent the State from assuming its true and logical nature which is best approximated in our day by the totalitarian concepts of State and warfare.

The conscientious objector and the pacifist should not be thought of as being derelict in their obligations of citizenship; rather must they be recognized as the true sentinels of freedom of conscience and of democracy. Reliance upon brute force comes easily and naturally to the State; it is the duty of every citizen to see to it that the punitive brute force of the State is constantly transmuted and transformed into regulative police force and normative judical arbitrament. The integrity of group life rests upon a minimum of punitive force used by the State towards its citizens and that, too, in cases of gross and violent deviations from the norms of the group. In other words, within the nation the State prefers the use of police powers and the judical machinery to violence, militarism, and "war." But in its dealings with other nations the State still relies upon brute force, upon war, as the most useful arbiter, and in some cases as the sole arbiter, for the settlement of disputes.

The philosophy of soul force advocates that we extend the intranational pattern for the settlement of disputes to international relationships. To the believer in soul force the white-skinned German is as good a human being and as worthy of respect as is the white-skinned Englishman, as is the yellow-skinned Japanese, as is the dark-skinned African, as is the brown-skinned Hindu. He loves all the children of God.

Commenting upon the editorial of New York *Herald Tribune* of November 15, 1940, entitled "An Example of Civil Disobedience," he writes :

The dilemma that confronted Thoreau is very real. If he paid the poll tax to the United States Government of the day which had not positively uprooted slavery, then he was becoming an accomplice of that government in the maintenance of slavery; if, on the other hand, he did not pay his taxes, then the benefits of community life derivable from the existence of a governmental machinery would be denied to him. And yet, since no man can live unto himself, willynilly, Thoreau was a recipient of the benefits conferred upon every citizen by the government of the land. By failing to pay taxes to the government whose benefits he was enjoying, Thoreau would be failing in his duty as a citizen. Thus we see that Thoreau's problem was a very real and serious one. He resolved the dilemma by doing precisely what all intelligent people do—by compromising on non-essentials without betraying his convictions or principles. As our good friends, the British, would say, life is a series of compromises. The question is : When does a compromise spell repudiation of principle and when is it a necessary tool for the realization of the principles one holds dear ? For an answer keep your eyes glued to India; watch the travail of the soul of Mahatma Gandhi who wants to help British democracy but refuses to be an accomplice in the maintenance of the British Empire.

The crux of the question is : Does individual or group adherence to a set of laws at variance with those of the large community necessarily lead to anarchy ? I maintain, yes, under some conditions; no, under others.

When the code of ethics of an individual or a group within a large community is calculated to undermine the foundations of stable government, the governmental authorities are justified in invoking police powers and judicial sentences without stint. Thus did the Roman Empire persecute the Christians who had a set of laws at variance with those of the State, most especially with the whole notion of emperor-worship which was the cornerstone of the Roman Empire. We must admit that the ancient Roman State had a right to persecute and was justified in persecuting the non-conforming Christian sect. But we are happily witnesses to the fact that the persecuted Christian Church rose in power and affluence while the Roman Empire crumbled to the dust.

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If we accept your premise that the State has a right to persecute non-conformist opinion and stop there, then the rise of the Christian Church was a colossal mistake of history. Now I am sure you do not believe any such foolishness. Which means you do grant the right of Christian individuals and groups to "adhere to a set of laws which contradict those of the community as a whole." Nor, I am sure, would you maintain that "the logical upshot" of that historic fact has been "anarchy."

We must accept, on the one hand, the right of the State to "persecute" those who threaten its stability or its existence; and, on the other hand, we must accept the right of individuals and groups to cherish opinions, convictions, and ideals that would assuage the rigors of harshness inherent in the soulless, steam-roller machinery of the State.

To minimize the rigors of the State there are many ways in which one may act. The writer cites seven such ways and continues :

But, of course, my highest esteem is reserved for the votary of civil disobedience, who operates within the legal framework in order to modify the State machinery in part or *in toto*.

To describe the implications of civil disobedience, one must draw upon the experiences of contemporary India, especially the writings and thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi. Parenthetically, I am amazed and shocked to discover that an American editorial writer can write a whole editorial on civil disobedience without once mentioning the name of Mahatma Gandhi ! You did well in referring to Thoreau, the apostle of civil disobedience. You could have avoided many pitfalls in your thinking on civil disobedience and its implications if you had carefully studied the experiences of Gandhi, the Hindu barrister, in whose hands Thoreau's teachings have become the most revolutionary, the most vital, the most civil technique for social change. To interpret civil disobedience one is compelled to refer to Gandhi.

Civil disobedience can be best understood in terms of civil resistance or Satyagraha—literally, holding fast to truth—and Ahimsa, *i.e.*, non-violence and love. These alternative terms and concepts developed by Gandhi are serviceable in the full understanding of Thoreau and his technique.

Civil resistance is exactly what the term implies : it is resistance to wrong but it is a civil or non-violent resistance. The author of the "wrong" may be a fellow man, a group, the whole of society, or the State—or another nation or a combination of nations. To the Satyagrahist—*i.e.*, to the follower of Satyagraha, or soul force, or truth force, or love force, or civil disobedience, or civil resistance, or non-violent resistance—"wrong" is that which his conscience and judgment tell him is wrong. His one unfailing criterion is the light from within, the dictates of conscience. Since he sees some of the best brains and some of the most righteous men of his generation pitted against his judgment of right and wrong, the Satyagrahist humbly and patiently and meditatively compares the dictates of his conscience with the sayings and experiences of his generation and of past generations. Only after prayerful meditation has convinced him of the validity of his stand does the Satyagrahist go about the task of getting converts to his viewpoint. Even then he always keeps an open mind, lest what he has believed to be right may after all be not right. He is constantly "experimenting with truth," testing the validity of his honestly cherished convictions and faith. And since he respects other people's right to have and cherish their own convictions and faith, the Satyagrahist does not feel impelled to thrust down other people's throats his own convictions and faith. For himself he must bear witness before the whole world to his convictions and faith, always reserving to himself the right to change his views if ever better light should be vouchsafed to him. Under no circumstances is he to dream of a violent crusade for the universal acceptance of his "truth," of his faith. Such is the Satyagrahist's way of life.

The conscientious objector to war is ahead of his time, but that only increases his obligation to bear witness to his faith.

The Satyagrahist, the pacifist, the conscientious objector to war—all these live for the day when war between nations will be as impossible and unthinkable as it is today between the constituent elements of a nation—between, say, the states in the American nation. The votary of soul force stands for a reinterpretation of this common world of ours—the nations of the world, the "component" parts of the world, should be viewed as the "constituent" elements of this our common humanity, to the end that wars will be impossible among the constituent elements of the whole. The Satyagrahist pleads for an extension of the "in-group" or "we-group" feeling to embrace all the peoples of the world, white, dark, brown, yellow, and red. He is working for the day when narrow, exclusive nationalism will be considered as ill-mannered as narrow, exclusive provincialism is considered today. He is working for the day when the achievements of any of the "constituent" elements of humanity—*i.e.*, of any nation—will be considered a common heritage of all mankind and will afford emotional satisfaction and pride to men and women living beyond the confines of that particular nation.

When all is said and done, this is not a very strange doctrine. It is a subconscious part of our daily experience. Shakespeare was born in England, Goethe in Germany, Rousseau in France, Emerson and Thoreau in America—none of them was born in the land of my birth, India. Must I deny myself the pleasure and enlightenment these great thinkers of mankind can afford me simply because they were not born in India ? No, Mr. Chauvinist; a thousand times no, Mr. Militarist. Indeed, Mr. Editor, your own experience must lead you to say, a million times no ! Otherwise, how could you derive emotional satisfaction and spiritual exaltation from the teachings and life of a humble Son of the Orient, from a little country called Palestine ?

The conscientious objector to war in our day serves as a catalyst in our world society exactly as did the Christian in the society of the Roman Empire. May his tribe increase and multiply ! And may you and others like you in a position to mold public opinion become converted to the vision of a warless world, with peace on earth and good will among men !

Handicapped Workers

In every country there is a large number of physically handicapped persons. No reliable census is available neither any effort has been made for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, whether congenital or disabled by accident. The need for a constructive rehabilitation programme can not be over-emphasised.

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The following excerpt from the monthly *Labour Review* describes some such effort in the U.S.A :

The causes of permanent physical impairments were found by the National Institute of Health, in a survey of 312,000 persons, to be accidental injury in 61 per cent. An analysis by the National Safety Council of 400,000 permanent nonfatal disabilities in 1936 showed that 41·4 per cent occurred in the home, 25·6 per cent were motor accidents, 17·1 per cent were occupational accidents, and 15·9 per cent were accidents occurring in public places. The first survey revealed that the majority of permanent impairments result from accidents, but the second analysis brought out the fact that a man at work is relatively safe from injury. However, it is evident that safety movements in industry and upon the highways must be sustained and intensified if the annual increment of handicapped persons is to be controlled or reduced.

Various surveys have been made showing the types of disabilities in the general population and among employed persons. Although disablements of the hands accounted for only 7·2 per cent of the disabilities in a group of the general population, such disability was found in 23·1 per cent of the total disabilities in a group of 5,000 employed persons. This suggests that although hand impairments do not bulk large in the general population they do form a plurality of disabilities among the employed group, which indicates, it is said, either that persons so handicapped are most readily employable or that they are more frequently reemployed because their injury was an occupational one. The large number of leg disabilities in both groups suggest that this type of impairment is not a severe handicap to employment, owing in some measure perhaps to the efficiency of artificial appliances. Disability from cardiac defects is relatively difficult to adjust to employment, while the blind are the most unfortunate group.

A survey in Massachusetts showed there were handicapped workers in 149 different occupations; one in California disclosed such employees in 290 different occupations; and a national survey recorded 628 different jobs at which physically handicapped persons were employed. An analysis was made in California in 1935 of a large number of jobs, from the point of view of feasibility of their operation by persons disabled in various ways. For 28 classifications of disabilities selected and 14,460 different jobs analyzed, there was found to be a total of 404,880 theoretical possibilities in office positions, commercial positions, factory jobs, mechanical jobs, and miscellaneous occupations in about equal proportions. The number of theoretical jobs which might be filled by suitably trained workers was found to be about 3 out of every 10 jobs.

The actual performance of handicapped persons in comparison with nondisabled workers was shown to be very favorable in a survey, made by a large manufacturing plant of about 685 disabled and the same number of nondisabled workers. Resignations, absences, and discharges for cause were found to be from 7 to 8 per cent higher among the nondisabled, while there were 5·6 per cent fewer accidents among the disabled. A slightly higher percentage of the disabled (4·6 per cent) as compared with the nondisabled (4 per cent) received increased earnings.

Vocational rehabilitation and placement have much to offer these young persons if there is time and opportunity for training. Vocational training or retraining should be undertaken within a period of 5 years from the occurance of disability or the arrival of the handicapped at employable age. After that time has passed, such persons probably have become adjusted upon welfare relief, have accepted a job at greatly reduced wages, or have become unemployable because of loss of skill, adaptability, or morale.

Education in Free China

Inspite of its preoccupation in war and national defence the Chinese National Government under the able leadership of Generalissimo Chiang-Ki-shek is pushing forward an all-round progressive programme. The latest *News Release* issued by the China Information Committee gives a review of Kwangtung Education in 1940.

Kwangtung's two provincial colleges, the Kwangtung Arts and Science College and Kwangtung Commercial College, underwent reorganizations during the war. The arts and science school had as its predecessor the defunct Kwangtung Educational College. It has four departments—literature and history, physics and chemistry, biology, and sociology and education. Besides, it has a special physical education department. Its present equipment came from the educational college as well as the college of industries of the defunct Hsiang-ching University and the Sun Yat-sen Library formerly in Canton. The Kwangtung Commercial College has also four departments. They are departments of accounting, money and banking, business and industrial management, and economics.

National and private universities of Kwangtung

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which had moved were invited back to the province by the provincial authorities. For this purpose, the provincial treasury gave as subsidies $300,000 to the National Sun Yat-sen University which moved back from Yunnan, $30,000 to the College of Agriculture of Lingnan University which took refuge in Hong Kong, $50,000 to Canton University which also returned from the Crown Colony, and $65,000 to the Kuomin University to resume activities in "Free Kwangtung."

For Cantonese students studying in universities, the provincial educational bureau grants to 937 students a monthly loan of $8 each. They are scattered in higher institutions in all parts of the nation, including 100 in the National Sun Yat-sen University, 50 each in the National Central, South-west, and Kwangsi Universities, the Provincial Kwangtung Arts and Science College, and the private Lingnan Kuomin, and Canton Universities, and 437 in other institutions.

To meet the rising demand for school teachers, the Canton Girls Normal School resumed classes last October with 300 students. The school had been suspended since the fall of Canton in October, 1938.

Two provisional middle schools, established since the fall of Canton in Hong Kong and Macao, were moved to "Free Kwangtung" last summer. The Middle School of the Kwangtung Arts and Science College was ordered to conduct an experiment on the new six-years middle school system to determine its educational value. The existing secondary educational system in China, it may be noted, is divided into two stages, the junior and senior middle schools of three years each. The new system will give an uninterrupted training to those who plan to go directly from middle school to college.

At the beginning of the year under review, the province had 23,668 primary schools with 1,544,478 students. The year began Kwangtung's primary education promotion program with the establishment of 12,000 schools, 2,500 central primary schools and 9,500 people's schools.

Special training arrangements were made to meet the growing demand for teachers. Food, lodging and uniforms were supplied free during the period of training. Circuit classes and mobile schools were organised.

To give education to illiterate grown-ups, 16,499 people's schools were established by the county governments, educational institutions, and other organizations. With four classes a year to each school, 65,996 classes were conducted. Plus the 2,000 classes conducted by the district Kuomintang headquarters, there were 67,996 classes teaching 3,400,000 illiterates.

A wartime arts institute was founded last August. Seventy-four students were enrolled to study drama, music, and painting for the promotion of wartime fine arts in the province.

The provincial educational bureau registered and gave relief to 362 teachers and 550 students from counties in the war-zone. The teachers were given posts while students were placed in schools.

A guerilla district educational plan was launched and a directorate established in June for the promotion and direction of educational activities in guerilla districts. Contacts were made with schools in Japanese controlled areas and directions were given from time to time.

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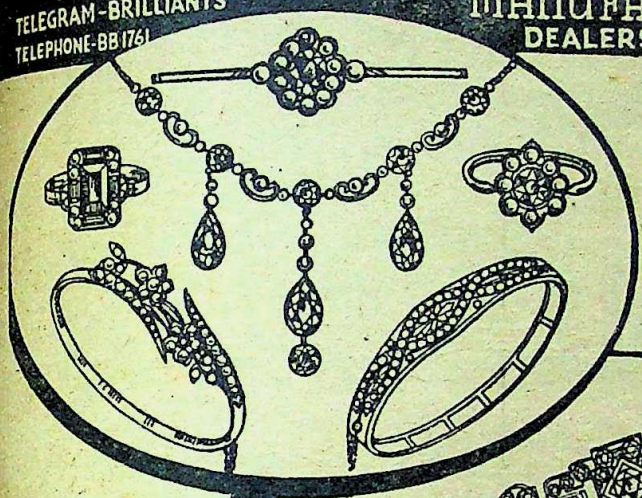

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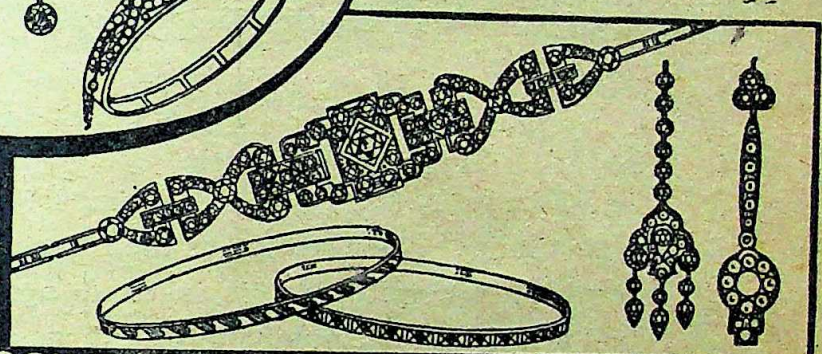

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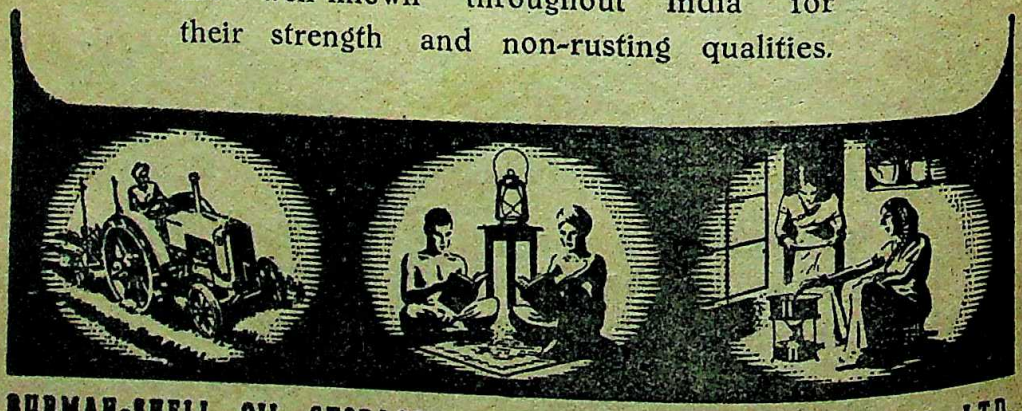

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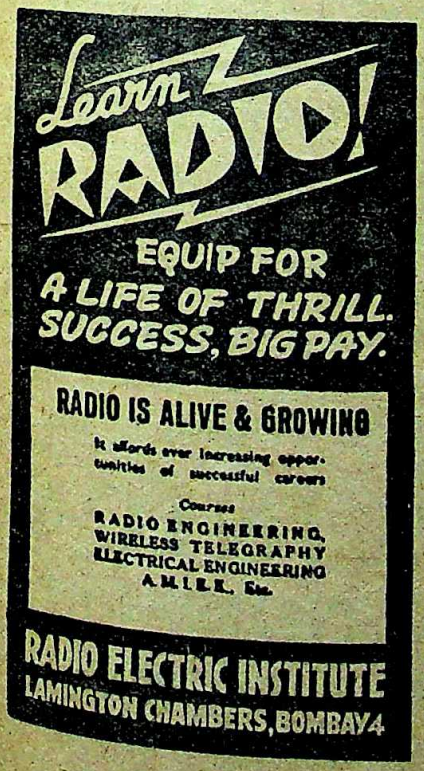

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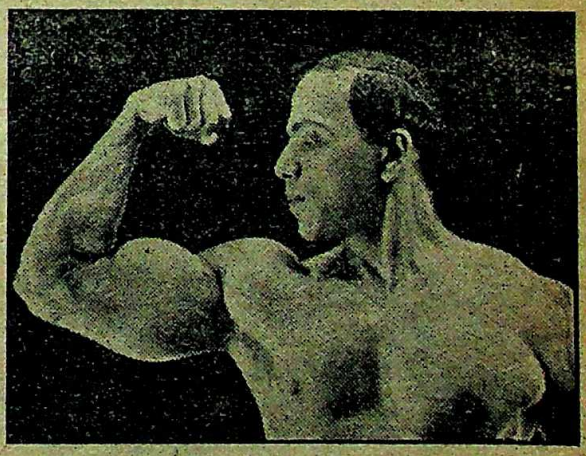

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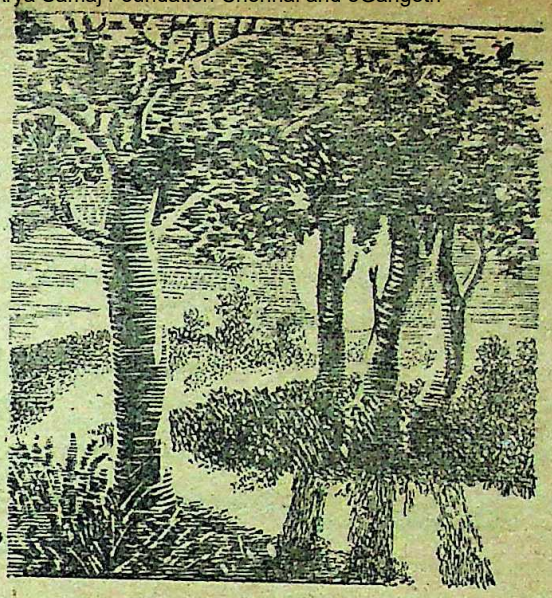

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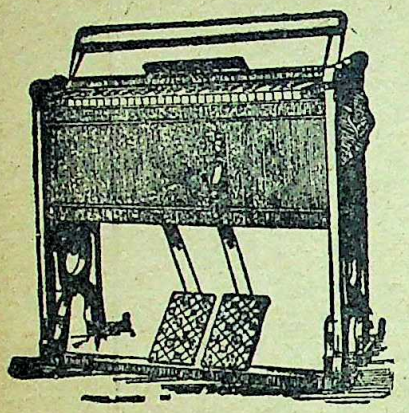

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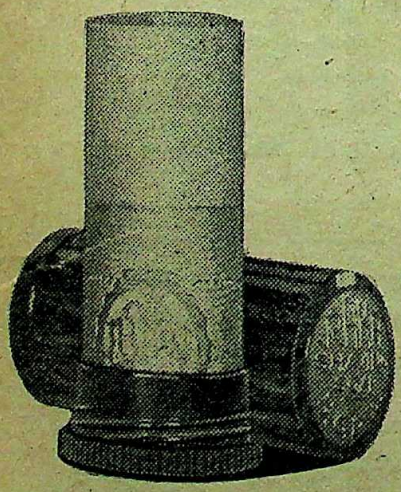

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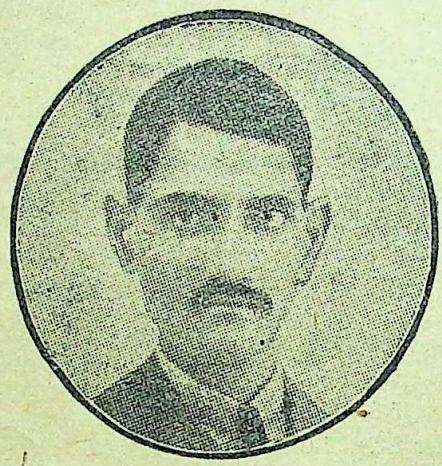

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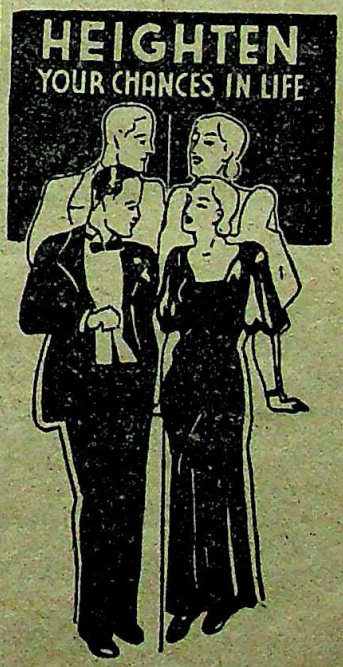

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1941

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NOTES

Mr. Amery's Ignorance Or Ignoring Of Realities In India

The speech which Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, made in moving the resolution in the House of Commons on the 22nd April last to extend for another year the proclamation under which the Governors of the Indian provinces can assume the powers of provincial legislatures, had little relation to the realities of the situation in India. He was either ignorant of them, or knowing them ignored them altogether, as we shall indicate in the course of our comments on what he said.

Mr. Amery's Speech in Parliament on April 22

Mr. Amery referred to the British Government's policy in regard to India's constitutional advance and said that the whole field of constitutional reform was open to revision subject to agreement upon the kind of constitution Indians were prepared to work.

This is a stale story. To call it a thrice-told tale would be to ascribe to it a degree of freshness which it does not in the least possess.

That the insistence upon agreement among different parties and sections in India is a trick to put off all real constitutional advance *sine die* has been repeatedly shown. The British Government of India maintains in full vigour all its devices calculated to frustrate endeavours for unity; its head patronizes and encourages all who stand for disagreement. And yet it insists upon agreement among us all as a condition precedent to "further reform".

This trick was exposed in *The New Statesman and Nation* (London) of the 14th December last in an editorial article. That British weekly wrote with reference to the "offer" of August last year:

"The other half of the offer was that the future constitution of an Indian Dominion shall be determined immediately after the war mainly by Indians themselves. That sounded promising, though the method was not defined with any precision. But there followed at once a qualification which, in the circumstances which face us today, destroyed the value of the offer. His Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that if any considerable minority took exception to the form of constitution that emerged, it would not be required to accept it, and need not fear that it will be "coerced." Now it may be that in such a case coercion would be morally unjustifiable. But to say this with such solemnity in advance was to place in the hands of each of these minorities a right of veto over the will of the majority. Here was a barrier against any further progress towards self-government. The signal was understood in this sense by the Muslim League, Princes and the European community. Overruled in this way from the start, Congress, which has 70 per cent. of the electorate behind it, pronounced the offer worthless. Too scrupulous to coerce a minority, we are now coercing the majority without a sign of hesitation."

It was not merely Congress which pronounced the offer worthless. No political party in India, however insignificant, moderate, or loyalistic, considered it worthy of acceptance. Yet Mr. Amery goes on vaunting that it was a revolutionary offer.

Regarding the offer of the enlargement of

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the Viceroy's Executive Council Mr. Amery said :

What we could do was to invite Indian leaders, representing the main political factors, to join the Viceroy's Executive Council. Invitation to them was not only individually to take charge of important Departments of the State but also to partake fully in the collective responsibility of the Council. Their inclusion would have brought Indian membership of the Council, official and non-official, upto substantial majority of the whole. . . We believed and still believe that it would give real power and valuable experience to men who have hitherto been in political opposition.

The New Statesman and Nation of the 14th December last criticized this part of the August offer of 1940 as fallows, in part :

"*. . . . it fell far short of handing over the reality of power. . . .*

"*In this offer Indians saw not even a step towards responsible government. Technically their view was correct.* On the other hand, it may be argued that if leading Indians had risked entry into the Council, even on these terms, the Viceroy would have been even slower to reject any "advice" on which they were substantially agreed, than he would be to reject that of an English civil servant. If on a grave issue they tendered their collective resignation, an unpleasant crisis would face him. That is the best case we can make for this half of the offer. *We do not find it convincing. When* eight provincial governments tendered their resignations, the Viceroy with the Home Government's approval let them resign and reigned as an autocrat." (Italics ours. —Ed., *M. R.*).

Let us consider the fate of an agreement arrived at before the Government of India Act of 1935 was drafted or debated upon. Publicists are aware that a body of Indian "Delegates" to the so-called Round Table Conference made some agreed recommendations. They were very moderate, as these so-called delegates were headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. But even with reference to these recommendations, none of which was accepted by the British Government, the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Volume I (Part I), states :

"Indeed, we recognise that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and more sweeping transfer of power than we have been able to recommend."—Paragraph 42.

The cunning and the inconsistency implicit in the stipulation that there must be agreement among Indian parties before any further constitutional progress can be made, become evident on reading the following paragraph from the letter written to the London *Times* on April 24 last by Mr. Arthur Moore, editor of *The Statesman* :

"What was said of the futilities of the Congress and the difficulties created by the Moslem League is true. In the crisis of our fate, India's fate and the world's fate, is it leadership to imitate these futilities by making agreement among Indians the [illegible] which we well know we shall not get—a condition [illegible] dent to our own action ? In peace time we insist [illegible] the overriding judgment and initiative of Parliament while Indian extremists declared that Indians only in a Constituent Assembly must devise Indian constitution. In war time, we thrust an equivalent of their own unworkable idea down their throats and the Secretary of State insists that 'the responsibility both for the initiation and completion of this high inquiry rests with Indians themselves.'"

According to what agreement among Indians was the Government of India Act of 1935 drafted and passed ?

With reference to the stipulation that "the new constitution must be the outcome of agreement among the principal elements in India's national life," Mr. Amery said that it was "an essential pre-requisite to success. If Indians are not able to agree on the kind of constitution they want, how are they likely to agree upon the actual working of it ?" As the 1935 constitution was not the outcome of any agreement among Indians, did the British Government anticipate and intend that Indians would and should quarrel over the actual working of it, as many of them have really done, and the whole thing should come to naught ?

Mr. Amery said that the resolutions moved by him were concerned with only seven out of the eleven provinces of British India.

In four provinces of Bengal, Assam, Sind and Punjab with population something like 100 million people—one-third of the whole population of British India—provincial self-government has continued to work uninterruptedly under composite Governments including Moslem and Hindu Ministers. On all questions which most nearly affect ordinary life of the citizen—all questions in fact which occupy most of attention of this House in times of peace—these hundred millions of Indians have now for four years been enjoying advantages of democratic self-government. Ministers and legislators have continued to gain experience and are making their contribution not only to the welfare of their constituents within wide sphere of their authority but also to India's general war effort. We ought not to underestimate the significance of this remarkable advance in self-government over so large a field. Nor can we afford to ignore the importance of voice which these provinces through their Governments are bound to exercise in any deliberations affecting the future constitution of India.

It is sheer travesty of truth to say that the people of Bengal, Sind and Punjab *enjoy advantages of democratic self-government.* It would be nearer the truth to say that they have been suffering for the last four years from the disadvantages of being ruled by a standing and unalterable communal majority statutorily fixed by a foreign autocracy.

Let us take the case of Bengal. Has not the charge of misrule been openly brought against the Bengal Ministry more than once ?

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Has not that ministry been accused of deliberately injuring the economic interests of the Hindus of Bengal by legislative and other means? Has not that ministry been charged with destroying the culture of Hindu Bengal by legislative and other means affecting their education and literature? Have not more Governors of Bengal than one been asked by individuals or organizations on behalf of Hindu Bengal to exercise the powers given to the Governor for discharging his special responsibilities for safe-guarding the rights of minorities? Has not the present Governor of Bengal been asked to suspend the constitution and assume the powers of the legislature and the ministers for putting an end to communal misrule?

From the way in which Mr. Amery referred to uninterrupted democratic self-government in Sind and Bengal no outsider can imagine that in these two provinces there have been bloody communal riots. Even when Mr. Amery was speaking, the situation had not eased in the town of Dacca and villages in the district of Dacca. Was he not in possession of information when he was speaking that scores of murders had taken place in these areas, that hundreds had been wounded, that women had been outraged and kidnapped, that houses and property worth lakhs had been destroyed by incendiarism and plundered by hooligans, that whole villages had been reduced to ashes, that some ten thousand out of more refugees from neighbouring British territory who had taken shelter in the Indian State of Tripura were still there, and that the Bengal Ministry had banned the publication in Bengal of detailed news relating to these terrible happenings?

Dacca has suffered quite recently. Similar things had happened in the district of Khulna earlier this year and in Noakhali before that date.

Enjoying the **advantages** of **democratic** self-government indeed! And with a vengeance! The Hindus of Bengal had endeavoured to win Swaraj. A cruel fate had supplied them with a commodity masquerading in British official eyes as Swaraj.

The news of Jalianwalabagh took four months to reach England, such was the efficiency of the suppressors of news. Perhaps the news of the heavenly bliss enjoyed by thousands of people in Noakhali, Khulna and Dacca have not yet reached England. And perhaps, too, the news of the murders, incendiarism, and plunder at Ahmedabad in consequence of which 100,000 people are reported to have left that city, have not reached England. The Bombay murders and other casualties, too, may be unknown in England. After all these things relate to a subject people. But if a white person had suffered in any such way, the news would have reached England in a minute.

Perhaps we deserve to be ruled by people who do not know or ignore the stark reality. But it is at their peril that they pose as all-knowing and pretend to play the part of earthly providence to a luckless people. Says Mr. Amery:

> Change to direct personal government by Governors and permanent officials met with general acquiescence and indeed goodwill. Whatever political unrest there may be in India today has certainly not arisen in any way from suspension of provincial self-goverment. . . . The House certainly need not fear that continuance of direct government in these provinces for aother 12 months will of itself add to the difficulties of the political situation.

Let Ahmedabad and Bombay, and the United Provinces in general bear witness!

Mr. Amery seems to think that the Government of India Act of 1935 introduced parliamentary government in the eleven provinces of India, out of which four continue to *enjoy* (!) it. According to him, "responsible parliamentary government, if it is to work successfully, implies threefold responsibility," of which the second responsibility is "founded upon the rights of minorities." The minorities of Sind, Punjab and Bengal know to their cost how their rights fare under communal rule.

Mr. Amery on Congress and Pakistan

Says Mr. Amery:

> "Congress repudiated the Federal provision of the Act of 1935 largely because they had weighted representation to some extent in Legislature in favour of minority element, in what Congress regarded as an undemocratic sense. Congress is, I fear, blind to the risk that no alternative constitution is now likely to emerge which could secure for it as great a measure of influence and control over India as a whole as it would have exercised under the present Act. Most significant symptom of the changed situation is the growing strength of demand voiced by Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Moslem League, for complete severance from the rest of India of north-western and north-eastern zones wherein Moslems constitute majority and their establishment as completely independent States conrolling their own foreign policy, defence, customs and finances. I am not concerned here to discuss the immense practical difficulties in the way of this so-called Pakistan project stated in this its extreme form nor need I go back to dismal record of India's history in the Eighteenth Century or to the disastrous experience of the Balkan countries before our eyes to-day in order to point out the terrible dangers inherent in any break up of the essential unity of India (cheers).

Congress objected to the Federal part of the Act of 1935, not because it gave weightage to the All-India Muslim minority, but because

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it gave outrageously disproportionate weightage to the Princes entirely ignoring the people of their States. Congress had, in fact, made known its opinion that the weightage given to the Mussalmans by the so-called Communal Award could be altered only by agreement between them and the Hindus. That was the Congress position, though the Hindu Mahasabha and those who were of its way of thinking in this matter, condemned Congress for it. Such being the case, Mr. Amery has been unjust to Congress in his observation under comment, has misrepresented it in other ways, too.

His views relating to the dangers and the certain disastrous consequences of the Pakistan scheme and the immense practical difficulties in its way are absolutely right.

Where he is wrong is in stating that the demand voiced by Mr. Jinnah is growing in strength. Is it probable that Mr. Amery does not know the real facts? Or is he ignoring them with full knowledge? It is true that Mr. Jinnah's voice is growing more and more strident and dictatorial. But that may be due to *his* knowledge of the facts. Of the two chief ministers of the important provinces of Bengal and the Panjab, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has parted company with Pakistanwalas and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq is a man who does not know his mind in most matters. The Momins, who have never favoured Pakistan, have been latterly growing louder in their condemnation of it. The Arhars, the Congress Muslims, and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema have continued to be against it. In fact, it is the Viceroy's patronage of Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League which gave it an appreciable following and has enabled it to keep that following. *The New Statesman and Nation* was right in observing that

"Under the distinguished patronage of the Viceroy it has become, after the Congress, the greatest political power in India."

But Mr. Jinnah has been riding for a fall, and it is only the selfish and unwise habit of British imperialists of patronizing and magnifying the influence and personality of all who prove obstructive to India's struggle for freedom that has kept him on the back of his high horse.

Mr. Amery on "British Achievement" of Unity, Etc., in India

In Mr. Amery's opinion,

At any rate in its relation to the outside world, after all there is no British achievement in India of which we have better reason to be proud than the unity, internal peace and reign of law which we have given her (cheers).

It is not necessary now to discuss whether India's unity is due to British rule, and if to what extent. But undoubtedly any endeavour made to give any country unity, internal peace and reign of law is a very laudable endeavour.

As regards the unity which Britishers claim to have given India, the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform states in paragraph 26:

"We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but, in transferring so many of the powers of Government to the Provinces and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity. Provincial autonomy is, in fact, an inconceivable policy unless it is accompanied by such an adaptation of the structure of the Central Legislature as will bind these autonomous units together. In other words, the necessary consequence of Provincial Autonomy in British India is a British-India Federal Assembly."

But whereas the weakening or destroying of the political unity of India which the Joint Parliamentary Committee apprehended or intended has already resulted from the so-called Provincial Autonomy bestowed on India, the Federal Assembly to bind the Provinces together is not even in sight and may not materialize under British domination.

As regards "internal peace," Sir Henry Craik as Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council once said that communal conflicts had greatly increased during the 25 years previous to the date when he spoke. Since then they have increased still more and have become more and more sanguinary and destructive. In the N.-W. F. Province kidnapping and plundering raids by border tribesmen have not been effectively dealt with either by the Congress ministry or by the Governor's personal rule. As regards the reign of law, it is generally true that there is reign of law. But there is often a departure from the reign of law where offences against women are concerned and where imperial interests are believed to be at stake.

Mr. Amery on "Determination of Moslem India"

"It is enough for my purpose if I can impress upon the house on the one hand the underlying determination of Moslem India not to accept any constitution which does not give reasonably free play to individual life of predominantly Moslem units and on the other the growing danger of preaching on both sides, Hindu and Moslem, of extreme and incompatible policies (hear hear)."

This means that Mr. Amery has understood the Indian Muslim community to be determined

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to establish their communal rule in the provinces where they are in a majority—and by his silence he seems to see nothing wrong in that attitude. The constitution which is operative at present gives Hindus and Muslims and others equal free play to individual life." To our knowledge no constitution contemplated by Congress or by the Hindu Mahasabha proposes to give Mussalmans less "free play to individual life" than to Hindus or other non-Muslims. What the significance of "reasonably free play to individual life *of predominanty Muslim units*" is we do not understand. We could only guess and have given the reader the result of our conjecture.

Indian Nationalists cannot recognize statutory and permanent communal majorities as political parties in legislatures. It is only political or politico-economic majorities, whose communal composition would vary from time to time and which would consist of persons of different communities, that Nationalists and advocates of democratic freedom can recognize.

We are not aware that any Hindu organization has preached any extreme policy of the kind preached by the Muslim League. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu League both stand for the equal citizenship of individual Indians irrespective of their creed or caste. They do not want any privilege for Hindus; for example, they do not want any weightage for Hindus even in the provinces where they are in a minority. What they insist upon is that, just as they do not want any weightage or other privilege for Hindus, so they declare that the adherents of any other faith must not have any such privilege at any sacrifice of any Hindu rights. If this be called extremism, it is an abuse of the word.

The Offer of an Enlarged Viceroy's Council

The "offer" of last August included the enlargement of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the addition of some members to it drawn from the ranks of the leaders of the principal parties in the country. Mr. Amery has said with regard to it:

> We believed and still believe that it would give real power and valuable experienre to men who have hitherto been in political opposition. We still believe that the creation of such a Coalition Executive would have afforded an opportunity for Indian leaders in an atmosphere of common effort for India's security to forget for a while their differences and begin to envisage their problems in the light of wider Indian patriotism.

That is the British official view. As against it we have the adverse opinion of all political parties in India, none of which considered the proposed expansion of any value, as also the unfavourable opinion of *The New Statesman and Nation*, which we have quoted in the course of a previous note.

"Our Family of Free Nations"

The claim has been frequently made, and Mr. Amery also has made it in the following passage in his speech, that the British Empire is a family of free nations:

> No one can look upon the recent deadlock with satisfaction. Least of all, the patriotic Indians who, looking beyond the narrower aims of sectional leaders, are deeply concerned with India's progress towards an equal partnership in our family of free nations which is alike their goal as well as ours.

This is a false claim. Lord Olivier, a former Secretary of State for India, examined it in a letter to *The New Statesman and Nation*. He wrote:

> An advertisement recently published by the Ministry of Information in the Press under the heading *The Greatest Crusade* contains assertions since repeated by the Minister in the House on October 14 which are incorrect and may mislead public opinion. The main statements of the advertisement are that the British Empire is "a family of free nations," that in it "men and women of every colour are working out their own destiny and that in this way they are fighting shoulder to shoulder of their own free will."
>
> Unhappily facts controvert these assertions. The large majority of the peoples of the Empire are not free and have little or no say in either their own or imperial affairs. India, for instance, has been committed to this war without any consultation of the wishes of her people and this is leading to a very critical state of affairs in that country.
>
> If the Ministry's statements are true why, for example, are not India, Ceylon and Burma free and why are Indians imprisoned for their attitude to the war and, in other parts of the Empire, British subjects imprisoned for struggling to improve social conditions and raise the standard of living? Why has there been no undertaking to establish the democratic freedom of the people of the colonies on the lines that they themselves shall freely determine?

Lord Oliver's observations and statements relating to other parts of the British Empire are given below.

> This argument applies to Ireland, whose partition the British Government maintains, to Cyprus, whose constitution is suspended and whose people are deprived of what self-government they had, to the West Indies, whose slum conditions have been admitted, denounced and yet continue, and to East and West Africa, no less than to India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya. The future relation of Britain to her subject peoples must be based on reciprocity, equality and friendship, but this is not at present the case.
>
> Southern Rhodesia is mentioned by the Ministry of Information as a country which, though not yet an equal partner, controls its own affairs. In Southern and Northern Rhodesia native Africans have no democratic rights nor direct representation, their sole safeguards being the various denominational missions and the

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European officials of the Native Departments of the Civil Service.

It was stated in reply to a question in the Imperial Parliament that the number of cases in which sentences of whipping were passed in the District Court of Southern Rhodesia during the years 1931-5 were 418, 511, 676, 638 and 722. This statement showed that flogging had been on the increase. Failure to pay the poll tax was punished with lashing in Johannesburg, which led to the expression of the view in the press that there was very little difference as far as the Native Africans are concerned beteewn "democratic" South Africa and "Fascist" Germany.

The Labour Representation Act in Southern Rhodesia, approved by the British Government, excluded Native Rhodesians from all urban areas unless they bore a pass, and legalised prostitution. The Native Preachers' Act in Southern Rhodesia required all native preachers to be registered.

In Sierra Leone the introduction prior to the outbreak of war of the Sedition Ordinance, which went further than our own Sedition Act of 1934, was bitterly resented by the people. In that colony the practice of roping Africans and applying pepper to their persons for the purpose of extorting tax-payment was admitted in the Imperial Parliament by the Colonial Secretary. Also it has been reported that a man has been flogged to death in connection with tax collection.

So impoverished have the West African people become under British rule that vigorous protests have been uttered by the British textile and other exporting interests against the loss of trade owing to the decreased purchasing power of the native population in West Africa.

It would be very good if the Ministry's professions were true. But unfortunately the majority of the peoples of the British Empire are subject peoples. The freedom of these peoples is essential to the building of a new and better order among the nations, and only when these peoples are free, will we really stand as the opposite of the Nazi system, which the Ministry's statement rightly condemns.

Mr. Amery on Congress

Mr. Amery has criticized the Congress attitude in some detail. Congress leaders are the best persons to answer him. But those still free may not feel called upon to do so. And in reality, the British Government cannot be made to allow India to be self-ruling by irrefutable arguments. There has been any number of them since the days of Raja Rammohun Roy. That Government can be made to take up a reasonable attitude in relation to India's struggle for freedom only by irresistible pressure being brought to bear upon it. If *we* argue, it is for the information of our readers, because our vocation is journalism.

Mr. Amery on the Bombay Non-Party Leaders' Conference

Mr. Amery has paid high compliments to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru but has dismissed the resolution of the Conference, over which he presided, with scant courtesy, though he has said:

"*If I may say so without discourtesy* to those who have sponsored the resolution, it seems to me to have been directed to the wrong address."

He has added:

"My appeal to Sir Tej and his friends would, therefore, be not to cease from their efforts but to concentrate first and foremost on bringing the contending elements in India together."

—with the object, of course, of bringing about an agreement among them. But is it possible to bring about an agreement with Mr. Jinnah? Let *The New Statesman and Nation* reply:

"Lord Linlithgow selected the Muslim League as the sole spokesman of all the Muslims of India. It is a powerful organisation and it has in Mr. Jinnah an able and dynamic leader. But it has (or until the other day it had) virtually no following in the provinces where the Muslims are strongest—the Punjab, Sindh and the Frontier Province. Less than a quarter of the members elected by Muslim constituencies at the provincial elections belonged to it. It claims that in the recent months it has greatly increased its membership, and this may well be true. Under the distinguished patronage of the Viceroy it has become, after Congress, the greatest political power in India. *We have chosen to standardise the extremist position of Mr. Jinnah as the sole Muslim opinion we recognise. Now between the views of Mr Jinnah and those of every other Indian party, including those of other Muslim organisations, no compromise is possible.* Mr. Jinnah denies that there is an Indian nation: for him there are "two nations," Muslims and Hindus. He demands their separation, and the creation of an independent Muslim Ulster. This scheme appears to have no mass support behind it in the main Muslim area of the North-West. Failing this solution, Mr. Jinnah's demand is for parity with the Hindus, not in rights but in actual power. He will have no truck with democracy, if that means that a Hindu majority can always vote down a Muslim minority.

"Stated in these terms *the controversy is insoluble.* It is also in our view unreal—only our policy, in the past, which stressed this classification of men by creeds, has caused it to overshadow every substantial issue in Indian politics. No one has ever questioned the claim of Muslims to equal rights, civil, political and cultural: for these the Hindus offer every imaginable guarantee. Theirs was never a persecuting religion."—(Italics ours).
—Ed., *M. R.*

We have not thought it necessary to examine Mr. Amery's comments on the Bombay Non-Party Leaders' Conference resolution, as we understand its committee will publish an answer to his animadversions.

"Agreement Imposed By Us From Without Cannot Survive"—

In concluding his speech Mr. Amery was pleased to say:

I have dwelt deliberately upon Indian responsibility in this matter for unless Indians are prepared to face that responsibility now, they will fail to face it hereafter. Agreement imposed by us from without cannot survive withdrawal of our power to enforce it. Only a real agreement freely reached can stand that test. It is for Indian statesmen to find that measure of agree-

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ment which is indispensable if we on our side are to make our further contribution towards the completion of our own task in India, the task of joining with them in growing the peace and unity already achieved with freedom (cheers).

There is little chance of Britain imposing agreement on India.

As opposed to the opinion expressed by Mr. Amery, our opinion has long been,—and we have repeatedly expressed it in varying phraseology, that any DISagreement imposed on India from without cannot survive the withdrawal of the power imposing and encouraging it.

Will Servitude Be The Penalty For Disagreement Even In Britain ?

According to Mr. Amery India cannot have freedom because of disagreement among her political parties. From this it follows that when there will be differences of opinion in Britain after the war, she will be unfit for freedom And *The Spectator* (January 31, 1941) says, there will be such differences and disagreement there after the war :

"After the war," said Mr. Attlee at Oxford last Friday, "we shall again have those healthy differences of opinion which are the life-blood of democracy." We undoubtedly shall, and it was no unreasonable prophecy when he added that we shall have Governments of various complexions facing Oppositions, as in the past. Few would imagine that the differences inherent in intelligent mankind, or even that the differences inherent in existing parties, will be obliterated because there is so large a measure of agreement about national policies during the war.

Dacca, Ahmedabad, Bombay

The calamity which has overtaken the people of Dacca, Ahmedabad and Bombay is colossal and heart-rending. But even the terrible sufferings of the victims of the riots and the miseries of the refugees cannot blind us to the shameful emasculation of the people, caused by their legally unarmed condition and general non-enlistment in the army, which has made thousands and tens of thousands leave their hearths and homes for fear of a comparatively small number of hooligans.

Madrid could hold out for two years against the artilley and bombing aeroplanes of General Franco, but the citizens of Dacca and Ahmedabad were terrorized by handfuls of ruffians—the British Empire's "internal peace and law and order" notwithstanding.

If Dante could see in his mind's eye what hooligans did in the towns of Dacca and Ahmedabad and Bombay and the villages of Dacca, he could have added some lurid pictures to his *Inferno*.

With regard to the Ahmedabad-Bombay riots *The Indian Social Reformer* writes :

AHMEDABAD-BOMBAY RIOTS : The explanation offered for the sudden outbreak of serious riots in Ahmedabad resulting in over 60 deaths and some two hundred injured, namely, that they were due to an unfounded rumour that certain Sikhs were about to take out a procession with music through a locality in which there was a mosque, is entirely inadequate in the absence of any indication that there has recently been such a tension in the city as to need only so flimsy a pretext to break out into arson and murder. . . . . No explanation has been so far suggested for the outbreak in Bombay . . . . . It is impossible to resist the suspicion that some sinister agency has been at work to foment these disorders apart from the chronic communal controversy over cow-killing and music in front of mosques. It should not be difficult for the authorities to locate the centre of mischief. No consideration should be allowed to stand in the way of the adoption and enforcement of stringent measures to root out the poison.

Similar observations have been made regarding the Dacca riots.

New Reforms Commissioner

The Government of India have issued a communique to say that Mr. H. V. Hodson, editor of the *Round Table*, has been appointed Reforms Commissioner in succession to Sir Hawthorne Lewis, who has become the Governor of Orissa. This appointment of Mr. Hodson raises more than one issue. In the first place, it does not seem that the post of the Reforms Commissioner has any utility at the present time and need not have been filled up at all. The Reforms Office is concerned with the chalking out of details of any constitution which may have been adopted for India. In view of the fact that the federal part of the Government of India Act, 1935, has no chance of being operated in the near future and in view of the fact that no new constitution has yet been envisaged for this country, the Reforms Office will be only a redundant luxury for some time to come. Secondly, if any appointment was to be made to the vacancy at all, an Indian should and might have been chosen. Much has been made of the fact that Mr. Hodson has visited the Dominions, has acquired knowledge at first hand of Dominion affairs and has edited for some years the magazine, *Round Table*, which is concerned with inter-imperial questions. But we are aware, from our own knowledge, that Indians with equivalent experience were available. Thirdly, the manner in which publicity has been given to the appointment of Mr. Hodson raises suspicion that he may be concerned with chalking out certain plans for the future governance of India. In this connection we are reminded of another constitution-monger, namely, Mr. Lionel Curtis, who also was associated intimately

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with the Round Table group and who became the author of the infamous dyarchy which disfigured our constitutional organisation for over fifteen years. If the Government is importing Mr. Hodson with a similar motive, we must remind them of the fact that the principles of the future constitution of India are for the Indians to enunciate and not for a British Round Tabler to carve out for us. Lastly, the appointment of Mr. Hodson raises the issue of the importation of so-called experts from Great Britain. During the last four years several other "experts" have been brought to this country without any benefit to India and much to the chagrin of the Indian public. Mr. Hodson is an addition to this unwelcome band. When will they stop these back-door appointments to provide for friends?

The Pioneer, which cannot be accused of being hostile to the appointment of British "experts," has observed in this connection :

"Is it not possible, in the interests of war-time economy in India, to postpone the appointment of distinguished sons of distinguished Indian Civil Servants, especially when there is no work of particular importance to gain their attention ?"

The Pioneer's question gains relevancy from the fact that one of the principal qualifications of Mr. Hodson mentioned by the British press is "that Mr. Hodson, though not a Civil Servant, is the son of a distinguished Civil Servant."

Much has been made of his knowledge of the Dominions and Dominion constitutions. This is not a rare commodity among Indians. Not to speak of elderly men like the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir K. V. Reddy, Sir Reza Ali, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, etc., it is possessed by some of our younger professors like Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy, who has made a special study of Dominion constitutions, Dr. B. C. Guha, and Dr. Kalidas Nag, the last of whom was sent by our Government itself to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in Australia as a delegate and has direct knowledge of all the continents of the world.

According to *The Indian Social Reformer* :

"Mr. Hodson's knowledge of India is neither exact nor exhaustive. In fact, he knows little about it. That, of course, is a high qualification for any job in India. The requisite knowledge will be supplied by locally recruited persons and Mr. Hodson will have his fresh and blank mind as his chief asset."

Mr. Hodson may be a constitutional authority. But *The Hitabada* observes :

"Sir John Simon is a great constitutional lawyer, one of the best in the world, but his Commission's report was dead before it was born. Hence, it will be seen there can be no necessary connection between the scholarship and knowledge of Mr. Hodson and the impending grant of self-government to India. Further there is no necessity at all for such an appointment. Nobody knows when the war will come to an end; it may be three years, seven years or, as Lord Halifax gloomily forecasted, even twenty years, if necessary. What work will Mr. Hodson do between now and the end of the War ? He does not know what the outlines of the constitution are to be because, as Mr. Amery has repeatedly told us, the constitution has to be framed mainly by Indians themselves after they have reached mutual agreement on contentious points. It is only after Indians have reached agreement among themselves that Mr. Hodson's work will begin of embodying in the dry bones of constitutional statute the decisions taken by Indians. It will be, therefore, seen that the appointment at this stage is unnecessary and indefensible. The payment of the salary of Rs. 4,000 in these days, when officials are crying themselves hoarse about economy, does come as an unpleasant jar."

Percentage of British Children at School in War Time

Writing on "War and Post-War Education," *The Spectator* (January 31, 1941) says :

"In spite of evacuation and the difficulties of dealing with children still left in the danger zone, it was found on December 6th that 93·2 per cent. of all the children of the country were receiving full-time instruction; and in secondary schools (in England and Wales) 402,000 out of 413,000 pupils were receiving full-time instruction, and most of the remainder part-time."

This at a time when Britain is constantly subject to all the uncertainties, dangers and horrors of war. What has been and is our foreign Governments' record in India in peace time?

Mr. Ede, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education in Britain, has described the plans which the Board is making to carry out the policy stated by the Prime Minister—that "of establishing a society where the advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed only by the few should be far more widely shared by the men and youth of the nation as a whole."

"At the end of the war the school-going age is to be raised to 15, and without those exemptions which threatened to undermine the whole scheme."

Britain is and will be able to do all this because she is self-ruling.

Miss Agatha Harrison on "The Indian Deadlock"

In the course of a letter published in *The Spectator* (January 31, 1941) Miss Agatha Harrison writes :

On January 17th Indian Liberal leaders issued a reply to the Appeal that nine members of Parliament addressed to the Indian People just before Christmas. Space will not permit quoting this statement in full. I therefore select the following sentence : ". . . We believe in co-operation between Britain and India if it could be achieved on honourable terms. . . . How can

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India, which is not assured of future freedom, forget her humiliating position and work enthusiastically for the freedom of England and other nations? . . ." If moderate Indian leaders feel like this, one can glimpse the deep-seated causes of the present unrest. A difficult situation in truth, but one surely for which this country must take its full share of responsibility in declaring India a belligerent country without the consent of her people.

A Christian Missionary View of India in 1940

The International Review of Missions for January, 1941, has its usual annual survey. Writing of India in 1940, it observes:

"The political background of India during 1940 has been constituted by three forces and the interplay between them: the profound aversion of all classes of the Indian people from the principles and actions which they associate with the nazi and fascist regimes; the growing desire among the politically-minded classes, and especially among the Hindus for whom in fact the National Congress speaks, for independence, with a corresponding resentment against the fact that Indian belligerency was declared without Indian authority; and the unresolved antagonism between the different groups whose consent to any scheme of political reform is necessary."

"Necessary" in the opinion of British imperialists whose direct and indirect encouragement and patronage go to all Indians who foment such antagonism and thus put obstacles in the way of attaining self-rule.

The Charge of Parochialism Against Bengalis

A regular anonymous contributor to *The Indian Express* of Madras, in writing of the cities of Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, incidentally accuses Bengalis of parochialism. Though we do not think it is a commendable practice for the people of any province of India to sit in judgment on those of any other province, we have no mind to enter into a controversy with the writer.

Bengalis may or may not be parochially-minded. We are not in a position to pronounce any opinion on the point dogmatically. Nor just we ask, how is it that far more persons hailing from different provinces and States of India make their living in Bengal than in any other province? For some persons may find an answer to that question in Bengali incompetence. But we may be allowed to mention two little facts to mitigate the severity of the judgment, so that some persons at least may charitably concede that after all Bengalis may have a trace of the saving grace of non-parochialism in their mental constitution. One of these facts is that in the literature of every province outside Bengal which has one worthy of the name, there are at least a few books translated from Bengali. If Bengalis had been absolutely parochially-minded, they could not have produced a literature which appealed to non-Bengalis in the various linguistic regions of India. For universality or, at any rate, breadth, of appeal, is considered a merit in an author. And such appeal is not a characteristic of the productions of parochially-minded authors.

The other little fact is that Bengal's old university of Calcutta recognizes for its Matriculation examination all the principal languages of India and some minor tribal languages, too, and even for its M.A. examination the principal ones. This has been done by this university of its own accord. Nobody compelled it to do so. It is the sign of a parochial mind to be self-centred, to think too highly of itself and to be blind to the merits, requirements and interests of others. If Bengalis are parochial, their university at least is not so.

"The First Political Body to Adopt an All-India Outlook"

The British Indian Association was started in Bengal on October 31, 1851. It is stated in *The Rise and Growth of the Congress* (George Allen and Unwin, London) by C. F. Andrews and Girija Mookerjee that

> In the year 1852, the British Indian Association sent a petition to Parliament "relative to the East India Company's Charter" which was coming up for renewal in Parliament in 1853. It warned Parliament of the state of feeling in the country in these words: "They cannot but feel that they have not profited by their connection with Great Britain to the extent which they had a right to look for." Pp. 101-2.

The book proceeds to give in some detail the contents of the petition—"which afterwards formed a section of the Congress demand." The authors of the book observe:

> Being predominantly an organization of landholders, it would not have been surprising if it had only dealt with those aspects of the administration which merely concerned themselves and their own economic interests. Yet the petition covers practically all the questions which agitated the public mind, not only in Bengal, but throughout India.—P. 104.

They add:

> **The British Indian Association was also the first political body to adopt an All-India outlook. It was not satisfied by merely stating the grievances of a particular group of people and a particular community. True to its objects, it concerned itself with the future of India as a whole. P. 104.**

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We read further :

Very soon after its foundation Debendranath Tagore, who was its Secretary, opened correspondence with prominent men in Madras with the idea of forming a branch association there. His remarkably able letter of December 11, 1851, is well worth quoting in full, as it brings us into the heart of public opinion at that time, not long before the eve of the revolt of 1857. He states the main object of the Association and the need of an All-India organization as follows : "It must be obvious to you that the representations which are to be made to the British Parliament, with reference to the approaching termination of the East India Company's Charter, would have great weight if they were made simultaneously by the Natives of every part of British India or by a society having just pretensions to represent them. They would, the Committee believe, possess the same influence, whether they came separately from Calcutta, and Agra, and Bombay, and Madras, from so many bodies associated together for the same ends, but acting independently of each other, or from one central body representing the wishes and interests of the several Presidencies. *There are, however, advantages likely to flow from the union of the Native gentlemen of the other three Presidencies with the British Indian Association, which should not be overlooked.* One evident advantage would be, that the expenses attendant upon the prosecution of those ends, would be greatly lessened : for instance, in the one case, it would be necessary to provide for the cost of a single agent, to represent the Association in England and submit their representation to Parliament : whereas, in the other case, each Presidency would have to bear the expense of a separate agent. Moreover, *there would not be the same diversity of opinions as to the reforms and measures to be sought for, as must be expected when several bodies device separate plans for the improvement of the administration.* . . . . And it will afford them (B. I. A.) great pleasure to find that their fellow-subjects of your Presidency are willing and ready to second the efforts which they have entered upon; whether it be by uniting with them, or by forming a distinct Society on the same principles and for the same purpose. If such a disposition exist, no time should be lost in organizing either a Corresponding Committee, or an Association, as the discussion on the subject of the Charter and other questions which it involves, cannot fail to take place at a very early time."* Pp. 105-6. (Italics ours. —Ed., *M. R.*).

* *Proceedings of the Madras Branch of the British Indian Association and of the Deccan Association (London: Mitchell Printing, Charing Cross Road, 1852.)*

Luckily, at the time when Debendranath Tagore wrote this letter there was no "Provincial Autonomy" Infatuation in the country, and so he could perceive the advantages of concerted action by all provinces through an All-India organization and the disadvantages and dangers of each province devising separate plans for the improvement of its administration, irrespective of the plans of other provinces.

Debendranath's letter was read at a public meeting at Madras and a branch association was formed there. (*Proceedings of the Madras Branch of the British Indian Association*, 1851.) A branch of the British Indian Association was also formed in Oudh.

India Debate Not Related to Real Indian Situation

The debate following Mr. Amery's speech in the Commons had as little relation to the real Indian situation as that speech itself. As the head of the Government of India in London, he could not be expected to refer to the dismal situation in Sind, Bengal, N.-W. F. P., and last of all, Ahmedabad and Bombay, even if he had full information; but how is it that members of the Opposition who have often said that they want full freedom for India failed to refer, for instance, to the anarchy that recently raged in parts of Bengal ? The most charitable assumption to make is that the very efficient machinery for the interception or suppression of inconvenient news has been at work between India and Britain and in Britain.

We have said that some M. P.s want India to be free. One of them is Mr. Ammon, a Labour member. Said he, in part :

Mr. Ammon continued, "It probably would be well if we gave consideration to introducing into Parliament and getting embodied in an Act that after a certain number of years—five, ten or twenty perhaps—independence would be given to India. We should thus give a clear and definite objective to which they could strive. They would tend after a time to tone down the tendencies of various sections there and they would make preparations for the position that was going to arise. Mr. Ammon emphasised that he was talking of independence not of Dominion Status." Mr. Ammon suggested, "We should approach from a new angle and set a certain number of years hence when independence would be granted.

A precedent which must not be driven too far was that set by the United States with regard to the Philippines whereby in 1946 full independence would be given to that country as embodied in an Act of Congress already passed. That would have effect, he said, of turning the energies of agitators into making preparations for dealing with conditions that would arise. It would give an opportunity for the British Government to take active steps to mould opinion there, to go on with education in a larger measure than it had done and make it possible to arrive at some method whereby a greater measure of co-operation could be achieved between the peoples of both countries.

It was very nice of Mr. Ammon to say these nice things. But were he in office, what would he and could he do ? The late Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald used to say equally nice things when in opposition. But when in office he became altogether a different man.

Sir George Schuster (Liberal National) said in the course of a long speech that the British Government "wanted to transfer power. *Credat Judaeus Apella !* He also said that Britain was fighting not only for her own freedom, which is quite true, but also for India's freedom, too, which is not obvious to us Indians.

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billards. For, Britain could have set us free without fighting the Nazis and can still do so. In fact, Britishers will perhaps discover when too late that it was only by setting India free that they could defend and keep their freedom. Sir George was, however, right when he declared that it was ridiculous to claim that there were no Indians capable of being Finance Members. With reference to this declaration of Sir George Mr. Arthur Moore of *The Statesman* has written to *The Times* : "I could pick several Indians who would make as good Defence Members as an average British War Secretary. The Nawab of Bhopal would be above the average." Why not the Nizam? He is immensely wealthier ! Sir George thought an Indian Under-Secretary of State could do the trick. What a superb suggestion to get out of the impasse !

Mr. Sorensen (Labour) said :

> Whatever might be said about the alleged desire of the Congress in relation to Nazism, there was no party in the world more democratic than the Congress party in India. The Congress required neither a dishonoured nor a blank cheque. What the Congress had been doing was to secure this country recognition that India had the right to her political independence.
>
> Although he appreciated the motive, he regretted the suggestion that contribution would be made to understanding between this country and India if we could persuade some Indian to come over here and be Under-Secretary. It would have been much better to have suggested that some Indian should come here as member of the Cabinet. Why not Nehru or a leader of the Congress ?

But even that would not be a satisfactory solution. Job-hunters may be satisfied with jobs, not Nehru.

Sir Stanley Reed (Conservative) said "in all sincerity and frankness" :

> Mr. Amery's speech left him under a sense of depression. It did not take them anywhere, did not lead them any further on road to solution of great problem of closer co-operation between India and British Commonwealth at the present time. He could not quite reconcile picture of India under the present regime presented by Mr. Amery with that which reached him from many other sources.

Indians would be disposed to thank Sir Stanley for this part of his speech, though it might not bring Swaraj nearer. Sir Stanley then concluded :

> There was none who had not been profoundly impressed by the gallantry and elan of Indian troops in Africa and East Africa (cheers). That was not enough. It had to mobilise the whole moral and political forces and enthusiasm of as many people in India who could possibly be mobilised in that direction. In conclusion he asked Mr. Amery to consider again and again the appeals which came from men of goodwill and patriotism with a view to seeing whether steps could now be taken whereby India might feel that not only her armed forces, munitions and her industries and interests were behind war effort but heart and soul of great and generous people.

That can be done only by breaking India's chains.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett (Independent) said :

> Mr. Amery had repeated the same old business that the only solution for the Indian problem depended on Indians themselves. Mr. Amery might have given a warmer welcome to discussions which had been taking place under the leadership of Sir T. B. Sapru. Surely something more could be done to encourage the middle movement in India. Mr. Bartlett could not believe that we could not increase the Viceroy's Executive Council without danger of upsetting the present balance of the Government.

Mr. Amery's "Inexactitudes"

In replying to the India debate Mr. Amery made a speech which contained some "inexactitudes" which, had they come out of the mouth of an unbiassed person, would have been considered astounding, but coming out of the mouth of one of the high priests of imperialism, would not cause any surprise. But first let us thank him for some soapy things uttered by him. Said he :

> The debate illustrated the full fundamental universal goodwill of this House towards India and its aspirations. . . . . Universal goodwill towards India is not only characteristic of the Honourable Members of this House but underlies the policy and aims of His Majesty's Government.

Science has succeeded in converting some gaseous substances, including air, into solids. British scientists will confer a great boon on India and the world when they succeed in converting the British "universal goodwill towards India" into a concrete reality.

Now for the Secretary of State's "inexactitudes."

He asserted that Britain had not broken her pledges to India. We hold that she has.

The late Lord Lytton, when Viceroy of India, sent a Government of India dispatch to the Secretary of State, Whitehall, London, on May 2nd, 1878, which concluded thus :

> "Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."—*Labour's Way with the Commonwealth*, by George Lansbury, pp. 49-50.

These words still hold good. There is no space and time available now to tell in this issue the long and melancholy story of Britain's broken pledges to India, which has been often told piecemeal by us and some of our contributors. Mr. Amery will find it told in detail

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up to the year 1935 in George Lansbury's *Labour's Way With The Commonwealth*, belonging to the series, *Labour Shows the Way*, of which the General Editor is Mr. Amery's colleague Mr. Clement R. Attlee, M.P.

Another "inexactitude" of Mr. Amery's is his assertion that "India is prosperous." **She is not. Her poverty stares all but British imperialists in the face.** Dadabhai Naoroji, Digby and Romesh Dutt need not be quoted to prove the fact—and it may be said, though falsely, that since they wrote India has grown prosperous. Even the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which frankly admitted the fact of India's poverty, may be held by interested parties to be out of date. But what has Mr. Amery to say to the following words from paragraph 2 of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform [session 1933-34], volume I, part I, **"the average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe."** What has he to say to the statement contained in Rabindranath Tagore's recent Bengali New Year's Day address, entitled "Sabhyatār Sankat" ("Crisis of Civilization"), to the effect that in no other country of the world under a modern government is there such utter lack of food, clothes, drink, education, health—of everything necessary for man's body and mind, as there is in India. It is not the opinion of a stay-at-home party politician, but that of a man of the highest intellectual calibre, unassailable integrity and keen powers of observation who has direct personal knowledge of most of the modern states in all the continents as well as of all parts of India.

Mr. Amery's Confession

We will conclude with some sentences taken from the penultimate paragraph of Mr. Amery's speech in reply to the debate, which contain a sad confession:

"India could produce two million fighting men. Unfortunately that is not enough. We have seen in the last few weeks a million of the bravest soldiers in the world, men I heard described in the last war as the finest infantry in Europe, equipped well according to standards of the last war, scattered to winds and broken in pieces by armoured divisions which German foresight —and determination on war—provided while we in our self-delusion allowed locusts to eat the precious years we are now trying to retrieve for ourselves and India. In these matters India is dependent upon us and upon America also and can only slowly make good what ought to have been made good in previous years. Every effort is being made in that direction."

No; every effort necessary is not being made in that direction.

Mahatma Gandhi's Statement In Reply To Mr. Amery's Speech

In our note on Mr. Amery's animadversions on the Congress, printed on a previous page, we have said that he has done injustice to and misrepresented that body. We expected that a reply would be given by some Congress leader. It has now come and come from its greatest leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Here it is:

WARDHA, April 26.

Mahatma Gandhi has made the following statement on Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons:

"I have read painfully the long report of the debate in the House of Commons on India. Distress has been known to have softened people's hearts and made them mindful of facts. But Britain's distress has evidently left Mr. Amery absolutely cold and untouched. This callousness makes me more than ever confirmed in my opinion that the Congress must abide by its policy of non-violence in spite of heavy odds facing it.

"Mr. Amery has rendered no service to Great Britain by his contemptuous disregard of the situation as it exists in India and the facts that stare one in the face. He talks glibly of British rule having given peace to India. Did he not know what was happening in Dacca and Ahmedabad? Who was responsible for keeping peace in these two places? I hope he will not throw in my face the fact that Bengal, at any rate, has self-government. He knows what a mockery that self-government is. He knows what little power for such emergencies toy Ministers have, whether they wear the Congress label, the League label or any other. I ask the very pertinent question why has this long spell of British rule left the people so emasculated as to disable them from standing up against a few hundred goondas? It is a humiliating spectacle more for the British than for us to see thousands of people running away from their homes through sheer fright because a few hundred goondas have found a favourable atmosphere for resorting to arson, murder and loot. The first act of any Government worth the name would be to teach its people the art of self-defence. but the foreign British Government had no concern about this fundamental welfare of India's citizens, and so it deprived the people of the use of arms. All the handsome tribute that Mr. Amery pays to Indian troops falls flat on Indian soil, because, leaving aside Congress non-violence for the time being, if India had been equipped and trained for self-defence and if India had become a voluntary ally of Great Britain, I hold that all European Powers combined for destruction would not have touched Great Britain.

"Mr Amery has insulted Indian intelligence by reiterating ad nauseam that Indian political parties have but to agree among themselves and Great Britain will register the will of a united India. I have repeatedly shown that it has been the traditional policy of Great Britain to prevent parties from uniting. Divide and rule has been Great

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Britain's proud and ill-conceived motto. It is the British statesmen who are responsible for the divisions in India's ranks and divisions will continue so long as the British sword holds India under bondage.

"I admit that there is unfortunately an unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Moslem League. Why do not British statesmen admit that it is after all a domestic quarrel? Let them withdraw from India and I promise that the Congress and the League and all other parties will find it to their interest to come together and devise a home-made solution for the government of India. It may not be scientific; it may not be after any Western pattern; but it will be durable. It may be that before we come to that happy state of affairs, we may have to fight amongst ourselves. But if we agree not to invite the assistance of any outside power, the trouble will last perhaps a fortnight and it will not mean even one day's destruction of human heads such as goes on in Europe to-day, for the simple reason that, thanks to the British rule, we are wholly unarmed.

"Mr. Amery in utter disregard of truth misleads his ignorant audience that the Congress wants "all or nothing." Let me remind him that in order to placate British sentiment the Congress descended to the Poona Resolution and, when at Bombay, it undid the Poona Resolution, I authoritatively stated that the British Government could not at the present moment grant or declare India's independence and that, therefore, for the time being we should be satisfied with complete freedom of speech and pen. Was that "all or nothing?" With Mr. Amery's state of mind, I suppose it is too much to expect him to have the elementary grace to acknowledge the studied moderation of the Congress in its desire not to embarrass the British Government whilst it is fighting for very existence. Not having that grace, he turns the Congress moderation against it and claims that the Congress Civil Disobedience has fallen flat.

"It took my breath away when I read his statement about India's prosperity. I say from experience that it is a legendary thing. India's millions are becoming progressively pauperised. They are miserably clothed and underfed. Because there is one man's rule, he is able to produce a budget of millions. But I make bold to say that it is not only no proof of the prosperity of the famishing millions but proof positive that India is being ground down under the British heel. But I must not carry any further painful dissection of Mr. Amery's performance.

"It hurts me to have to undertake even this very brief analysis of his speech. But it is so amazingly misleading that I felt I should be failing in my duty if I did not point out at least some of the most glaring discrepancies in that unfortunate utterance. Surely he could have rested content with the undisputed sway that he exercises over the destinies of over four hundred million people."—A. P.

Our comments on Mr. Amery's statement that India is prosperous were written before we had before us Gandhiji's observations, which are an added proof, if proof were needed, of the falsity of the Secretary of State's assertion.

Hindu-Moslem Relations Now And A Century Ago

To be wise after the event may be ridiculed as like locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen. Nevertheless, all Indians, whether officials or non-officials, should do their utmost to bring about amicable relations between Hindus and Mussalmans, in spite of all adverse conditions produced in an organized manner by selfish and scheming wicked men.

In an article contributed to *The Modern Review* for February, 1940, the late Mr. C. F. Andrews repeated some of the things which he had written in 1921 in the course of a series of articles entitled "The Immediate Need of Independence." Said he:

> "Nearly twenty years have passed since that date and hope deferred has made the heart sick. Things in India *have* deteriorated, as Professor Seeley prophesied, and the evil is rapidly increasing."

How things *have* deteriorated and the evil is rapidly increasing in one of many directions, namely, communal relations, will be evident from a few extracts given below from *The Topography of Dacca* by Dr. Taylor and from *The East India Gazetteer* by Walter Hamilton. The former work was written in 1839 at the instance of the Medical Board at Fort William in Calcutta, and the latter was published in two volumes in 1828 and dedicated by permission to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The materials from which the work was composed were either printed documents or manuscript records, deposited at the India Board, so that it was something in the nature of a semi-official publication.

At the time of the composition and publication of the *Topography of Dacca* Mahomedan influence was still strong in that city, the line of genuine Nawabs, called the Naib Nazims of Dacca, had not yet become extinct, and the pomp and pageantry of the Mughal Court had not passed into a dream. Such being the circumstances of the time, it is interesting to learn the nature of the relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in those days. In chapter ix, page 257, of Dr. Taylor's book, we get a glimpse of them. Says he:

> "Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the

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inhabitants belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same *hookah*."

With the total downfall of Mughal power, and reduction of both the communities to a position of equality in subjection, one would think that *greater* amity than in those days would prevail among the communities in these days. But the facts are otherwise. Why ?

From the *East India Gazetteer* also we give below one extract out of many which could be quoted.

"Rungpoor : The two religions, however, are on the most friendly terms, and naturally apply to deities or saints of the other, when they imagine that application to their own will prove ineffectual." (Vol. II, p. 478).

Appeal to Our Countrymen Outside Bengal

Most of us who live in Bengal have no exact idea of the sufferings of thousands of people in the areas affected by the communal riots, for the publication of uncensored detailed news relating to them has been banned in this province. Statements of some leading non-official gentlemen who have visited the affected areas have indeed appeared in some dailies in some provinces outside Bengal; but as these have only a few readers here, these statements can do little to remove the prevailing ignorance relating to the character and extent of the calamity.

It is believed that property worth lakhs has been destroyed or looted. If friends outside Bengal send their contributions to the relief funds opened by various organizations, they will be prized for two reasons : for the material help thus rendered, and for the genuine sympathy of which they are tokens.

It is, however, specially with another object in view that we appeal to our countrymen living outside Bengal.

The news' agencies are entitled to the thanks of the public for what news they have been able to disseminate. But they have their limitations and have to do their work under certain restrictions.

Therefore, Editors of newspapers outside Bengal would render a great public service if they could send correspondents to or appoint correspondents in the affected parts of Bengal and publish the detailed information collected and sent by them.

As many Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, Hindu League and other leaders as are in a position to do so should visit Bengal and know the situation at first hand. Other public men also should do so, if they can. All these gentlemen and other publicists may also write to their non-journalistic friends in Bengal for information. They should share such information with their friends, neighbours and fellow-provincials in whatever way they can.

Let our countrymen outside Bengal know the full extent of Bengal's misfortune. Perhaps the Bombay papers are better able to let us of Bengal know the woes of Ahmedabad and Bombay than the Bengal papers are able to tell outsiders what calamities have befallen Bengal.

Knowledge is power, though it may not be so always.

But sorrow shared is sorrow soothed. And the sharing of sorrows is a strong bond of unity.

Suspension of Congress Executive Committees in Bengal

In accordance with the circular of the All-India Congress Committee which is applicable to the provinces, the Executive Council of the (authorized) Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has decided to suspend all the Congress Executive Committee in the province. After the recent shock received by the Congress organisation in Bengal from internal differences, such a step may arouse certain apprehensions in the minds of people who like to see that great national organization thrive and prosper in Bengal. But we see no cause of alarm, as the proposed step does not liquidate the Congress organisation as such; only the executive bodies are suspended, perhaps, until normal times come back. The executive committees are democratically elected bodies and contain even elements which may not subscribe to the present policy and programme of the Congress. Unlike the Government machinery, the Congress depends solely on voluntary allegiance and has no sanction to make the dissentient elements abide by the majority verdict.

At such an abnormal time, when the Congress has no ordinary routine activity and when its main work is to conduct the Satyagraha movement, such heterogeneous and composite bodies cannot be helpful. Moreover, all the members of the executive bodies of the Congress have been asked, as a part of the programme, to court imprisonment by offering Satyagraha. So loyal and faithful Congressmen have no opportunity or time to do anything in such executive bodies. Only those who would fail to carry out the instruction of the Congress or

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would refuse to offer Satyagraha, can have any desire for the executive bodies to function as in normal times. We know, there are elements in the Congress having no faith in the present programme of the Congress. The faithful having gone to jail or to the villages, the executive committees cannot be left in the hands of those who have refused or failed to carry out the most vital programme of the Congress.

By suspending the executive bodies, the A.I.C.C. and the B.P.C.C. have taken away the mischief-making opportunity of those who do not accept the present programme. If all loyal members go to jail (Government may any time change its policy and arrest all Satyagrahis en masse), the dissentient elements may capture the organization and undo all that has been so long done. Every organization must take necessary precaution against such a risk. Moreover, by putting one or more loyal and trusted men in charge of each Congress organisation, the committee has only tended to improve its efficiency and swiftness of action. At a critical time like this, it is of vital importance for the Congress, that its message is correctly and swiftly conveyed to its constituents, that is, to the people of India. Those members of executive bodies and office-bearers who have failed to carry out the very vital instruction of the Congress cannot be entrusted with such a task. So they should be deprived of their official position, as they have failed to honour its obligations.

Chinese Industrial Co-operatives And Village Industries

India should learn to value village industrial centres from what China has been doing in war time. Dr. Lowe Chuan-hua writes in *The Living Age*:

Generalissimo Chiang Kaishek once declared that the basis of success in prolonged resistance against Japan is not to be found in the big cities but in the villages all over China. After the loss of her seaports and industrial centers during the first two years of war, China was confronted with the acute problem of rebuilding her industrial defense lines and of keeping up, if not increasing, production in certain industries which were indispensable to her continued resistance and her people's livelihood. While for some time it was assumed that new industrial centers might be safely developed in such interior cities as Chungking and Kunming (whence, indeed, several hundred Chinese factories have been moved since the outbreak of hostilities), the repeated bombing raids of the Japanese air force have rendered it inexpedient to encourage further this policy of erecting industrial bases at those points. To remedy this situation the Chinese Government in June 1938 inaugurated an experiment in industrial mobilization known as Chinese Industrial Co-operatives—C. I. C.

The purpose of this experiment, now rapidly expanding into a socio-economic movement, is to build up tens of thousands of small industrial units in the scattered villages to carry on production with local resources to meet civilian and military needs, to give employment to the war refugees and disabled soldiers, and to form an industrial system more or less immune from Japan's military and economic onslaught.

The co-operative project is not a novel one in China, we are told.

Long before the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities, thousands of rural credit co-operatives had been developed in Central and North China, particularly by the China International Famine Relief Commission. But no large-scale efforts were made to promote producers' co-operatives until about three years ago. The C. I. C. (sometimes called the Indusco) may be regarded as a "war baby" born of international minds. Chinese as well as foreign experts have made contributions to the C. I. C. in drawing up its original plans and regulations. Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, Dr. H. H. Kung, Madame Sun Yat-sen, Mr. T. V. Soong, Edgar Snow, Nym Wales, Rewi Alley and Liu Kwang-pei are some of its earliest sponsors.

The help which the Government of China gives to the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives is worthy of note.

Organized in the summer of 1938 under the auspices of the Executive Yuan, the C. I. C. was granted an administrative fund of $500,000 and an initial capital of $5,000,000 (Chinese currency), out of which loans ranging from $500 to $30,000 would be extended to workers, artisans, war refugees and disabled soldiers to finance handicraft and small-scale industries on a co-operative basis. The initial capital fund has been reinforced by large sums of money subsequently placed at the disposal of the C. I. C. by foreign friends and Chinese banks—notably the $20,000,000 loan from the Bank of China—and so the total amount which can be used for the capitalization of producers' co-operatives has reached approximately $30,000,000.

From Dr. Lowe Chuan-hua's article we get also an idea of how the C. I. C. movement has developed.

When, in August 1938, a pioneer group of co-operative organizers left Hankow to form the first societies in Paochi (at the western terminus of the Lung-hai Railway), they found that Northwest city more or less a wartime refugee dump. Today Paochi has become a modern metropolis with sixtyseven producers' co-operatives, while the Northwest region altogether has about 700 societies with a monthly production valued at more than $4,000,000. The success of the C. I. C. in the Northwest region at once stimulated similar efforts elsewhere. Up to November 1940 no less than 2,100 societies had been formed with more than 30,000 members and some 70,000 temporary hired workers. Spread in eighteen provinces of China (including some Japanese-controlled districts), these co-operatives are turning out nearly two hundred kinds of goods—ranging from army blankets to kitchen soap—and their monthly production is fast approaching the $10,000,000 mark. So great has been the public demand for the goods these co-ops produce that many of them have already repaid their loans.

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Admirable examples of self-sacrifice may be found in many co-operatives now operating in the five Indusco regions of China.

For men and women have joined the C. I. C. not so much for pecuniary gain as for an opportunity to help China to rebuild her economic life. They are hard-working and are almost religious in their enthusiasm. Many of them—including not a few returned students, have given up well-paying jobs in the big cities to do C. I. C. work in the backward villages, chiefly because they have a deep faith in its potential values. Due to these fine examples, a great appreciation of the dignity of labour has appeared among Chinese officials and college students, and **a stronger link is being forged between the educated and the illiterate, the fortunate and the unfortunate.** Little wonder it is that the C. I. C. has been interpreted as an experiment in creative and democratic living.

The opinion of a competent observer who is not a Chinese national, though connected with the C. I. C. is of value. Said Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, chairman of the American Committee of the C. I. C. formed in New York City in September, 1940 :

Chinese Industrial Co-operatives are one of the most vigorous democratic movements in the world today. There is striking contrast between the way in which Hitler, even in the years of peace, put his unemployed workers into labour armies and set them to work on projects that led to war, and the way the Chinese, being truly devoted to peace, have created a new and democratic industrial system even in the midst of war, and today, when a part of their country is held by invaders, are strengthening the ways of peace.

Another foreigner, Rewi Alley, New Zealand advisor to the C. I. C., says :

"As a link for national unity that has been able to operate in eighteen provinces and seventy-two depots, the C. I. C. is a herald of the united China of the future. It embraces in its membership all manner of men. In Lanchow, Kansu, there is a Mohammedan fur-curing co-operative, the chairman of which is a *mullah*, an old man with a noble white beard. He is the hardest working member in the whole co-operative and is highly thought of in Mohammedan circles. Then on the Szechwan-Tibetan border, a Living Buddha came to offer his services as adviser and assistant. In southern Shensi and southern Kansu, artisan members of a Chinese Christian church banded together and formed several production units. In southern Kiangsi, the Catholic Vincentian fathers, emulating their brothers in Nova Scotia, have done their best to advance the interests of their district co-operatives. Then the Universities in Chengtu, lovers of freedom in Hongkong, Manila and elsewhere overseas, the guerillas in the north-west and the south-east, the refugees, the disabled soldiers, and many other sections of China's wartime community have done their utmost to push the work which all thinking people hail as a wise and necessary measure."

The sentences printed above, showing how men of different religious persuasions and persons belonging to different stations in life have been brought together by an economic movement to work for the good of their country, fill us with some hope that a similar future may await India, however gloomy the prospect may at present appear to be.

Communalism of the kind that is rampant in India does not exist in China. Still in that country in pre-war times there were ruinous frictions between orthodox and radical elements. Hence,

in pre-war times, students of contemporary politics in China have frequently expressed their anxiety to find a common ground on which these conflicting forces may meet in a constructive spirit and pool their energies in building up a new socio-economic structure. One of the fields in which all parties can find common ground for co-operative action lies in the industrial co-operative movement which, if unhampered by financial and personnel problems, may grow into something that will serve as a lasting factor for social tranquillity in China. "Every co-op a nucleus of the new world order in the making," says a C. I. C. slogan. Avoiding the evils of modern industrialism and striking the golden mean between capitalism and complete state control, the industrial co-operative movement may be developed so as to embody the most desirable features of the leading political trends in China today. Perhaps out of the C. I. C. a solid economic foundation for political democracy may be gradually established, and with its establishment, the cleavage between the outwardly opposing political groupings in China be narrowed considerably. If the present war, catastrophic as it seems, can bring this about, it will not have been fought in vain.

Dr. Lowe Chuan-hua cautions the reader in conclusion that too much must not be claimed for or expected of the C. I. C. But if properly directed and organized,

"they can eventually play a decisive role in shattering the Japanese dream of reducing China to a state of economic slavery and in helping bring about a free and prosperous nation."

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri On Congressmen

"We ask the Congress people to come back, lead us and protect us in this time of great trouble. Their place today, as people who hold our confidence and suffrage, is beside us, and not in prison cells," declared the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, presiding over a public meeting in Mylapore, Madras, on the 27th April last.

"It was essential," said Mr. Sastri, "that the chosen leaders of the Congress should be at the helm of affairs, if the new situation that would arise every day and complications not to be foreseen now were to be successfully tackled."

Referring to Mahatma Gandhi's statement on Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Sastri said that

"every line and every word of it breathes indignation of a type somewhat unusual with the Mahatma."

The speaker said that he would recommend it to the people of the country for profound study.

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As to Mr. Amery's speech Mr. Sastri said that

it was all a repetition of old ideas taking their stand on "the famous August declaration."

Mr. Sastri, however, referred to that portion of Mr. Amery's speech where he had said that he and the Government of England were profoundly sorry that they had not got the assistance of the Congress Governments, and asked:

"If this is so, and if our appeal to the Congress leaders finds favourable reception and the Congress decides to come back to its positive duties in the country, may we hope that Mr. Amery and the Viceroy will not have any difficulty but will welcome them with open arms?"

Proceeding Mr. Sastri referred to the Bombay conference and said that

it dealt exclusively with the proposals for the re-organisation of the Centre. The provinces were left alone—possibly under the feeling that if the centre were reconstructed according to their wishes, the provinces would follow suit.

But if Mr. Amery's "no" was final and no changes were introduced as desired by the Bombay Conference, they would all regret it very much, but all the same they had to press their idea in reference to the provinces.

Mr. Sastri continued:

"We want a force animated wholly by the patriotic desire to be servants and defenders of the public. Should we not ask for and should we not desire that a force directed and inspired by the patriotism and ideals of the Congress, and officered, controlled and governed under Congress auspices should be at our disposal? Men whom we trusted, whom we clothed with authority, to whom we assigned the special task of preparing the country for defending itself—those men are nowhere to be found, they must be brought back from jail and installed again in the places that they occupied."

Concluding he said that

the times were very critical, and not a moment should be lost in finding out who were the most competent by spirit, by experience and by courage, to help them. Judging all things, it seemed to him—he was not a Congressman—that outside the Congress there was at present no body of the people who had their trust in the same measure and who, therefore, had laid upon themselves "the supreme duty of coming back and assuming power and defending the people who so pathetically trust them."—*A. P.*

The Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and other British imperialists continue to harp on the "disagreements" in India. They cannot be expected to take note of and lay stress on the very remarkable "agreement" indicated by the fact that the most distinguished of so-called "Moderates," which the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri is, is sincerely desirous of vesting the Congress with power so that it may protect the people in these critical times.

Gandhiji, Satyagraha and Congress

In concluding a leading article on Mr. Jinnah's address to the Muslim League at its session in Madras *The Hindu* of that city suggested that Mahatma Gandhi should release the Congress from its undertaking to follow him as its dictator so that it may be able to re-adopt the attitude of full co-operation with the Government in its war effort if a national government were formed at the Centre, as expressed in its Poona resolution. In an interview given to a *Times of India* representative, Gandhiji has refused to act on that suggestion, not mentioning *The Hindu*. He cannot be found fault with for his refusal. If the Congress does not want to follow him, it can refuse to do so. With Mahatmaji non-violence is a spiritual principle, not a policy dictated by expediency. He has not adopted it to embarrass the Government. In fact, he has carried out his resolve, made of his own accord, to so limit Satyagraha as to cause Government the minimum embarrassment practicable. It is not for such a man to tell the Congress, "Go and help Government in its war effort."

Anti-Pakistan Day in Allahabad

Anti-Pakistan day was observed in Allahabad on the 27th April last. In connection therewith a representative and influential meeting of Hindus was held at Purushottamdas Park under the presidency of Mr. M. S. Aney.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukerjee in an eloquent and forceful speech condemned the Pakistan scheme.

Dr. Mukerjee said that they should rally all the progressive persons in the country, who would treat India as their Fatherland and fight the Pakistan scheme to a finish. They welcomed the co-operation of all who stood for the integrity of India. . . . In his view, if there had been seven strong Hindu Premiers in India, the position would have been different in the provinces where the Muslim Premiers held power today.

Mr. P. N. Sapru in the course of his speech said that they would never allow India to be partitioned. He said that although Mr. Amery had complained about the demands of the Hindu Mahasabha he had not said anything about the demands of his brother Mr. Jinnah, concerning the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Executive Council was not expanded because the Dictator of the Malabar Hill wanted the majority representation for the Muslim League throughout India. Mr. Sapru said that without the joint electorate no democratic constitution could work in India.

Sardar Sant Singh in his speech, which was frequently applauded by the audience, pointed out that there was no possibility of Pakistan in the Punjab. He discussed several interesting questions relating to Pakistan, *e.g.*, Defence of the Punjab, Migration, etc., and emphasized that the Muslim League could secure the division of India and maintain it only under the British

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sword. He asked whether the Muslim League would accept such humiliating position.

Spread of Communal Disturbances

Communal Disturbances have been gradually spreading. They have made their appearance at Cawnpore, and at Bihar Sharif in the Patna district. The situation in Bombay has worsened (28th April).

The outbreak of communal disturbances in India is somewhat like the outbreak of the plague epidemic. Both spread from some centres. In the case of plague, however, the germs are carried by rats. These noxious animals cannot, as in fact they do not, disseminate the communal poison. Human beings do it. Who are these rat-like humans? It is necessary to ferret them out. When found, they can be suitably dealt with.

Bengal Provincial Girl Students' Conference

The duties of girl students in regard to national uplift work were explained by different speakers at the Bengal Provincial Girl Students' Conference which met at a two-day session at the Arya Samaj Hall, Calcutta on the 27th April last. Sjta. Kiran Dugar presided and Sjta. Sobhana Ghosh inaugurated the Conference. The presidential procession along the streets was accompanied by a girls' band which played lively music.

In the course of her presidential address, Sjta. Dugar pointed out that Freedom, Peace and Progress—these were the ideals of girls also; but first must come freedom. Without freedom there could be neither peace nor progress.

The conference rightly stood for the total removal of illiteracy from the female population of the country. The president made an able speech, in the course of which she said:

> Culture of the fine arts should also be another aim of the girls. Grace in girls was always desirable. But grace was not incompatible with strength. Because girls should be votaries at the shrine of beauty, it did not mean that they should give up the cult of strength. In fact grace and strength—each should be the complement of the other and the two together should constitute the complete woman.

In fact, there cannot be any real grace without health and strength.

Very appropriate and timely was her reminder to the audience that they were daughters of the motherland of Durgabati and Lakshmibai:—it was their bounden duty to so train themselves that they might, when necessary, defend themselves and punish wicked ruffians and face any danger at critical times in the history of the nation.

Dr. Khan Sahib on the Muslim League

In the course of a press statement Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-premier of the N.-W. F. Province, says regarding the Muslim League:

> "I wonder how Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung could gather the impression that 'although we are ostensibly Congressmen we favoured the League for all practical purposes.' I believe this statement has been deliberately made to mislead the Mussalmans of India. Our differences with the League are not at all based on misunderstandings or sentimental considerations, as he would like to think, but are of a vital character.
>
> "For my part, I prefer death to joining a futile set of people utterly devoid of action but loud on the stage. What the Pathan wants is action, sacrifice and selfless service to the cause of the country. Where are these to be found in the Muslim League?"—*A. P.*

No Bharatavarsha But Only Stans

The Leader has extracted the following delicious paragraph from *The Times of India*:

> It was the cry of Pakistan which first shook the fond idealists who still believed in the outworn concept of a united India. Swiftly followed Sikhistan, then Dravidistan, and now comes the Palghat Sanatanists' demand for Brahminstan to wake Ripvanwinklestan from its centuries of dreaming. Clearly all our belief in the strength of unity was wrong; we must collect our old ideas of federation, corporation and amalgamation like so much scrap metal, and forge them into articles of the new faith. Pakistan and Brahminstan are, of course, but the heralds of the dawn. As the darkness of our ignorance vanishes, Pakistan itself will give way to Shiastan and Sunnistan, to Khojastan, Bohrastan and the rest, while Hindustan (narrowed to now designate only those odd parts of India where there are Hindus) will split into as many stans as there are castes. What though there be no gardens save in Malistan, and the people of Dhobistan live by taking in each other's washing? Let the light come! As the day of revelation brightens towards its noon, even the caste will be found too large a congeries. There will be a stan for every village, every house, every individual, until we achieve ultimate wisdom and perfection in four hundred million separate and autonomous bodies. The suggestion that one man should obey even a government of his own choosing is the sheerest travesty of liberty. What can 'self-government' mean if not government of myself by myself for myself? Meanwhile Plurality, not Unity, shall be our watchword, and the fissiparous shall flourish in the earth.

Acharya Kripalani's Exposure of Mr. Amery

In commenting on Mr. Amery's latest speech in the Commons, Acharya Kripalani has unearthed a speech of his in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933, in the course of a debate on Japan's invasion of Manchuria. Said Mr. Amery *on that day*:

> Japan has got a very powerful case based upon fundamental realities. She was quite right in acting with the object of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending herself against the continual aggression of Chinese nationalism. Our whole policy in India

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your whole policy in Egypt, stands condemned if we condemn Japan.

So according to the Mr. Amery of those days Japan's endeavour to create peace and order in Manchuria and defend herself against the continual aggression of Chinese nationalism was similar to Britain's endeavour to create peace and order in India and defend herself against the continual aggression of Indian nationalism.

But according to the Mr. Amery of today who belongs to a group of statesmen pledged to support China, Japan's policy must be now wrong. Therefore, Britain's policy in India, which is or was on all fours with Japan's, must also be now wrong!

Principle of Indian Independence Endorsed by Glasgow Conference

GLASGOW, April 21.

Two hundred delegates representing about 100 Trade Union Co-operative and political bodies today endorsed the principle of Independence for India at a Conference organised by the India League. The resolution passed proclaimed the unity of the Scottish people with the people of India in their struggle for political and social freedom.—*Reuter.*

Congress Ban on Sj. N. R. Sarkar Rightly Removed

We are glad the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has decided to remove the ban on Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, imposed on him about four years ago, preventing him from becoming a Congress member for 20 (!) years. It was an astounding ukase.

Sj. J. M. Datta Honoured

We are happy to read in the papers that Sj. Jatindra Mohan Datta, M.Sc., B.L., Secretary, All-Bengal Census Board, has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society of London, for his valuable contributions to the study of population problems in Bengal, especially his discovery of the greater growth of the Bengal Muhammadans being partly due to the period when Census is taken.

He was proposed by Dr. R. A. Fisher, F.R.S., Calton Professor of Eugenics in the University of London, and seconded by Dr. Frank Yates of Rothamstead Experimental Statics, England.

His contributions have been appearing in *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* for years.

Bombay Conference Standing Committee's Reply to Mr. Amery

As we anticipated while writing our previous note on Mr. Amery's criticism of the Bombay Non-party Leaders' Conference resolution, the standing committee of that conference, after deliberations at Allahabad on the 27th of April, has issued a statement in reply to Mr. Amery's two speeches. On account of its importance and in order that it may be on record, we print the whole of it below. The statement makes out a strong case for the resolution. The language throughout is restrained and dispassionate. Except the first two paragraphs, which relate mainly to the real political situation in India and the effect likely to be produced here by Mr. Amery's speeches, the statement is an able defence of the resolution, and puts Mr. Amery entirely in the wrong.

ALLAHABAD, April 28.

The following statement has been issued by the Standing Committee of the Bombay Conference after its deliberations yesterday:

The Standing Committee of the Bombay Conference have read Mr. Amery's speeches in the House of Commons with the care which they deserve. The Committee very much regret that the speeches should have betrayed such an amazing misunderstanding of the real political situation in India and displayed such an unsympathetic and unbending attitude towards the aspirations of India. The Committee feel that Mr. Amery has missed the opportunity of winning public confidence which was offered to the British Government with the best intentions by those who have a vivid appreciation of the dangers of the international situation. They have, however, reason to apprehend that one certain effect of these speeches is going to be to strengthen the forces of disruption in the country and to create the impression that, in point of fact, the British Government have no desire to part with real power at this juncture. The committee regret very much that Mr. Amery should have adopted an attitude of self-complacency with regard to the position in India which was bound to create a wrong impression in Parliament and probably on a larger audience in America that the present system of Government in India commands not only the acquiescence of the people of this country but also their goodwill. The committee have no hesitation in saying that this is a complete travesty of the situation in India.

(2) They, however, note with satisfaction that there were men in Parliament belonging to different parties some with considerable knowledge of India, such as Sir Stanley Reed and Sir George Schuster, who controverted Mr. Amery's assumptions then and there and warned him against the unwisdom and unfairness of his policy of drift at a time of such a grave peril. The Committee feel, however, that it would be unfair to Mr. Amery to hold him wholly responsible for creating this impression as the original responsibility for giving a true estimate of the situation in India rests with the Government of India.

(3) No one in this country, and no one, particularly, connected with the Bombay Conference has ever minimised the desirability of reconciliation between the two important political bodies of India—the Congress and the Muslim League.

(4) The President of the Bombay Conference (who will issue a separate statement) was not unmindful of the desirability of removing misunderstanding at an early date, and he made endeavours before the Conference met at Bombay to explore the possibilities of bringing the contending parties together. The organisers of the Conference were, however, satisfied that in view of the fundamental differences between the Congress and the Muslim League, there was no prospect within a reasonable distance of time of those contending parties coming together. The Conference felt, at the same

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time, that it was intolerable that the progress of the country should be held up by His Majesty's Government merely because the two contending parties would not or could not compose their differences. In this connection the Committee would refer to the statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 8th August last: "It is clear," said His Excellency, "that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council." For Mr. Amery now to insist upon agreement as a condition precedent to any change at the centre is really to go back on the declared policy of His Majesty's Government.

(5) The Committee would like the Secretary of State to consider whether the repetition of the advice that Indians should first settle their differences among themselves before expecting any constitutional change could absolve him from the reproach so pointedly made by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in his recent statement on Mr. Amery's speech, namely, "however profuse the assurances of the British Government may be as regards their intentions to make India a self-governing dominion, no political party is convinced because of past experience of the British Government's sincerity as regards parting with power."

(6) In view of the growing dangers to India from the war, those who assembled at Bombay put forward certain proposals which they were satisfied were practicable, and which if accepted would have had an excellent psychological effect on the country and stimulated genuine voluntary war effort to a much greater extent. The present policy of the Secretary of State is bound to have a deleterious effect on the minds of the people and on the situation in India for which the entire responsibility must be his and of his advisers in India.

(7) Practically the present position of the Secretary of State is that until it pleases Mr. Jinnah to approve of any scheme, His Majesty's Government can do nothing to give effect even to their own intentions as announced in August last. Mr. Amery has referred to an unworthy insinuation made by Mr. Jinnah in his speech at Madras to the effect that the Bombay Conference was held in consultation with or at the instigation of some Congress leaders in the interests of the Congress. The Committee repudiate this categorically. The Committee would not have noticed such an aspersion but for the fact that the Secretary of State referred to it in his speech in the House of Commons to the prejudice of the Conference and its organisers.

(8) It is not difficult to understand the working of the mind of the Secretary of State. He assumed that in seven provinces where the constitutional machinery of Government had been replaced by the personal rule of Governors, the people were contented with the system of administration—an assumption which if true, must bar out all proposals of advance even after the war. He apparently thought that the attitude of the Hindus did not require to be taken seriously into account, whereas he assumed that the Muslim League in its present state of intransigence represented the attitude of all the Muslims of India, or of an overwhelming majority of them, even though provinces like Sind and the North-West Frontier Province and considerable sections of Muslims in other provinces repudiate the authority and policy of the Muslim League and the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. These facts should in fairness have been brought to the notice of the House of Commons.

(9) The Secretary of State has advised the Conference as to what is should do in future. Its members are, according to him, to devote their energies to bringing about a settlement between the Congress and the League and failing that to attempt to form a centre party. Meanwhile, they are to remain satisfied with his promise of Dominion Status at an indefinite date. With an unrepresentative and uninfluential centre and personal rule in seven provinces. The Standing Committee are compelled in view of their knowledge of the country, to reject this advice for reasons of which Mr. Amery and his advisers in India cannot surely be ignorant. The Conference at Bombay was concerned with the immediate future during the war and not with long-range policies which must bide their time. Even if a centre party were to emerge after a number of years, what guarantee is there that its proposals would receive any better treatment than have the united demands of Indian politicians in the past? The burden of the Secretary of State's speech is that before he can be prepared to consider any proposal, there must be the prior approval of Mr. Jinnah—position which no self-respecting political party can accept or tolerate.

(10) The Committee desire to meet some of Mr. Amery's objections and raise some questions with regard to them. One of his objections is that the Conference proposal would mean not a modification of the present form of Government but its supercession by an entirely different form of Government. The present Government consists of four officials and two non-official Indians in addition to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. All the members of the Government are at present appointed by the Crown and are responsible to it. The Committee understand that under the proposals made last August by the British Government, the number of official members was to be reduced to two and the total strength of the Executive Council increased to eleven. The Conference have proposed no change, either in respect of the appointing authority or in the responsibility of the members of the Government to the Crown. All that it has suggested is that not only two but all the four official members should be replaced by non-officials. Does such a proposal amount to a supercession of the present system of Government?

(11) The Secretary of State has chosen not to show his hand. The Committee are entitled to ask the British Government what their concrete proposals are. Does the Secretary of State object to the transfer of the important portfolios of Finance and Defence, and if so why? Sir George Schuster himself the Finance Member of the Government of India from 1928 until 1934 expressed his belief in the House of Commons that competent Indians could be found for the Finance portfolio.

The Committee have equally little doubt that a competent Indian can be found for the Defence portfolio. The Conference did not, as will appear from the resolution, want to affect the position and responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief and as both he and the Defence Member would be appointed by the Crown it should not be difficult to adjust their mutual relations. The only construction that the Committee can put on the position taken by Mr. Amery is that key portfolios would not be transferred to Indian hands. It is quite clear from this that even if there had been a previous agreement between the main political parties these portfolios would not have been entrusted to Indian members.

(12) Another point which has been raised by the Secretary of State is that the reconstructed Government would not get political support or even acquiescence from the legislature. This objection was fully dealt with in Sir N. N. Sircar's speech at the Bombay Conference.

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but the Committee would like briefly to refer to it here for the sake of completeness. The total strength of the Legislative Assembly is 143. Out of these the Congress and the Muslim League combined total only about 60. They would be unable to defeat the Government without the help of other parties. In the absence of the Congress, the Congress Nationalist Party is the second largest party in the Assembly, and its leader Mr. Aney has publicly supported the Bombay Conference proposals and is a member of this Committee. Considering that the proposal of the Bombay Conference was that the executive should be responsible to the Crown and not to the legislature the argument of a possible conflict between the legislature and the executive loses much of its force; but even assuming that at times the Governor-General is compelled to resort to his Power of Certification, it is difficult to understand how his position would become worse if he were asked by the reconstituted Government to exercise that power than it is now when he does so upon the recommendation of a mixed council consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials. All this fear of conflict between the legislature and the Government reconstituted on national lines seems to be extremely hypothetical as it assumes unreasonableness on the part of the legislature and inability on the part of the Government to influence it.

(13) It has further been suggested that the reconstituted Council would create internal constitutional problems in relation to the provinces and to the Princes. But even with the partial transfer suggested by the Secretary of State last year, there would have been a majority of non-officials in the Executive Council and if they were disposed to interfere with the discretionary powers of the Governor-General, then the constitutional difficulties mentioned by the Secretary of State would still remain. There is the remotest reason to assume that Indians in such positions would work in an unreasonable spirit, or would unnecessarily obstruct the Governor-General in the discharge of his responsibilities. Such technical objections presuppose a determination on the part of those who will be selected by the Viceroy to paralyse or to offer obstruction in the smooth running of the Government. On such a supposition no constitutional advance can now or ever be made.

(14) The pertinent questions which the Committee would wish the Secretary of State to answer are: (1) What is the interpretation to be placed on the following declaration which Mr. Amery made on behalf of His Majesty's Government on August 11, 1940. "In spite of the discouraging attitude shown in Congress quarters, I still hope that they will be willing to take their part. If that should unfortunately not prove to be the case, Lord Linlithgow will, of course, go afar, prepared to work with those who will work with him and with each other? Is it the Secretary of State's latest view that unless Mr. Jinnah, the head of the Muslim League, is willing to co-operate on his own terms, the co-operation of all other parties is of no political value whatever to the British Government? If that is not the intention, he should say so in explicit terms.

The other question which the Committee desire to ask is whether his advisers in India sincerely believe that it is impossible at the present moment for Mr. Jinnah to come to terms with the Congress or any other major party in India?

(15) The Committee are utterly unable to follow the Secretary of State's reasoning that it would be very difficult to persuade the Parliament to confer Dominion or quasi-Dominion powers on a reconstructed Executive Council. The resolution had suggested that in regard to inter-Imperial and inter-National matters, the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as the Dominion Governments. During and since the last war, the right of the Government of India to be represented at such Conferences has been recognised invariably in practice. India has had, particularly since her admission to the League of Nations as one of its original members direct representation, not only at the annual Conferences of the League and its auxiliary at Geneva, but also at Imperial and International Conferences whenever they have been called. It seems unthinkable that twenty years after such a principle has been in practice, the Secretary of State should refuse to concede the point that Indian delegations to such Conferences should be appointed by the Government of India and receive their instructions from them.

(16) As regards the demand of the Conference that a time-limit should be prescribed for the inauguration of Dominion Status after the termination of the war, the Committee attach considerable importance to it as without such a time-limit the country cannot feel sure that India will get Dominion Status and Dominion powers within a reasonable distance of time. It is surely not right to cast the whole burden on the shoulders of Indian statesmen, and the Committee feel that it is not impossible to arrive at a formula under which, in certain given circumstances, the time-limit fixed may be extended, if necessary, by another short period.

(17) The Committee are not unmindful of the consideration that at this grave moment the thoughts of Englishmen are naturally concentrated on the war. They need increasing help—more men, more money, more material. The Committee and the people of this country at large are no less concerned in the outcome of the war and are most anxious to help to the utmost in its prosecution, as it is seriously threatening the fate of India also. But they feel that such help will not come in abundance unless at this critical juncture the present policy of drift is abandoned and Indians are placed in positions of real power and responsibility.—*A. P.*

We wish to make a remark or two on only one sentence in the statement, namely,

No one in this country, and no one, particularly connected with the Bombay Conference has ever minimised the desirability of reconciliation between the two important political bodies of India—the Congress and the Muslim League.

There is a third inportant political body with which agreement is necessary.

As for reconciliation between the Congress and the Muslim League, that seems to us impossible unless there is a fundamental change in the 'creed' of either or both. The reasons will appear from an extract from *The New Statesman and Nation* given on a previous page as also from our following observations in the last number of *The Modern Review*:

We, too, would be glad indeed if the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League were composed. But for obvious reasons they cannot be composed. For one thing, Congress stands for one undivided India and one united Indian nation; the Muslim League stands for two Indias partitioned between Hindus and Muslims, who, the Muslim Leaguers believe or pretend to believe, are two separate nations. The Muslim League would not be satisfied with the perfectly equal citizenship of each Mussalman with each

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Hindu or other Indian and with the thorough safeguarding of the religious and cultural rights and interests of Muslims. Such equal citizenship and such religious and cultural freedom they already possess. What Mr. M. A. Jinnah wants is, not merely that every Mussalman should have equal rights and opportunities with every non-Muhammadan, but also that Indian Muslims collectively should have at least an equal number of seats in the central and provincial legislatures and local bodies, etc., and at least an equal number of appointments in the public services, with the Hindus and other non-Muslims collectively;—mere weightage will not do. Large numbers of Muslims are not satisfied with their own religious freedom, which they have; they want also to control Hindu religious observances and subordinate them to their own notions. Can the Non-Party Leaders think of satisfying Mr. Jinnah and such Muslims?

Hindu Widows' Home Association

We thank Dr. Bhaskar Dhondo Karve, secretary to the Hindu Widows' Home Association, Hingne Budruk, Poona, for a copy of its forty-fifth annual report. The Association with its Home, which is a residential educational institution, continues to do work of sterling worth for Hindu widows. The secretary tells us in the course of a letter that in these hard times the Association has been required to undertake the responsibility of constructing classrooms at an estimated cost of about Rs. 18,000, as in the existing buildings there is no room for the increasing number of pupils. We read in the report that the Association's needs are many; but the following are pressing ones:

1. Commodious buildings for the schools at Hingne and Satara (the building where the Hingne school is housed at present is really meant for the boarding and the Satara school is housed in a very old wada which is absolutely unsuitable for school purposes).
2. A suitable site and building in Poona for starting new activities in the city.
3. A small motor-car.
4. A separate house for the boarding-school for children.
5. Rebuilding the Foundation Hut.
6. Flushing type water closets for teachers' quarters.
7. Cinema. Gymnasium apparatus, swings, etc.

Schemes (1) and (6) are already taken up in hand and our generous benefactors are requested to send special donations to cover the estimated cost of about Rs. 20,000 and also to satisfy the abovementioned other needs.

We strongly and wholeheartedly support this request.

Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve

Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve, founder of the Hindu Widows' Home, the S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University, and the Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society, completed 83 years of his dedicated life on the 19th April last. *The Leader* writes, in part:

A life more unselfish in aim, more full of sacrifice, less regardful of self and more concerned for others, more fruitful of constructive achievement there has not been in contemporary India. . . He had given 20 years of dedicated service to Fergusson College and the Deccan Education Society. A simpler, more modest, more unassuming man one can hardly come across anywhere. He toils the livelong day, even at the age of 83 as he has done all his life, not at all for himself but all for others. We are not aware of another Indian who can be bracketed with Prof. Karve for large-heartedness, for practical philanthropy and for constructive work.

At this advanced age, in order not to remain idle, he goes about the city of Poona every day for two hours for doing the "light work", as he calls it, of collecting very small subscriptions for the Maharashtra Village Education Society.

Mahatma Gandhi on Combating Riots

Writing about the communal riots, Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to Mr. Arun Guha, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee says *inter alia*:

"The problem is why do riots take place in spite of Congressmen functioning in all the three places, Dacca, Ahmedabad and Bombay. Congress influence is strongest in Ahmedabad, then in Bombay. You are under a handicap. Why were so many thousand people so helpless as to fail to defend their houses. They could have done it either violently or non-violently. Congressmen must not be satisfied with mere relief work. That is work for social workers who have specialised in the field, such as the Marwari Relief Society. Congressmen have to find out the why and the way to combat the evil. You are a seasoned worker, no armchair man. I would like you to apply your mind to the task. We may not expect Governments to help in such things. If there are people who can easily be frightened, there must be those who will put them in fright.—*U. P.*

Committee To Enquire Into Dacca Disturbances

The Government of Bengal have decided to appoint a Committee to enquire into the recent disturbances in Dacca. The personnel of the Committee will be announced later. The terms of reference will be:

"To enquire into the causes and nature of the recent disturbances in the Dacca city and district, and into the measures taken to deal with them, and to submit to the Government of Bengal a report of their findings with their recommendations."—*A. P.* and *U. P.*

Either the Nawab of Dacca or Sir K. Nazimuddin should be appointed chairman of this inquiry committee and as many members of the Dacca Nawab family as may be available its members. They have local knowledge which outsiders do not possess.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on Mr. Amery's Speeches

It is humiliating that we should have to devote so much space to criticism of the speeches of a foreigner, to the exclusion of many matters of great moment. But that is the penalty we have to pay for living under a foreign bureaucracy or autocracy.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as president of the

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Bombay Non-Party Leaders' conference, has issued a separate statement of his own. In spite of his unemotional temparament and his years, it bears marks of emotional disturbance.

He tried to bring Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah together in order to bring about a communal settlement.

As matters stand now I am more than doubtful if the chances of a settlement between the two parties can be looked upon as at all bright. Mr. Jinnah's speech at Madras and Mr. Gandhi's recent pronouncement show that if anything the gulf is wider than ever before.

He appears to make a grievance of it that neither official nor non-official Britishers who talk so persistently of agreement between Indian parties as a pre-requisite to Government action for pushing forward constitutional reform, do not themselves do anything to promote unity among Indian politicians of different schools. But why should they? Why should we take them to be such angels? They can be expected only to play their own game.

Sir Tej Bahadur proceeds:

Mr. Amery says in his speech that we have not been able to secure beforehand for our scheme any kind of agreement if not between the Congress and the Muslim League at any rate between the latter and other representatives of the Hindu majority. Surely this new condition which is now so solemnly put forward by Government could not have been absent from the minds of those who were responsible for making the declaration of August 8, and if it was present to their minds then why did they not say that time that no kind of change in the constitution would be brought about except with agreement between the major contending parties. During the Round Table conference discussions when Mr. Ramsay Macdonald consulted me about the communal award I told him point blank that if I were a British Prime Minister I should not undertake that responsibility and yet notwithstanding the fact that there was no agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Government, which consisted also of conservatives went on with their scheme, gave first the Communal Award and then introduced the India Bill.

Sir Tej Bahadur asks Mr. Amery:

What is his real contribution to the solution of the communal tangle? Is he not by his speeches making the task of those who want a real settlement more and more difficult? Is he strengthening the faith of Indians in British intentions?

It is characteristic of the goodness, the charitableness, the sincerity and the simplicity of Sir Tej that he takes it for granted that Indians have some faith in British intentions still left.

Sir Tej Bahadur expresses gratification that the communal issues were raised at the Conference even by those leaders who had strong party convictions. They "played the game and accepted the resolution."

In response to Mr. Amery's patronizing appeal to Sir Tej and his friends to continue their efforts, Sir Tej Bahadur has indignantly and justly said some very sharp things.

Mr. Amery has appealed to me and my friends not to cease from our efforts to concentrate first and foremost on bringing the contending elements together or on building up a strong centre party of men who are prepared to put India first. I shall be absolutely frank.

I believe Mr. Amery's indiscreet and unfortunate speeches on this subject have done the worst service to us and he has no business to make that pious appeal to us when he himself has done nothing to promote unity among the contending elements in India. As regards our continuing these efforts, I shall be very glad if those in India, who parrotlike repeat Mr. Amery's pious sentiments, will do something to show that they are in earnest about it. So far as I am concerned, I do not want any encouragement from any quarter nor shall I feel discouraged in carrying out my convictions merely because the Secretary of State who is credited with having good intentions has the unfortunate knack of expressing those good intentions in such language.

As regards the formation of a centre party all that I wish to say is that I do not see any prospect of such a party coming into existence or functioning effectively so long as the present policy of Mr. Amery and of the Government of India is maintained. At the same time I should not like to stand in the way of those of my friends in Bombay and elsewhere who have a faith in the formation of such a party. I would wish them every success, but let them take steps and not merely repeat what Mr. Amery has been saying from a distance of six thousand miles. I am very doubtful that if a centre party was brought into existence it would fare better at the hands of Mr. Amery or the Government of India. They could dispose of it easily by saying that it did not contain an adequate number of Muslims or the depressed classes, that it had not yet developed a sufficient backing in the country and that it was bound to meet with opposition on the part of the Congress or the Muslims League—a fear which seems to have unnerved and indeed paralysed both Mr. Amery and the Government of India—*A.P.*

Government House Communal Unity Conference Communiqué

A communiqué has been issued regarding the deliberations of the conference of party leaders in the provincial legislature held at Government House under the presidentship of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.

The Conference desires to emphasize strongly the paramount need for maintaining unity between all classes and communities, particularly in view of the latest developments in the Near East."

Unity is an essential pre-requisite to national progress and even to existence as a nation, not only at the present crisis but at all times. Therefore it is necessary for us all to promote and maintain unity, in spite of the fact that the Government of India Act is based on the assumption that there are diverse political interests of different communities and classes, and makes provisions for safeguarding the different interests of different sections of a non-united nation, and

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even though there are various minutes, rules, etc., based on the official disbelief in the oneness of the nation. We should strive for unity in disregard of these obstacles.

Further, we consider it essential for Government to take all possible steps to demonstrate its determination to deal under the law with any person of either community who may be found to be responsible for any action leading, or likely to lead, to communal friction.

This "recommendation" will produce good results if impartially and firmly given effect to.

The ideas of giving relief to sufferers in affected areas, of appointing goodwill missions, and the like, are also deserving of support.

Fourth Session of Assam Citizens Association

The fourth session of the Assam Citizens Association was held at Gauhati on the 11th and 12th April last under the presidentship of Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee. The concise address of Srijut Upendra Nath Sen, M.A., B.L., Chairman of the Reception Committee of the conference, placed before it in a compact form the grievances of the non-Assamese-speaking citizens of Assam. Said he :

Of the subjects which concerns us most, the right to the Assam-Citizenship is of the greatest importance. In our last year's Conference at Nowgong, we clearly indicated, by Resolution No. 3, the essentials in this connection. The use of the word "Domicile" when applied to a Province, is a misnomer, and the definition of it as laid down by the provincial Government is not at all a satisfactory one and cannot be defended on logical principles. The practice of insisting on production of Domicile certificates as a condition precedent to the admission of boys and girls to educational institutions, for acceptance of tender of Government contracts, licences, etc., acceptance of applications for appointments under the Government or for scholarships and stipends, is indefensible and should be forthwith abolished.

As regards the language problem he said among other things :

Here I would remind you of the weighty and statesman-like pronouncement of the present Hon'ble Premier of Assam on the floor of the Assam Council in the last session that every community in the Province has the right to impart education to their children through their mother-tongues.

Regarding the proposed Assam University he stated it as his individual opinion that "a university should not be under the complete control of the Government, but should have sufficient independence and liberty of action of its own to control and guide its affairs."

As for recruitment to the Public Services, he observed :

No distinction should be made between the Assamese-speaking people and the Bengali- or the Hindi-speaking residents of the Province, born or settled here. For one who is born or settled in Assam is a citizen of Assam for all purposes, no matter whether he speaks the Bengali, the Hindi or any other language.

He drew attention to the evil effects of the various legislative enactments passed from time to time regarding money-lending in Assam. One of these is that as money-lenders experience difficulty in recovering their dues, poor agriculturists, unable to get loans, have to sell their land.

In conclusion, the chairman observed that our salvation lies in "our realising the deep fundamental unity of India."

The President of the session in his English and Bengali addresses and the permanent President of the Association, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee in his English address, laid stress on the provinces, communities and classes of India realizing, promoting and maintaining national unity.

Thirty-two resolutions were passed at this session in addition to the one offering its sincerest felicitations to Rabindranath Tagore on his completing his eightieth year and praying to God to keep him in our midst for years to come in health and happiness. The resolutions related to citizenship of Assam; fundamental rights of citizenship; recruitment to the Public Services, distribution of contracts, granting of leases, etc.; fundamental linguistic fact and medium of instruction; Assam University Bill; communal representation in the Public Services; "policy of discrimination"; etc.

How impartial, considerate and statesmanlike the Assam Government should be will appear from the following portion of Resolution VII of the conference :

A—This Conference points out

(*a*) The fundamental linguistic fact of Assam that 42·9 per cent. of its population is Bengali-speaking, 21·6 per cent. Assamese-speaking and the remainder is made up of speakers of non-Aryan languages forming nearly 24 per cent. of the population, and of speakers of languages such as Hindi and Oriya, and (*b*) views with concern that this fundamental fact is not given its proper recognition in all its legitimate bearings and implications in the administration of the province which has reduced a linguistic majority into a minority and denies it even the elementary right of a Minority to the protection and promotion of its language and literature.

The War

For the present the War has taken an unfavourable turn for the Allies in Europe and North Africa. But it is to be hoped that in the long run they will come out victorious.

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BIRTHDAY

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

You the many-voiced multitude,
—the idol-maker,
the image of mine
which you have fashioned
out of your fantasy
is not known to me
nor to the dweller of my inner being
The subtleties of lining
in the work of my own Maker
are beyond your vision.

By the shores of eternity,
enveloped in the mystery
of His own creation,
in the solitude of His being
the Maker moulds
His forms of clay.

When they are done,
we view them from outside
in the chequered light of sense.
And so with fragments
of shadow and substance
we strive to know the strangers.

With the dust of this earth
that playful child—My Maker,
moulded this toy that is me—
a plaything that is easily broken,
easily ground, under the wheels of Time.

Endowed with His gift,
man plays God for a while.
Of a sudden everything is over
and what remains
is dust and darkness.

You speculate if this frail idol
of your fashioning
will evade the greedy grasp of time,
now and for ever.
And my Maker listens to you
and He smiles.

Translated by Kshitish Roy and revised by the Poet.

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INTER-PROVINCIAL EXCHANGE OF CULTURE DURING MARATHA TIMES

By G. S. SARDESAI

Students of history are usually so much attracted by political and administrative details that they tend to neglect entirely the cultural aspect of past events in their varied implications and changes not only from age to age but particularly between one province and another. Such an inquiry will, I believe, reveal an unsuspected contact and exchange during historic times between the various languages and races of India and contribute in a large measure to establish the essential unity of Indian culture so ardently desired by the politicians of the present day. During my study of the diverse materials bearing on Maratha history I have now and then come across some striking points and episodes which when pieced together lead to very instructive conclusions. Admitting that the difficulty of language makes co-operation between scholars of different provinces impracticable, I would here like to explain the nature of my enquiry, confining myself only to one century of Maratha activity roughly from 1650 to 1750 or from the rise of Shivaji to the death of his grandson Shahu, and putting forth a few tentative impressions rather than established conclusions. For the present I would restrict my enquiry to poets and writers in Marathi and Sanskrit, against the political background as we already know it. Painting, architecture, dress, food, amusements, inter-racial marriages, religious practices and similar topics will not be taken into account. although all of these form the essentials of culture.

"Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Maya Kashi, Kanchi, Avantika,
Puri and Dwārāvati,—these seven places bring salvation."

This verse of common parlance indicates the general nature of travelling and communication between the provincial centres from which light, learning and cultural thought radiated during past times to the distant parts of this Indian continent. These were the seats of pilgrimage and cultured society. So far as the restricted period of my inquiry is concerned, I would add to this list a few more names like Tanjore, Jaipur, Bhāgānagar, and Gaya. Tanjore and Jaipur in particular were certainly famous as seats of power, learning and culture.

The names of a few learned Pandits connected with Shivaji's life and work can illustrate the lines of cultural contact between the south and the north, roughly divided by the river Narmadā. The Bhatt family of Paithan had migrated to Benares after Alauddin's penetration into the south and produced some very distinguished scholars, one of whom, the famous Gāgā Bhatt, was in charge of Shivaji's coronation rites. The Hanumanté family had also an equal share of fame and learning, as can be seen from the excellent Sanskrit introduction attached to the *Rajā Vyāvahara Kosha*. This compendium or dictionary itself marks the general social need of the times in so far as contact between Muslim and Hindu political thought was concerned. Maratha influence is still distinctly noticeable at Tanjore and other places. Sonopant Pandit, the erudite Foreign Minister of Shivaji, had often visited the courts of Bijapur and Delhi and thereby broken the first ground of the subject we are considering. It is well-known that several notable poets and pandits came to be patronized by Shivaji and his father and produce several Sanskrit works on rhetoric, drama and other branches of traditional learning. The poets Parmanand Kavindra of Nevāsā and Jayārām Pinde are already known to us from their works, the *Shiva-Bhārat*, *Radhāmadhav Vilās Champu* and the *Parnāla Parvatgrahana*. Jayārām could write in twelve different languages of India and had evidently been a constant traveller to all parts of India. Parmanand lived at Benares and was well acquainted with the political situation in the north and the south, being a much respected personality wielding immense influence in the higher society of those days.

The studied attempt to amalgamate and synthetise the Muslim and Hindu cultures was first put into a visible shape by the great and far-sighted Akbar and continued with varied success by his two renowned successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, as the names of Jagannath Pandit, Raja Mansingh and the great savant Kavindrāchārya, the guru of Dara Shukoh,

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clearly testify. Indeed Indian history would doubtless have taken an entirely different course had the ill-fated Khusru and Dara Shukoh come to occupy the imperial throne instead of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. It is now an established fact that three great names, Kavindrāchārya, Bernier, and Danishmand Khan—representative types of three great cultures, came together and lived for a number of years (1656-1667), strongly promoting the cause of the essential unity of world thought and culture and suggesting its beneficent results. Kavindrāchārya came from Puntamba on the river Godāvari, Bernier from France and Danishmand Khan, "the most learned man of Asia," had migrated to the Mughal Court from Persia. These three names with their different languages and philosophies warrant a peculiar blend of culture of which Dara Shukoh was rightly proud.

The meeting at Purandar in the summer of 1665 of Mirza Raja Jaisingh, Shivaji with his pandits and the Venetian Manucci for three days negotiating a political alliance, is certainly not without significance even outside the realm of politics. We must visualize in our minds how they must have talked and understood each other, what ideals of life and happiness of mankind they must have discussed and how their earnest efforts could have led to permanent peace and harmony, if the Emperor himself had not sounded a discordant note.

Shivaji's miraculous escape from Agra, in which the poet Parmānand, Kumār Ramsingh and possibly some others at court must have played an important part, at once made him an all-India figure, whom, people fancied, Providence had specially deputed to preserve the Hindu religion and learning against the Delhi Emperor's attacks. That poets like Bhushan and princes like Chhatrasāl flocked to Shivaji's court for patronage or advice, discloses an intimate contact between the north and the south, in the development of which no small contribution was made by the frequent marches of Aurangzeb's armies and his trusted generals throughout the Maratha leader's remaining life. In this connection we shall easily miss the real sort of events, if we do not recall to our mind the various meetings, negotiations, truces, compromises which must have taken place between responsible agents on both sides, which a continued war always presupposes.

Shivaji's whole life and mission themselves clearly speak of an all round inter-provincial contact between such distant places as Agra, Benares, Mathurā, Bhāgānagar, Jinji, Tanjore and Goa, names which necessirily connote varied fields of linguistic, religious and social synthesis to which the lives of the several saints and gurus, native and foreign, like Rāmdās, Mauni-booā, Nischalpuri Gosāvi, Parmanand Bawa of Poladpur, all great travellers and observers in themselves, must doubtless have contributed. The *bākhars* mention more than a dozen names of gurus of all nationalties whom Shivaji respected and consulted on occasions. Kavi Kalash and Krishnāji Trimal with his brothers Kāshipant and Visājipant, all brothers-in-law of Shivaji's minister Moropant, and residing in the north, were instrumental not only in effecting the escape of Shivaji from Agra but in bringing him and his son Sambhāji safely home through terrible trials. Shivaji employed Kavi Kalash to train Sambhāji in Sanskrit and traditional learning so that Sambhāji later on picked him up for a trusted adviser during his fateful reign of nine years. Such an intimate contact between the north and the south presupposes at least a working knowledge of Hindi and Urdu on the part of the higher society of those days. It is the century of British rule which has obliterated all visible marks of previous contact and sharpened the racial and provincial differences between the various parts of India by confining people to their homes and stopping all military and social movements not required for the peaceful avocations of life. Even now we follow the pernicious method of studying history in provincial and racial compartments.

Conditions were entirely different during the days of Shivaji and the Peshwas. The tāntric cult of Bengal, supposed to confer miraculous powers, attracted many devotees from the extreme limits of India. A learned Brahman named Nischalpuri, possibly versed in this tāntric cult, impressed Shivāji with his learning and superhuman powers and performed at his command another coronation ceremony a few months after the first one had been celebrated. There is evidence that Maharastrians travelled to Bengal for the study of this tāntric practice.

"In the North lies the great city named *Rādhā*, the holiest of places," &c.

It is now known that Sambhāji called to his Court a learned priest named Shivayogi, a Chittapavan Brahman from the Konkan regions of the west coast, who had on purpose travelled to the famous Rādha-nagari* in Bengal and learned personally from a great professor of that place named Laya-Pandit, the coveted art of miraculous accomplishments. A long story follows of Sambhāji's discussions with

* *Radh-nagari*, somewhere near Birbhum ?

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this Shivayogi. Long journeys like this could not be accomplished without far-reaching consequences.

The flight of Aurangzeb's rebel son Akbar from Rajputana to the shelter of Sambhāji and his residence in the Western Ghats for nearly seven years, is an event of outstanding importance in the sphere of which we are speaking. Prince Akbar had a train of followers with him, who had all to acclimatize themselves to the wild and miserable life which the inhospitable poor country and its severe rains enjoined for the Shāhzāda, bred to the luxuries of the Mughal palace. Sambhāji appointed Netaji Palkar, once a Mughal Commander in Afghanistan and now taken back into the Hindu fold, to look after the comforts and needs of Akbar, whose adviser Durgadas Rathor along with Kavi Kalash could have for a time introduced, one imagine, northern social ways and manners into the south. But this was only a very small beginning which soon received ample expansion from the huge transfer of the whole court of Aurangzeb from Delhi to Maharashtra, ranging over a period of not less than a quarter of a century. His vast northern armies, manned both by Hindus and Muslims with the Rajput element predominating, were quartered throughout Maharashtra along with all the paraphernalia of the court and the harem. This transplantation must have brought about a remarkable amount of contact and impact through the compelling needs of life and war and the general administration of the country. The ghastly scene of Sambhāji's and Kalash's end, the captivity of Shāhu and his family, the relentless march of the Emperor against the hill-forts and the exigencies of weather, doubtless threw together two strange societies and possibly led to friendships between these two mutually foreign elements which we can only conceive if we can imagine the stress of life and war, labour and transport, food and residence they had to undergo. Santaji Ghorpade and Zulficar Khan, representing two different types, must have learnt much from their respective lots. The migration of the Maratha Court to Jinji for nine years generated a fresh contact with the European elements of Pondicherry and Chinapatan. If the details are properly investigated and worked out, these events are bound to supply enough data for our theme.

I now pass on to two singular personalities whom necessity made bed-fellows for life, I mean, Shahu, and Sawai Jaisingh. Shahu and Jaisingh were not merely contemporaries but were strangly alike in ideals and duties, though confined to their respective spheres. Shahu was born in 1682, was captured by Aurangzeb along with his whole family (1689) and kept by him in close custody, until at the Emperor's death he was released (1707) and allowed to rule in the Deccan as a vassal in name, although his ministers the Peshwas dictated terms to the Emperor of Delhi. Shahu died in 1749 after a glorious rule of over 40 years, having attained a dominion extending to many quarters of India and a fame for sobriety and piety, none of which even the wildest imagination could have predicted in his early days.

Jaisingh (born in 1688) ruled at Jaipur from 1699 to 1743. In his early life he served in the Deccan as a vassal in the imperial army. He often secured high compliments for valour, foresight and devotion from a task-master of Aurangzeb's type. In the case of Vishalgad, we definitely know that it was the personal daring and shrewd diplomacy of Jaisingh that enabled the Emperor to secure that difficult fort in April 1702. During the ascendency of the Saiyad brothers, the position of the Rajput princes was not at all enviable. Jaisingh was tossed between two conflicting loyalties, the one to his vacillating masters and the other to his own race and religion, which it was the traditional policy of the Mughals to put down.

Jaisingh and Shahu spent several years of their life in the moving imperial camp, the one an active vassal, the other a closely watched prisoner not knowing what the future had in store for him, either a death similar to that of his father, a conversion to the Muslim faith or a life of blinded captivity in some remote State prison. It would be sweet to imagine that the two occasionally exchanged views, through mediums if not directly, on political affairs and on their duty to their own religion and their nation. They must have recalled how their respective grandfathers had reacted to the policy adopted by the Emperor Aurangzeb and concerted measures, each in his own way, for future action. Their subsequent friendship and respect for each other suggest a close acquaintance and frequent deliberation during the years of their life in the Deccan.

During the Emperor's stay at Poona in the autumn of 1703 he threatened Shahu with conversion, as he was growing impatient about the future treatment of this Maratha prince. Tradition mentions that the Emperor relented at the intercession of his own daughter, accepting two substitutes, the sons of Pratapraw Gujar, for that projected operation. The incident created a sensation throughout the camp and Jaisingh must have commensurated with the

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lot of this grandson of the great Shivaji. The Rajputs came to be entirely disaffected. Durgadas from the north, Akbar from Persia, the growing Shahu near at hand, these and open rebels in all parts of the Mughal dominions, such as the Bundellas, the Sikhs, the Jats, &c., created a chaos which loomed large before everybody. What next ?, this was the question uppermost in every mind. The Emperor's death ultimately cemented the friendship of Shahu and Jaisingh, both of whom thereafter openly emerged as supporters of a policy of conciliation and concerted action.

The dream matured, in spite of the short check that it received from the shrewd and foresighted Bahadur Shah. The Rajput Princes met during 1710 in a conclave on the border of the Pushkar Lake and deliberated long and frankly for the uplift of the Hindu religion, in which Shahu on his part was unable to participate on account of the unfortunate civil war, which he had not foreseen. But his trusted agent Shankaraji Malhar in the employ of the Saiyads, who for long had lived in the north between Benares and Delhi and gauged the situation correctly, advised Shahu, through the Purandarés and other friends of his in the Deccan, how he should shape his policy and how he should not break with the Rajput princes in the north who had already pledged themselves not to contract alliances with the Mughal house.

The ascendency of the Saiyads gave a chance to Jaisingh to play an important part in his country's fortunes on account of several sterling qualities which he possessed, personal valour, benevolent character, deep scholarship and above all a phenomenal goodwill towards all and sundry. On all critical occasions his advice was warmly sought by friends and foes alike. The Emperor bestowed on him the significant title of Rājādhirāj. He was a soldier and a diplomat, far above any of his contemporaries. Having well experienced the dismal failure of the indefatiguable Aurangzeb, he studiously avoided extreme measures and advocated a policy of reconcilation and appeasement towards the Marathas whose strength and aspirations he fully understood. He felt personal respect not only for Shahu, but for Balaji Vishvanath and his two sons. He admired and appreciated the dash and resourcefulness of Bajirao, who directed his energies to the conquest of the north and earned the goodwill of the Rajput princes in the cause of liberty and religion. Jaisingh soon realized that the Muslim grandees like Nizam, Sarbuland Khan, Khan Dauran and Kamruddin Khan were no match for the aspiring Marathas, now banded together under a young and energetic born leader like Bajirao.

But it was more in the field of letters and peaceful avocations like poetry and astronomy that Jaisingh had developed personal tastes. He announced this predilection by a grand celebration of what is known as the "horse sacrifice," which had long been in abeyance and for which he invited to Ambar an assemblage of renowned priests and scholars from all parts of India. Krishna-Kavi in his *Ishwar-vilās Kāvya* has devoted two long chapters to the description of this *Ashwamedh*, in which the author himself took part.

This unique performance and his establishment of an astronomical observatory at Ujjain gave him an all-India reputation as a powerful monarch devoted to the precepts of his ancient religion and piety. Ujjain soon passed into the hands of the Sindias along with the cession of Malwa to the Marathas.

But it is the cultural aspect of those transactions with which we are concerned. The sudden and unexpected victory obtained by Bajirao and his brother towards the end of 1728 and the early months of the following year over such powerful opponents as Giridhar Bahadur, Daya Bahadur and Muhammad Khan Bangash, so altered the political situation in the north that the Emperor asked Jaisingh to mediate the Marathas and bring about a compromise. The mission of Deepsingh to Satara and Aurangabad during 1730 was the result. The Rajput princes following the lead of Jaisingh appreciated the disinterested and patriotic service which the Marathas professed to do to their common religion and motherland. Maratha rule in Malwa had proved far more successful and beneficial to the children of the land than the confused and grasping freaks of the ever-changing Mughal governors. Bankers, army suppliers and ambassadors had been freely moving between the south and the north in the wake of the Maratha conquest, avowing Maratha aims of religious revival and interpreting mutual interests. There was in fact a constant flow and exchange between Delhi and Satara for a good long time, particularly during Bajirao's activities. Deepsingh arrived with a large retinue and accompanied by diplomats from other States. The mission travelled for months through Maharashtra and gauged the the extent of Maratha ambitions and capacity along with those of the Nizam in comparison. The reports of these ambassadors are quite flattering to the Marathas, with whom they advised a policy of conciliation. Shortly after, Bajirao himself met the Nizam near Ausa and

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contracted with him an agreement not to interfere in each other's spheres of activity.

When Nadir Shah despoiled Delhi, Shahu at once directed Bajirao to go and protect the Emperor: He wrote "I had given a solemn promise to the Emperor Aurangzeb that whenever the Empire would be endangered by foreign enemies, I should at once run to its rescue." In the same connection, when the Maratha agents at Delhi suggested to Bajirao to come and take possession of Delhi himself, Shahu wrote a strong remonstrance prohibiting Bajirao from harming the Emperor or his interests. "We would be glad" he wrote, "to regenerate and renovate the Empire, rather than pull it down and build a Maratha one in its place. There surely is greater merit in reviving an old dilapidated shrine than in constructing a new one." These ideals were doubtless shared in common by both Jaisingh and Shahu.

Deepsingh's mission was followed by an influx of North India men, scholars, priests, bankers and traders seeking shelter at Shahu's court and thereby enriching the social life of his favourite capital Shahunagar, or Satara City, as distinct from the fort of Satara. Only a few names such as Sukhānand, Bansipuri, etc., have survived. A large foreign population from Gujrat and North India can still be noticed in several Deccani cities, an indisputable evidence of the social affinities of those historic times of the past.

Nor was the process in the opposite direction wanting. Babuji Naik Joshi, Mahadev Bhat Hingne, Narayan Bhat Patankar and various other Maharashtrian families had migrated from the Deccan and taken their abode at Benares, Mathura, Delhi and other places, cementing Rajput-Maratha friendship to a degree hardly to be conceived in the present days of provincial jealousy and exclusion. Saraswats from Goa migrated to Kotah and Gwalior; Karhadas from the Konkan to Sagar and Jhansi. It was the previous preparation of a suitable atmosphere by these men and by Bajirao's shrewd agents like Dado Bhimsen, Antaji Mankeshwar, Govind Ballal, Mudhaji Hari, Dhondo Govind, Venkaji Ram, Baburao Malhar and a number of others, too many to mention, which brought about a complete rapprochement between the courts of Jaipur and Satara, to be shortly after sealed by a personal visit of Bajirao to Jaisingh near Kishangad in March 1736. Jaisingh's lead impelled the other Rajput princes,—the Rana of Udepur, the Rao of Kotah and the Hada of Bundi, to espouse Bajirao's cause.

The successful pilgrimage of the Peshwa's mother throughout North India during 1735 and the significant marks of devotional respect and cordial reception she received not only from Rajput courts but from the Emperor himself and his provincial representatives like Md. Khan Bangash, a declared opponent of the Peshwa, are links in the cultural chain which was then taking shape. It goes without saying that there must have been a large exchange of language and ways of life in general.

Factors other than political are not wanting to prove this strong contact. They only require assiduous investigation. I have been able to get together a few interesting facts from Mr. P. K. Gode, the indefetiguable and scholarly Curator of the Bhandarkar Research Institute at Poona. A Maharashtra Brahman family surnamed Mahashaodé had long migrated to Mathurā from the region of the Godāvari. A learned and pious member of this gifted family named Ratnākar Bhatt became the spiritual guru of Sawai Jaisingh and wrote the famous work called *Jaya-Sinha-Kalpadrum*. Ratnakar's brother Prabhākar Bhatt and Prabhākar's son Vrajanath were the family priests of that king and wielded very great influence at his court. These two in particular, helped by others, brought about the visit of Bajirao to Jaisingh in 1736. One Dinanath and another courtier of Jaisingh also took an equally prominent part in this affair. Dinanath specially came to Satara in 1735 and accompanied the Peshwa's mother throughout her northern pilgrimage. (*Vide* S. P. D. Vol. 30 No. 108).

Thus, poets and priests frequently travelled between the north and the south strengthening the ties of friendship and cordiality that had long already existed between Shahu and Jaisingh. They received patronage from Shahu and his sardars and other well-to-do gentry. During Shahu's life-time the Maratha policy was strictly controlled on lines of public good. His death brought about a transformation and loosed the central check, so that Rajput-Maratha relations soon became thoroughly estranged, and never recovered their original cordiality. The estrangement commenced with the suicide of Ishwar Singh, was aggravated by Mahadji Sindia and Yasvantrao Holkar, and has not been completely effaced during the apathetic British administration of a century.

Shahu's court had equal hospitality for men from Gujarat, the Kanarese country, and the Andhra region of the East coast. There were already close ties and constant contact between Bhāgānagar, Poona, and Satara. Devashankar Nanabhai, a Gujarati scholar of Sanskrit residing near Surat, has written a work named *Alankār-Manjushā*, in which he has enthusias-

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tically applauded the several Peshwas from whom he had received honours and presents. Another poet named Jagannath, hailing from Tanjore, was patronized by the Peshwas at Poona and wrote *Shankar-vilās-Champu* and other works. Parmanand's sons and grandsons continue to receive patronage at the Maratha Court. Hari Kavi, a Maharashtrian who had long migrated to Surat wrote a work called *Shambhu-rāj-Charit* and looked upon Kavi Kalash as his guru. Kavi Kalash himself was a highly cultured Sanskrit scholar and perhaps soiled his reputation with the Maratha public by his loyalty to Sambhaji. We may be sure he brought with him a good deal of North Indian learning and influence into Maharashtra.

Hari Kavi Pandit, a Canarese by birth, was for long the Chief Judge (*Prādvivak*) of Sawai Jaisingh and wrote with the help of Brajanath a work called *Vaidik-Vaishnav Samachar*.

At a later date appeared one Kutti Kavi, a voluminous writer who had travelled several times between Rameshwar and Benares and come to be patronized by the Patwardhan chiefs after the Maratha Raj had vanished. Bhaskar Rai, another versatile Sanskrit writer, widely travelled and the author of numerous works on rhetoric and religion, was highly respected by Bajirao I.

These are some of the points I have noted in the course of my studies. They are by no means exhaustive but are only suggestive. I feel we have lost the all-India outlook through the provincial and parochial outlook which has come into vogue in the present age in spite of the expansion of facilities for travel and foreign contact: the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta and a host of institutions at different places are in their own way foreign to each other and do not work in a co-operative spirit. We read in history of political meetings as between Shivaji and Mirza Raja Jaysingh, between Bajirao I and Sawai Jaisingh and the Nizam, between Shahji and Adilshah, between Sambhaji, Shahzada Akbar and Kavi Kalash, between Yesubai and Zinatunnisa Begam, between Murarrao Ghorpadé, Clive and Bussy, and of ambassadors constantly going between Lucknow, Pondicherry, Murshidabad, Burdwan, Patna, Benares, Jaipur, Delhi and Poona and a good many other places. While the influence of the Marathas reached the distant corners of India, the Marathas in return received phenomenal enrichment from foreign contact. The whole Maratha life seems to have been affected in this way; no conquest has been effected without its natural consequence—the free admixture of thought and culture.

Shahu's mother Yesu Bai who shared his captivity, I am sure, opened her heart to Zinatunnisa Begam (the daughter who attended on Aurangzeb in his old age) and received in return full sympathy. Vast Maratha armies travelling year after year to Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana and Karnatak, must have imbibed the life of those regions. They were bound to eat, drink and amuse in each other's fashion. They went to establish their rule in those parts and must have made friends with them, obtained their news through spies and agents, and exacted tribute, which they could not have done without freely mixing with the foreigners, Muslims and Rajputs. We have now to revive these forgotten contacts, piecing together such slender data as still remain after the havoc of past centuries. Let us help ourselves to revive our past achievements and appreciate them rightly for our future regeneration.

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SOME ALLEGATIONS AGAINST INDIAN OFFICIALS

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II

Allegations Regarding the Maintenance of Official Integrity

Sir Michael O'Dwyer gives another reason for slowing down the rate of Indianisation. The presence of English officials, presumably in numbers large enough to influence the administration of the country as a whole is, in his view, necessary

"to maintain by their example and vigilant control those standards of honour and integrity in the public service which are almost unknown in purely Oriental administrations, and are not yet firmly established in British India."

Sir Michael maintains that the improvement in the probity of the Indian *personnel* which he found when he was Governor of the Punjab is due to "British example and British control."

One wonders whether members of another All-India service, namely the Indian Educational Service, will allow all the credit for this improvement to the civilians. They might point out with justice that the men who occupy subordinate positions to-day are more highly educated than their uneducated and less honest predecessors and that at least part of the credit for the improvement which Sir Michael admits has made its appearance should go to them. Similarly, the European missionaries who have in their evangelistic work as well as in the educational institutions under their control always stressed the high moral standards of Christianity, the different reformist Hindu and semi-Hindu organisations such as the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ram Krishna Mission, to mention only some of them, as well as the exponents of the Ahmadiya and the Wahabi movements among our Mussalman brethren might also claim that the work they have done among the younger generation has been responsible, at least partly, for the raising of the moral standards of the present generation.

Sir Michael treads more dangerous ground when he says that the too rapid Indianisation of the services has given rise to

"complaints from nearly every department of the increase of corruption and nepotism in the Indian elements of the public services, and the administration is now becoming so weakened that it is powerless to cope with this growing evil and in fact does not face what it knows to be the fact. The ground so slowly gained in the past is rapidly being lost, and at the present pace of deterioration the Indian masses may soon find that Indianisation has resulted in placing them under the heel of an officialdom almost as corrupt as that of any purely Oriental administration."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not offered any proof that corruption and nepotism have increased as the result of Indianisation on a more liberal scale than in the past. Let fair-minded men judge whether a statement of this type based on what is after all a general impression can be regarded as a substitute for a conclusion founded on well-ascertained facts. A very dangerous admission is that the administration still predominantly British while quite aware of this most undesirable state of things had not either taken the public into its confidence or adopted any effective measures to check it— a left-handed compliment which, I feel sure, found no appreciation from those of Sir Michael's old colleagues who were in service when he wrote his book. Sir Michael also made the prophecy that if Indianisation proceeded at the rate it was going on at the time he published his book, the masses would soon find themselves under a system of administration so corrupt that it would not, in any sense, be superior to any purely oriental administration. I am not in a position to give any idea as to whether as the result of these and similar attacks on the probity of Indian officers, the pace of Indianisation has been slowed down materially. I, however, do know that, inspite of the presence of a larger number of Indians than before in the different services, the administration has not degeneratied in the manner or to the extent predicted by Sir Michael.

Sir Reginald Craddock, another retired member of the Civil Service, is more charitable towards his Indian colleagues who, under official etiquette, are not permitted to reply to ungenerous charges of this vague and general type. He permitted himself to observe :

"When I joined the service (this was in 1884) the majority were not trusted, and a great many fell into the category 'notoriously corrupt.' There were quite a number who took bribes from both sides, decided the

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case on its merits, and returned the money to the unsuccessful party."

But he had also the fairness to add :

"There has been immense improvement in the honesty of our Indian magistrates and judges, which better education has brought about in the last forty years."

Sir Reginald Craddock's opinion regarding the Indian members of the Civil Service is more favourable. He says :

"I have known many Indians in the I.C.S., several of whom were under my own observation. There have been some who have had a brilliant record. I have never heard of any corruption among any of them."

He, however, does not find the same high standard of integrity among the members of either the Provincial or the Subordinate Provincial service. His words are as follows :

"In the various Provincial Civil Services the best Indian officers are very good, but they tail off badly, and there are more cases of corruption among them than ought to occur in these days when the personnel is more highly educated. The Subordinate Civil Services are very unequal. Some of the men are wonderfully good; others deplorably bad."

An attempt has been made later on to place the Indian point of view so far as the lower grades of the Provincial services are concerned. With reference to the members of the Provincial services, one can only say that the evidence is the other way, provided of course one bases his inference on the number of those punished for bribery and corruption either departmentally or proceeded against in courts of law.

It has also been suggested that the presence of British engineers is essential in the Public Works Department where large sums of money have to be disbursed and where the temptation to favour particular influential contractors or to "pass" inferior work is almost irresistible. An opinion such as this carries the oblique hint that while highly placed Indian officials may succumb to this weakness, the British official will not do so. It can very well be pointed out that as the minor officials of this department have little to do in matters like placing contracts or passing work they, at least, are safe so far as this charge is concerned. With regard to officials holding higher ranks, there is ample justification for the opinion that there are black sheep not only among us but also among the English officials.

The experience of the above two English officials must have been more unfortunate than that of others who have passed their lives in other parts of India. And this may be regarded as the only explanation of their attitude. The real reason for the lack of an All-India outlook on the part of many members of the different services is the fact that as soon as an officer is appointed, he is assigned to a particular province and has to undergo a period of training in Britain or India. And he passes practically the whole of his official career in that province and as he generally does not trouble himself to find out what is happening elsewhere, he bases his findings on what little he sees for himself and feels that the conclusions he arrives at are applicable to the whole of India. That the opinion advanced is correct is corroborated by what Sir Edward Blunt, Kt., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., who, starting life as an I.C.S., of the United Provinces in 1901 and ending as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of the same province in 1935, has said on page 7 of his book entitled *The I.C.S.,—The Indian Civil Service*. His words are as follows :

"Though in theory, a civilian may be sent from one part of India to another, he usually serves the whole of his time in a single province. Accordingly, though he has full personal knowledge of his own province, he has little knowledge of others."

The evidence of Sir Edward who served 34 years in India in various capacities should clinch the matter.

In explaining the system referred to above, the Simon Commission in Vol. I., Para 290, of its report says :

"A recruit to the Indian Civil Service for example, studies at one of the British universities, the principal vernacular of his province and the legal system with which he will be concerned. Unless he is transferred to service under the Central Government, he passes the whole of his career in the province to which he is first assigned."

While it is not for a moment suggested that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock come under this category, one cannot forget that the first of them passed the major part of his career in the Punjab and the adjoining North West Frontier Province and that the first 18 years of Sir Reginald's career were passed in the Central Provinces. There is also the fact that the very high position subsequently filled by Sir Reginald as the Lieutenant Governor of Burma cannot be said to have added very much to his personal knowledge of the misdoings of Indian officials.

India cannot forget what that acute American observer, John Gunther, on page 516 of his book *Inside India* has said with reference to English officials of a certain type. His words are as follows :

"The I.C.S., is called narrow. It is called parochial. Many of its members, stiff-necked, strait-laced, especially those nearing retirement, are incompetent to understand the modern stresses in India, and are horrified privately at Provincial Autonomy and its development. Some live all their careers in one province; they have no All-India sense. I have met members of the I.C.S., who

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have been in India twenty-five years, and have never seen Madras or Lahore; I have met army officers—much more liberal minded as a rule—who say that the I.C.S., has tried to throttle every reform in India since 1919."

Mr. John Gunther wrote this about 1938, but long before that when Ramsay MacDonald toured India in 1912-14, he observed the same phenomenon. In his book *The Awakening of India,* page 163, he has said :

"I have met men in India who had been there for a score of years. They knew few Indians, they had rarely discussed public affairs with them, they could not answer accurately some of the most elementary questions about Indian life, their opinions on current affairs were obviously the parrot repetitions of club talk or newspaper statements. In fact, they were as separate from India as I am at home in London, and took their opinions of India in an even more second-hand way than I had taken mine before I set foot in Bombay."

If it is held that the opinion of Mr. John Gunther should not carry much weight as he, a tourist and journalist, is likely to exaggerate for the sake of effect and that so far as Ramsay MacDonald is concerned he, as a representative of labour in the House of Commons, was not likely to be quite fair to bureaucracy and its representatives, let us hear what a friend of civilians has got to say in the matter. I am quoting below the opinion of a writer who has wielded a very vigorous if not vitriolic pen against National India and condemned the policy of the British Government in granting concessions, however small, to India. My information is that the author is an English official who occupied one of the most responsible positions in the British administration and that he has preferred to write under the nom-de-plume of Al. Carthill. He begins by telling us that it is only in the first few years of their career that some members of the Indian Civil Service are engaged in district work when they enjoy some opportunity of familiarising themselves with actual conditions which is not, however, always turned to the best use. When they are promoted to higher positions, they lose this advantage and the experience they gather in the earlier part of their career no longer proves useful as conditions are changing all over the country with great rapidity. On page 148 of his book, *The Lost Dominion,* he concludes by saying :

"It was thus easy and common for a man to spend thirty-five years in India, and rise to supreme control of a great province, and yet know little more of India and the Indians than he would have known had he spent those years in Whitehall."

I would, however, be quite unwilling to believe that prejudiced as these two English officials, *viz.,* Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock seem to be against Indian officials, their opinion has not been based on well-ascertained facts. As against this, I would draw the attention of my readers to the fact that in 1929 there had already been one Indian Governor of a Province, that three out of the seven members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were Indians while 50 per cent of the members of the Provincial Governors' Councils were Indians. That year, out of a total of 1,261 members of the Indian Civil Service, 894 were Europeans and 367 Indians. In the Indian police, about 35 to 40 per cent and in the Forest and the Education services about 45 per cent were Indians. In the Indian Irrigation service, out of 494 members, 250 were Europeans and 244 Indians. In the Engineering Department, out of 8,000, only 500 were Europeans and in the Judiciary out of 2,500, only 230 were Europeans. In the whole of British India, there were only 200 Europeans in the Civil Medical Department out of a total of nearly 6,000 medical men. Lastly, in the General Administration, out of 6,130 only 630 were Europeans.

Eleven years and more have passed since the Indian officials referred to above were serving Government. We have yet to learn that the charge of bribery and corruption brought against a set of worthy men and faithful servants of Government on the basis of what may be true of say fifty or even a hundred among thousands in service can be regarded as proved to any one's satisfaction. It does not seem generous to indulge in this kind of criticism based upon prejudice and a very inadequate acquaintance with facts on the strength of which no reasonable man will dare bring such monstrous accusations.

The most favourable soil for bribery and corruption is the law court. It has been admitted both by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock that, whatever the cause, there has been an improvement. If that is so, things must have been worse half a century ago. Yet while giving his opinion at the time of the controversy over the Ilbert Bill introduced in 1883 which proposed that Europeans should be tried by Indian judges, the Lord Chancellor of England was pleased to observe :

"In respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the judgments of the native judges were quite as good as those of the English."

From the Memorandum on Indian Administration Cd. 4956, 1909, it appears that 90 per cent of the original Civil suits and 75 per cent of the Magisterial business of India come before Indian officials. Ramsay MacDonald commenting on this fact has observed :

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"It is pleasant to bear record that although I was in the very best position to hear in confidence of the character of the Indian magistrates, a very small number of them were even suspected of tempering justice with pecuniary considerations and this did not apply to a single important judge."

Mr. Raymond Fosdick published in 1920 his well-known book entitled *American Police System* in which he gave a detailed account of the various reasons which, in his view, explained the unsatisfactory police administration of that great Western democracy. According to this authority, the five most important of these are the heterogeneity of the population, the law's delays, the technicalities of procedure, the wrong attitude of the public towards crime and criminals and a corrupt judiciary. Sir John Cumming, Kt., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., who was a member of the Executive Council in his contribution to *Modern India* entitled "Law and Order" commenting on Mr. Fosdick's book has said that the last factor does not apply to India "for the general integrity and competency of the Indian magistracy and judiciary can hardly be assailed." This was an opinion expressed in 1931, six years after the pronouncement of Sir Michael and two years after the publication of Sir Reginald Craddock's book.

The Simon Commission was appointed in November, 1927 and paid two visits to India in the course of 1928 and 1929 and submitted its report in May, 1930. It examined witnesses both Indian and non-Indian and based its findings on their evidence and the vast mass of documentary material placed at its disposal by both the Central and Provincial governments. Boycotted by nationalists of all camps, the British officials who were opposed to Indian aspirations of every type enjoyed exceptional opportunities of pressing their point of view upon its members and that without fears of any challenge coming from nationalist sources. It has yet to be proved that they failed to take advantage of such opportunities. The Commission did not include a single Indian and it was boycotted by nationalists wherever it went. Such treatment was not likely to leave a very favourable impression upon the members. And yet comments on the bribery and corruption supposed to be present extensively among the judiciary, the Simon Commission in Vol. I., Para 331, of its Report observed:

"The confidence reposed in the competence and integrity of the higher judiciary is practically universal. We have heard that some dissatifaction is felt with the status and attainments of the lowest ranks of the subsidiary magistracy and, when the method of their recruitment is considered, this is not surprising, for they are frequently selected from the clerical staff of the District officer. Economy has little to recommend it here. How far exactly the taint of corruption extends in the subordinate judiciary, it is difficult to say. We have not had much positive evidence on the point, and we realise that this depends partially on the vigilance and capacity of the superior controlling authority.... While in two or three provinces there is known to be much room for improvement in the lower judiciary, our belief is that on the whole, despite individual instances of malpractice, when the capacity demanded and the comparatively small remuneration offered for it are taken into account, the general standard of efficiency and honesty of this class of judicial officers in many provinces reaches a high level."

It seems to me that the crucial test with regard to this question is the evidence of men who deal or have dealt with civil and criminal cases daily during their official career. I give below an extract from an article contributed by Sir Maurice Hayward, K.C.S.I., Judge, High Court, Bombay, 1918-21 and Member, Executive Council, Bombay, 1921-1926, to the book entitled *India From A Back Bench*, the joint work of five conservative members of the House of Commons. Sir Maurice whose position as a judge and an Executive Councillor had enabled him to acquire first-hand information about the machinery created for the administration of justice as well as about the integrity of those Indian officials who had anything to do with it observed in 1934:

"Selected members of the subordinate executive services are invested with magisterial powers for the trial of minor offences in every district. They are all Indians. They exercise these powers in strict subordination to the District Magistrate, who is ordinarily a member of the Indian Civil Service. Their judgments are subject to revision by the Sessions Judge, who tries all major offences in the district. He also is ordinarily a member of the Indian Civil Service. Criminal and civil appeals lie from the judgments of the District and Sessions Judges to the Provincial High Courts, which include a number of Indian judges. Appeals lie from the High Courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

"The Courts are subject thus to strict supervision, which is secured further by the submission of detailed returns and by the periodical inspections of superior judicial officers. Corruption which was rife in times past is seldom charged against the magistrates and judges of the present day who are well educated and highly paid and who, moreover, depend for promotion upon their efficiency and integrity as observed by the High Courts. The opinions of the latter are taken in nearly every case of promotion or posting by the Executive Government."

No doubt, there are individual Indian officials against whom the charge of corruption may with justice be brought forward and also that it is not always possible to accuse them formally of corruption and to prove it in a court of law. As against this, National India would urge that it is nothing but hypocrisy to maintain that these defects are confined to India. Let those members of the Indian Civil Service who believe the

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contrary remember the sixth article of the covenant they had to sign before their appointment. This, as they should know, forbids the civilian to accept presents or to make corrupt bargains under certain pains and penalties. While it is not for a moment suggested that they are guilty of such malpractices, it is only fair that such critics of India's shortcomings should not allow themselves to forget that the presence of this article is a memento and a most significant memento of those spacious days when such practices were so common that they had to be made punishable under law as extortion.

Coming to more recent times, every one who has cared to make anything like a careful study of the history of the public life of England is aware that, till recently, the control of public affairs was under the direction of a few well-known English families which cannot by any means be regarded as always having been above similar weaknesses. To the educated and intelligent Indian, it appears like downright hypocrisy when the leaders of the House of Commons, whether sitting in the treasury or the opposition benches, though differing radically from one another in other matters, agree solemnly about the necessity of maintaining English standards of political honesty knowing as he does that very often the party funds from which came the expenses of their election campaigns and to which therefore they owe their position, have been derived from the sale of honours.

Allegations of Nepotism

An accusation very often brought against Indian officials is that, as a rule, they are guilty of utilising their position in order to show undue favour in various ways to their relatives. Referring to this defect in the Indian character. the anonymous author of *The Lost Dominion* has remarked that the presence of the British official alone has been responsible for keeping nepotism within bounds if not preventing it altogether. In developing his thesis he has observed :

> "No Indian will ever believe that any fellow-countrymen of his can be so lost to all decent feeling as to sacrifice at the shrine of an abstract virtue like impartiality, the interests of those who should be most dear to him."

This gentleman who, if my information is correct was, before his retirement, a member of the Indian Civil Service and held a very responsible position is apparently ignorant of the history of the recruitment to that service of which the Indian Civil Service is a lineal descendant. We have it on record that between 1790 and 1838 altogether seventy-seven directors were elected of whom fifty-six were Bengal civilians who held between them 170 posts. Among these were one peer, nineteen sons of peers, twelve baronets and one Mr. Treves—a protege of the Prince Regent. Some of these drew their salaries while staying permanently in England while others, let us say relatively more conscientious, paid flying visits to our country. We do not know whether the long voyage round the Cape was taken for reasons of health, Bengal being utilised as a place for passing the interval pleasantly between the two voyages in new and therefore interesting surroundings. In a formal communication addressed to the Board of Directors the complaint was made that the service was filled with men who "had no recommendation but their high birth and great interest." The author of the above mentioned book should know that people holding such a high rank as William Markham, the Archbishop of York, used their influence to provide for their unqualified young dependents, that Hastings, strong man as he was, found it impossible to abolish certian unnecessary posts only because they were held by relatives and dependents of the Directors and that Lord Cornwallis was pressed very hard by the Prince Regent to supersede an Indian officer "of great talent and universally respected" in favour of his protege though at that time Treves had been in India only two years while the Indian had grown grey in the service of the Company. The last instance to which I shall refer is that of one Dundas, a Scotchman, who was President of the Board of Control for quite a number of years. During his time, nominations to service became, to a certain extent, the price of political support and young Scots "were able to obtain his patronage through the intervention of their members of Parliament."

All these facts have been put before the reader merely to show that nepotism is not the monopoly of India, and that though events which happened a century ago repeated themselves less than half a century ago, I have not referred to them here only because I have no desire to mention in this connection the names of some of the most reputable families of England whose scions are now serving their motherland with an unselfish zeal which is not often paralleled. My contention is that nepotism appears at a certain stage of social development, that the best way of combating it is for society to realise its evil effects, for public opinion to crystalise itself against it when it is bound to disappear. This has happened in England and is happening in India to-day and must end it.

Let us admit that such is the influence of the joint family system in India that, to some at least among us, nepotism appears almost like a

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religious duty and that it is responsible for many an act of injustice. At the same time, may we remind our critics that it has got to be proved that the claims of a relative to promotion are stronger in India to-day than, for instance, they were in England less than half a century ago? If, as is claimed, England has succeeded in shedding these weaknesses, why should not India do the same? If England did not import aliens to overcome these defects, why should India be expected to get her officials from outside her own borders?

Nor can any educated and well-informed man be persuaded to believe that, whatever the cause, low standards of ministerial and official integrity due to such causes necessarily imply inefficiency in public administration. If this was so, surely the United States of America, honeycombed by graft, would have been the first among the nations of the West to succumb to the insidious effects of this weakness.

National India, however, does not believe that Indian officials whatever the position they occupy in the different services should, in any way, be justified if the corruption of which they are accused and supposed to be guilty as a class, is also found in the West. It is not prepared to admit the correctness of the charge of corruption as being widely present among Indian officials and would refute it by a statement which appears on page 123 of the "Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India" published in 1924.

"One of the greatest services—perhaps the greatest—which Englishmen have done for India has been the training which they have given to Indian officials in the methods and morals of public services. Consciously or unconsciously, merely through being associated with Englishmen in the same administrative body, working side by side with them on a footing of complete equality, sharing equally their pride in what the Service has done for India and in their hope of what it may yet do, many of them have acquired an *esprit de corps* and a sense of public duty the attainment of which by any other means must have been a long and difficult task."

Surely the opinion of a Royal Commission which was published in 1924 that is to say the same year as *The Lost Dominion* and just one year before Sir Michael O'Dwyer published his memoirs and which based its findings on information gathered from every province of India should be given more weight than that based on the experience derived from the administration of one or two provinces. The position which Sir Michael and the anonymous author of *The Lost Dominion* took when they generalised from their limited experience is not only illogical but hazardous for those who pose as authorities on matters Indian. At the same time, it is unjust to a class of men who are not in a position to seek redress on account of the sweeping nature of the charges brought against them.

Even at the risk of being misunderstood, I am compelled to add that there have been occasional lapses on the part of some British officials and that these have been noted and commented on by Indians. Who does not know that some among them make large amounts out of travelling allowances which they never spend, some going even so far as to enjoy private hospitality while charging daily allowances? Are there not some even now who utilise their position to draw travelling allowances for visiting friends or paying flying visits to a more salubrious climate on the plea of consulting their superior officers? And is nepotism quite unknown among them? Have not posts been either created or filled more than once by ill-qualified Englishmen just to give them a chance of earning their living? That nepotism and jobbery are not quite unknown among the British may be proved by what Sir Valentine Chirol, who was not very well-disposed towards India's political ambitions has said on page 301 of his book *Indian Unrest*. His words are as follows:

"Men are too often sent out as lawyers or as doctors, or even, as I have already pointed out, to join the Education Department, with inadequate qualifications, and they are allowed to enter upon their work without any knowledge of the language and customs of the people. Such cases are generally the result of carelessness or ignorance at home, but some of them, I fear, can only be described as *jobs*—and there is no room in India for jobs."

Is it not a fact that where such men have made good, it has been due to the training they have received in India and that at the expense of the Indian tax-payer? Surely there is not much difference between this type of partiality shown to people of one's own nationality and the partiality shown to one's relatives? National India would ask these critics to first persuade their own countrymen to get rid of their own shortcomings and then to ask Indians to follow in their footsteps.

The Misdoings of Minor Officials

Every student of Indian history is aware of the huge bribes taken by the higher officials of the East India Company. In this connection the names of Clive and Warren Hastings will naturally occur to our minds. Mir Jafar's present of three millions sterling and the three different occassions between the murder of Serajuddowla and 1765 in which unbelievably huge sums changed hands are instances of corruption not easily forgotten. What is suggested is that so far as the junior officers were concern-

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ed, such records as are available do not tend to show that they had any share in what amounted to the Indian loot.

Sir Edward Blunt in his history of the Indian Civil Service has told us that originally the apprentices who occupied the lowest position in the service of the East India Company were appointed on £5 per annum rising to £20 in ten years. The scales of salaries of its other servants were as follows :—Writers £10 to £20; Junior Factors £20 to £30; Senior Factors £30 to £50 the maximum in all cases being reached in 10 years. Fifty per cent of these salaries were drawn in India if they exceeded £10 per annum. Later on, the salaries of writers and factors were reduced by £5 each and these rates remained in force till as late as 1758. All were paid allowances for their servants' wages and washing with free board and lodging and travelling expenses.

And still we are told that the Company servants were guilty "of pride and extravagance as shown by the wearing of gorgeous apparel and the use of of umbrellas; ....of drunkenness;.. ..and of excessive gambling"—to the extent that some of them "lost as much as three years' salary in as many hours." All this was possible partly because under the shelter of the privileges granted to their employers, the East India Company, they engaged in private trade which had been forbidden—and also because they took bribes right and left without any objections from their superior officers who too were equally guilty of the same reprehensible practice.

It was only in 1793 that these junior men were at last given living wages. The improvement which made its appearance at that time was partly due to the increase in their salaries and partly to the legislative measures enacted against corrupt practices and the strictness with which they were enforced. One of the first signs of this improvement consisted in numerous resignations submitted by those who had come to India with the distinct purpose of enriching themselves quickly by the calculated adoption of illegal methods. These facts to which attention has been drawn with considerable reluctance prove beyond any doubt that the adoption of identical methods in India would root out corruption among our minor officials.

It should further be remembered that so far as our minor officials are concerned, they have no influence and therefore the question of nepotism cannot arise. In the matter of bribery and corruption, India has not, as yet, heard of any country in the world in which bribery is unknown or in which the urban police is so upright that it will not accept what is called illegal gratification from those who make it their business to purvey illicit delights. National India does not admit that direct bribery with its popular variant, the taking of commissions, is a characteristic oriental vice. They will persist on an extensive scale so long as inadequate salaries are paid to those whose good offices have to be sought for carrying through business expeditiously. For instance, the landlord's agent who collects his rent is often paid such a ridiculous sum as five rupees a month on the tacit understanding that he will add four to five times to this amount by underhand means. The clerk who examines bullock carts and *tongas* before they enter the towns in order to ensure the collection of Octroi is paid twelve to fifteen rupees a month and quite naturally he falls a victim to the temptation of abusing his position in order to add to his income. The observations of an acute Englishman on this point are worth quoting here. He says :

> "The servants who attend collectors are paid Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per month; village accountants, who keep the records on which assessments are made, receive Rs. 10, Rs. 12, and Rs. 14; field superintendents, who check these accountants, get Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. The ordinary police, the most corrupt of all the public servants of India, are paid from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per month, and head constables, whose dishonesties and impositions can hardly be surpassed, are only paid Rs. 15 to Rs. 20."

The Englishman, if he has any desire to be fair, should not forget the system prevalent in his own motherland of paying the waiter an inadequate salary on the clear understanding that he will supplement it by "tips." As a matter of fact, what the Englishman calls bribes, the Indian regards as tips. Is it not a fact that unusual difficulties have been encountered in England in the attempts made to get rid of the tipping system and in enforcing the legislative measures against illegal commissions ?

The real remedy is the payment of adequate salaries along with strict supervision and swift punishment. It is only of late that few among the countries of Western Europe have adopted this policy with the result that corruption has very largely disappeared. This process, however, cannot be regarded as complete. Educated and well-informed Indians are aware that there was a remarkable increase in peculation among minor officials in both Great Britain and France and that the German civil service which had, in the past, enjoyed an enviable reputation for its integrity, began to take bribes during the "valuta" crisis. In all these three countries, the corruption which manifested itself has been explained as the result of the smallness of the salaries paid. All which suggests that human nature, whatever the colour of the skin, is very

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much the same and reacts in identical or alomst identical ways in similar circumstances.

One thing has to be remembered—a fact to which attention is very rarely drawn—and this is that, taking into account all the public services and also the 400 million population of India, the number of British officials is negligible. Lord Curzon in an address entitled "The Place of India in the Empire" which he delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in 1909 observed :

"The Englishman proceeding to India may expect to see his own country-men everywhere, and above all in the offices and buildings of Government, in the law courts, and on the magisterial bench. As a matter of fact, except in the great cities, he will rarely come across an Englishman at all. I once visited a city of 80,000 people in which there were only two official Englishmen, both of whom happened to be away."

And what does this absence of the Englishman from areas as large as some of the smaller countries of Europe prove ? It proves that the real work of administration is done by the Indian, that the Englishman is keeping an eye on the work and that in a very general way. Not even the greatest critic of Indian aspirations has admitted that India is badly governed for, if that were so, the only justification for foreign rule would be gone. If therefore India, according to these gentlemen, is on the whole administered well, it must be because the minor officials through whose agency this work is carried on are not so utterly black as they are sought to be painted.

Lord Curzon, never very charitable to India's political aspirations, one of whose "'greatest ambitions while in India" in his own words was "to assist the Congress to a peaceful demise" observed in 1904 :

"It (India) reveals a European system of Government entrusted largely to non-European hands; what is called a subject country, though I dislike the phrase, administered far less by the conquering power than by its own sons; and, beyond all, it testifies to a steady growth of loyalty and integrity on the one part, and of willing recognition of these virtues on the other, which is rich with hope for the future."

These two quotations from a source certainly never very sympathetic towards India's political ambitions ought to be sufficient to convince any fair-minded man that the minor officials of India against some of whom charges of corruption may justly be brought are certainly not, as a class, worse than minor officials in some of the free countries in the West.

It was Lord Teignmouth, better known in India under the name of Sir John Shore who, promoted from the position of an ordinary servant of the East India Company to the Governor-Generalship in 1795, said in 1843

"that there never would be peculation in India is only saying that it is not a desert, for where men are, some ways will be found; but there is as much virtue, principle, and active zeal here as in any part of the world"

—a truism which let all our critics lay to their heart.

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AGRICULTURAL REORGANISATION IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

The most important question of Indian agriculture is its reorganisation. It suffers from many defects, of which the most important are, first, the inefficiency of the cultivator; secondly, the lack of organisation of the holding into a farm or business unit; and thirdly, the absence of any definite plan or object in the agricultural organisation of the country. Moreover, the retarded growth of modern industrialism which has great influence upon the modernisation of agriculture, the unrestricted growth of population and the consequent pressure upon the land, and the absence of any policy for the improvement of rural life, which forms the background of all agricultural activities, are also among the important causes of agricultural backwardness in India. In order to become a successful business enterprise, and to contribute to the wealth and welfare of the cultivators as well as of the people as a whole, Indian agriculture must undergo a thorough reorganisation in the light of both scientific and business principles.

Achievement of Efficiency

The first question of agricultural reorganisation is the development of industrial efficiency among the cultivating classes. Industrial efficiency is as essential in agriculture as in any other industry for its success. The inefficiency of the cultivator is one of the main causes of agricultural backwardness in India. In a vast country like India, with the differences in soil fertility, climatic conditions, capital resources, and marketing facilities, agricultural systems and practices naturally vary widely from region to region—and, while it has achieved a fair degree of efficiency in some of them, it is indifferent and wasteful in others; taking the country as a whole, the efficiency of the Indian cultivator is very low. There are several factors which impede the growth of efficiency among Indian cultivators, such as (1) ill-health; (2) illiteracy; (3) ignorance; and (4) poverty.

The first impediment to the achievement of efficiency by the cultivator is the deficiency in health and vigour, *i.e.*, low vitality, as indicated by the fact that longevity of the population is on the average 26·91 years for men and 26·56 years for women in India, as compared with 58·74 years for men and 62·88 for women in England and Wales.[1] This low vitality is due to several causes, such as insufficient nourishment and the lack of provision for rural health and sanitation and the prevalence of various epidemic and tropical diseases, as pointed out by the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

"Malaria slays its thousands," says the Commission, "and lowers the economic efficiency of hundreds of thousands; plague and cholera sweep the country from time to time; hookworm, kala-azar and diseases arising from diet deficiency insidiously reduce the labour power of the cultivating classes."[2]

Secondly, practically all the cultivating classes are illiterate and are not in a position to take advantage of published information in enlightening themselves on farming or in keeping their farm accounts. The total literate population in 1931 was only 28 million, or 8 per cent and taking only persons of 5 years of age and above, this number would amount to 9·5 per cent. Very few cultivators are among the literate people in rural India.

"Illiteracy," says the Royal Commission on Agriculture, "presents the most formidable single obstacle to rural development in the widest sense. The fact that, of the population of twenty years and over, nearly 90 per cent, cannot be reached directly by the printed word creates a barrier between them and every branch of useful knowledge."[3]

Thirdly, another great impediment to the organisation of a farm is ignorance or the absence of the knowledge of scientific and business principles of modern agriculture. It is due largely to the lack of initiative on the part of the Government to bring the results of research and experiments as well as improved farm practices within the reach of agricultural population. The Indian cultivator inherits along with his holding both the systems and practices of cultivation and follow them all through his life in the absence of knowledge of anything better. He lives most of his life on the spot where he is born. Both illiteracy and immobility prevent him from getting any information from the outside world. He is thus quite ignorant of modern development in agricultural technique

1. *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations*, 1938-39, pp. 52-54.
2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, p. 482.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, p. 559.

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and business principles. The results of research and experimental work recently undertaken by the Government have scarcely reached the agricultural masses. However good and beneficial the old systems and practices of cultivation might have been in olden times, they are almost obsolete in modern times, when both national and international economy, as well as foreign competition require the application of scientific and business principles to agricultural production.

Finally, the extreme poverty of the cultivator, constant pressure on the land, the lack of adequate means of securing a living and early marriage combine to force the cultivator to grow food wherever he can and under whatever conditions, in order to maintain himself and his family. He has neither the training in modern agricultural practices and methods, nor the chance of undertaking any initiative in agricultural enterprise for profit. He is thus compelled to confine himself to subsistence farming.

With education and training, both general and technical, and provision for rural sanitation and health as well as security in land tenure, and facilities for credit and marketing, there is no doubt that the Indian cultivator will be able to achieve efficiency and organise his holding into a business enterprise. There is ample evidence for the development of a new and efficient type of cultivators in different parts of the country, especially in the Punjab. Under favourable conditions the Indian cultivator is quite capable of achieving efficiency in his occupation. Says Dr. Voelcker, the well-known English expert on agriculture :

"At best, the Indian *ryot* or cultivator is quite as good as, and in some respects the superior of, the average British farmer, while at his worst it can only be said that this state is brought about largely by an absence of facilities for improvement which is probably unequalled in any other country; and the *ryot* will struggle on patiently and uncomplainingly in the face of difficulties in a way that no one else would. . . The native, though may be slow in taking up improvement, will not hesitate to adopt it if he is convinced that it contains a better plan and one to his advantage."[4]

What is more significant is the potential capacity of the Indian cultivator to adapt himself to a new environment and to respond quickly to a new agricultural technique, as demonstrated by the Indian immigrants on the Pacific Coast of North America, where several thousands of them were once engaged in agricultural and other occupations in California and British Columbia. They were employed in agriculture, both as independent farmers and farm labourers, and earned reputation as successful farmers and skilful workers. The testimonials of many American and Canadian employers, bankers and others show that Indian farmers, whether owners or labourers, were as good as, if not better than, American and Canadian farmers.[5]

Organisation of the Farm

The next question in agricultural reorganisation is the development of the holding into a business unit or farm. Like a factory or shop, the farm is a business enterprise organised for the utilisation of land resources for profit, or more properly, income over and above rent and interest, inasmuch as the bulk of the Indian cultivators are entrepreneurs and labourers at the same time, and are engaged in subsistence rather than in commercial farming. The development of the holding into a farm or business enterprise requires favourable social, political and economical conditions.

The first question of farm reorganisation is the increase in the size of the holding which is at present too small to become a profitable business unit or farm. The smallness of the holding of the Indian cultivator is indicated by the fact that its average size in acreage is only 2·4 as compared with 62 in England, 40 in Denmark, 26 in Holland, 21·5 in Germany, 20·25 in France and 14·5 in Belgium. Even in China and Japan, which are practically the countries of small peasant farmers, the average size of the farm is 3·25 and 3 acres respectively.[6] The small size of the holding is not only a hindrance to the development of an efficient system of cultivation, but a cause of India's weakness as a productive and economic unit inasmuch as over two-thirds of her active population are engaged in occupations which offer them neither the opportunity to put forth their best energy in production nor a source of decent living.

The small size of the holding raises a number of difficulties regarding (1) the application of modern science and technology to cultivation ; (2) the full utilisation of capital goods such as livestock and implements ; (3) the full employment of the cultivator's energy and intelligence; (4) the use of business principles in the purchase of agricultural products ; and (5) adequate profit of income over rent and interest from the farm for the maintenance of the cultivator and his family in a reasonable

4. Quoted by *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. III, p. 6.

5. Author's *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, Berlin, 1923, Chapter VI.

6. *International Journal of Economics*, July, 1927.

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standard of living including cultural and recreational facilities.

There are two ways of increasing the size of the holding in India: First, the gradual appropriation of the fallow land and cultivable waste for agriculture, which would add 137·6 million acres or 26·8 per cent of the total area to 213·5 million acres or 41·5 per cent of the total now annually sown with crops. Such appropriation is of course costly and some parts may not be economically brought under cultivation. But with an adequate system of irrigation and the introduction of dry farming and other methods, a large part of the arable land now unutilised may be brought under cultivation; secondly, the withdrawal of a large part of population from agriculture to industry through the revival of cottage and village industries and arts and crafts as well as the extension of organised industries, as will be discussed later on; and finally, the operation of small holdings on the co-operative basis, which is already in existence specially in the United Provinces, in order to remedy some of the defects of the small holding, though it may not help in the actual increase of a holding in size for an individual cultivator.

The second problem of farm reorganisation is the establishment of equitable relation between the cultivator and the landlord in many parts of the country. The present land system raises several difficulties in organising a farm. Out of a total of 103 million persons now actually employed in agriculture, about one-tenth is absentee landlords and intermediaries, about one-third agricultural labourers, over one-third tenant cultivators and less than one-third are landowning cultivators. The tenants do not enjoy absolute security in the holding or permanent interest in farming, inasmuch as most of them are not immune from rack renting, illegal levy, and occasional eviction.

A third problem is the unification of the farm with the homestead in most parts of the country, where horticulture, dairying and similar other specialised cultivation may be developed. The separation of the field from the homestead is a great obstacle to the organisation of a farm. The effects of this separation are much more aggravated by the fragmentation of the holding. The rural population in India lives in villages which are separated from one another by fields. The village system has its own advantages, social, political and economic, and was once necessary for protection against wild animals and highway robbers, and it is still necessary in the inundated districts, such as Lower Bengal, where only elevated lands can accommodate the cultivators. But it is not without its disadvantages as far as the organisation of the farm is concerned. The unification of the field and the homestead gives compactness to a holding for business organisation, and facilitates the better utilisation of the land and make possible some system of cultivation, such as, horticulture and poultry—the raising of which require constant care and watch.

The creation of facilities for agricultural credit is still another problem of farm-organisation. The lack of sufficient capital, both fixed and circulating, is a great hindrance to farm organisation. Besides the holding and its improved land, the only expensive capital is the livestock, generally a pair of bullocks or male buffaloes, or one or two cows or cow-buffaloes, which are used for the breeding of working animals, and incidentally to provide milk for the household or the local market. Agricultural implements are simple and primitive, consisting chiefly of the plough and a few other tools, the total cost of all of which would not amount to more than a few rupees. The farmyard manure is generally used as fuel rather than as an addition to soil fertility. His heavy indebtedness, which is often inherited from his ancestors, also interferes with the cultivator's ability to borrow further capital, either for permanent improvement or for current expenses.

Of the measures taken by the Government for creating financial facilities for the cultivators, the most important are, first, the development of co-operative societies, which have not yet achieved desired success and require reorganisation; secondly, the State and mortgage credit which is still in the initial stage of development; and finally, the regulation of the local credit of the village moneylender, which is still the principal source of agricultural finance throughout the country. The recent measures of the Provincial Governments for the scaling-down of the old debt, the control of exorbitant rate of interest and the regulation of credit transactions may be helpful, but the credit facilities for agriculture depend, in final analysis, upon the success of the cultivator as a businessman.

Finally, the enlargement of marketing facilities is also an important need for re-organising the holding into a farm. The lack of transport facilities from the village to the marketing centre, the scarcity of commission agents, and the ignorance of market conditions and prices are among the impediments to agricultural prosperity, and it is only very recently that the importance of marketing in agricultural development has been realised and attempts made to create marketing facilities, but it will take a long time

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before the benefit of such attempts can reach the agricultural masses.

Rationalisation of Cultivation

What is still more important is the rationalisation of cultivation or the more economic utilisation of land, labour and capital in agricultural production. With the evolution of society and the progress of science, technology and business, there evolves in every epoch a body of new technic, physical, intellectual and moral, the application of which to productive processes, whether industrial or agricultural, is a prime duty of all progressive countries. The rationalisation of cultivation involves several processes, of which the most important are the following: (1) increase of productivity, (2) commercialisation of agriculture; (3) regional distribution of cultivation; (4) adaptation of agricultural production to national requirements; and (5) establishment of balance between agriculture and industry.

The first process in rationalisation is the increase in agricultural productivity. In spite of the vast amount of territory devoted to agriculture and of the immense number of cultivators engaged in it, the total production is very low as indicated by the fact that the *per acre* yield of India's staple crops is only one-half, one-third or one-fourth of those in other countries. The total produce is therefore scarcely sufficient for national requirements. There are several methods of increasing agricultural productivity such as (1) better irrigation and manures and implements; (2) the extension of agriculture to current fallow and cultivable waste; (3) intensification of cultivation by growing more than one crop from the same field; (4) diversification of cultivation by producing different crops from the same field through rotation; (5) introduction of improved varieties of crop and livestock; and (6) control of pests and diseases to which most of the crops and livestock are subjected—some of these measures have been already taken by both the Central and Provincial Governments. What is needed is a concentration and intensification of these activities.

The second process in rationalisation is commercialisation or adaptation of production to the market rather than to the household or subsistence. However useful was the subsistence farming in the older days when life was simple and wants were few, it is out of place in modern times when life has become complicated, and wants have multiplied and go much beyond the goods and services that could be produced on the farm. Such increase in wants is the result of a twofold process: first, the increasing necessity of man to adapt himself to the changing physical and social environments; and secondly, the rising desire in man himself for a fuller and richer self-expression. Besides producing foodstuff and raw material for the household, a modern cultivator must produce large quantities of crops and livestock for the market, in exchange of which he can secure other necessaries of life including cultural and recreational facilities.

The third process in rationalisation is regional distribution of cultivation. Certain crops and livestock may be produced in certain localities better than in others owing to favourable soils and climates as well as to transport facilities for marketing. However advantageous mixed farming in general principle may be under certain conditions, every farmer must devote himself to the production of one or two special crops as his principal produce and may add the production of other crops as by-products for household consumption or for the supply of subsidiary occupation. Regional distribution of cultivation not only offers suitable natural environment for crop production, but also facilitates the chances of such benefits as large-scale production on the co-operative basis, consolidation of holdings, security of capital with greater ease and on cheaper terms, employment of better implements, purchase of agricultural requisites and sale of agricultural products on a large scale, grading, packing and transporting of products, encouragement to the growth of creameries and kindred industries and even establishment of its own trade-mark in a distant market. Moreover, the moral and intellectual effects of these co-operative activities upon the cultivators themselves are by no means insignificant.

The next process in rationalisation is the adjustment of agricultural production to national needs both as regards domestic consumption and foreign trade. Such adjustment requires several processes of which the most important are the following: (1) proportional and regional distribution of different food crops, such as cereals, pulses and oilseeds, so that they may sufficiently supply the national requirements for carbohydrate, protein, fat, and vitamin as indicated by nutrition research; (2) proportional and regional distribution of wool, fibre, and other raw material to meet the demand of national industries; and (3) sufficient supplies of both foodstuff and raw material, specially the latter, in which India has the best economic advantage for foreign export for the payment of interest on foreign investment as well as for other

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commodities of which she has absolute need. While the production of food crops should aim at the full supply of dietary elements, the production of crops for foreign market must be based on the advice of the commercial experts as far as profit is concerned. Moreover, any plan for agricultural production must take to consideration that there might be one lean year in every three and every two years must roughly produce the necessaries for three years.

Finally, rationalisation requires the establishment of a balance between agriculture and industry roughly dividing gainful activities or occupations under these two general headings. The primary needs of a community are of course those for food, clothing and shelter in which are employed all the productive energies of a primitive people. But as society evolves, and wants multiply both in quantity and quality, the needs for goods and services other than those supplied by agriculture becomes more and more important, leading to the development of industry. Moreover, the gradual mastery of man over nature, the progress in science, technology and business organisation make agriculture more and more efficient, and the proportion of persons employed in agriculture tends to decline. This has been the case in the history of all the countries. Even between 1911 and 1931, for instance, the percentage proportion of persons employed in agriculture as compared with the total gainfully occupied, declined from 55 to 45 in Italy, from 52 to 47 in Japan, from 40 to 35 in France, from 31 to 29 in Germany and 33 to 22 in the United States.[7] It must be observed that reduction in number of persons employed in agriculture has in most cases been brought about without decrease in productivity. England is an exceptional country as it is very highly industrialised. But the efficiency of agriculture is best seen in the case of the United States which not only cultivates vast territories and supplies her own needs but also produce a great surplus for exportation with the help of only a little over one-fifth of her gainfully occupied population.

A more or less reverse process has, however, taken place in India. The percentage proportion of persons employed in agriculture, as compared with the total gainfully occupied, was 58 in 1881, 61 in 1891, 66 in 1901, 73 in 1921, and 70 in 1931.[8] This gradual increase in number of persons employed in agriculture is due to several causes such as (1) the lack of development of efficiency in agricultural production, (2) the decline of village and cottage industries and arts and crafts in the face of competition of organised industry from abroad, and the tardiness in the growth of organised industry; and (3) the unrestricted growth of population beyond food supply or occupational opportunity.

Whatever might have been the causes, the preponderance of population in agriculture as compared with that in other industries has been responsible for the great national calamity, political, social and economic, from which India has been suffering for generations as indicated by the following facts: (1) abject poverty of the people, of which there is no parallel in the world except perhaps that in China; (2) wastage of the productive energy of the people in unemployment, under-employment, and un-profitable occupations; and (3) the political and social backwardness of the masses who are illiterate and ignorant and live nothing but vegetative lives.

The most important problem of India, aside from that of national health and education, is to establish a balance between agriculture and industry and to increase the volume of industrial occupation. What would be the exact proportion of persons to be employed in agriculture and industry is a question which can not be readily answered. Leaving aside Germany and United States, both of which are highly industrialised, France, in which agriculture and industry are more or less balanced, depends for the supply of her foodstuff and raw material upon a little over $\frac{1}{3}$, and Italy and Japan upon less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total gainfully occupied. The immediate aim of India should therefore be to reduce her productive population in agriculture to about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total gainfully occupied, i.e. 77 million instead of 103 million as at present. In other words, India must find occupations for 26 million additional population in industry including trade and transport.

This rationalisation of cultivation presupposes the planning of agriculture, which is the part of economic organisation in most of the advanced countries. The introduction of the quota system for the control of surplus product of such commodities as cotton, sugar, tea, coffee and rubber, has facilitated the work of national planning for the production of other agricultural products. With the improvement of statistical science and the possibility of

7. Compiled from *Annuar Statistic*, Paris, 1936, Divers Pays, pp. 243-45, the years for U. S. referred to 1910 and 1930, for Japan 1920 and 1930 and for Germany 1911 and 1933.

8. *Indian Year Book*; 1938-39 p. 406, The figure for 1931 referred to that given by the *Annuar Statistic*, and seems to be more correct than 66 given by *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1936, Table 17 and 18.

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measuring national needs as well as national production, it is possible to organise the productive system in such a way as to realise the greatest result from the exploitation of the soil with the least expenditure of labour and capital.

Development of Industrialism

The most important factor in the reorganisation of agriculture in modern times is the rise of industrialism. Industrialism has involved through the constant mastery of man over physical and social environments, as indicated by the progress in technology and organisation. Industrialism is the backbone of modern society and is an important factor in the development of the modern State. Moreover, the power of organising physical and social forces for productive purposes is essential for the economic and political independence of a modern nation.

The underlying principle of industrialism is the organisation of the economic activities in the light of progress in science, technology and business principles. The most essential features of industrialism are as follows: (1) application of machinery and mechanical power to productive processes; (2) industrial enterprise on a large-scale and on a corporative basis; (3) production for distant market and far ahead of time; (4) minute division of labour, mutual co-operation for the production of same commodity, and specialisation in an industrial operation; (5) full utilisation of raw material and its various by-products, as well as of capital, goods such as machinery and industrial plant; and (6) economy in the purchase of raw material and the sale of finished products.

The most conspicuous examples of industrialism are of course the so-called heavy industries such as mining and metallurgy, power generating and supplying works, shipyards and motor factories, and chemical and engineering works as well as modern transport system such as steamships, railways, motors and aeroplanes. But the effects of industrialism are to be found in all branches of modern industry, such as arts and crafts, most of which have been successfully reorganised on the principles of modern technology and business principles. Even the modern household has come under the direct influence of industrialism inasmuch as all discoveries and inventions have been utilised to do household work as indicated by gas-stove, washing machinery, and vacuum-cleaner.

The effects of industrialism are also great upon agriculture. First of all it has helped in the application to cultivation all the improved tools, implements and machinery as well as manures and fertilisers. Secondly, it has greatly extended the demand for agricultural products for distribution in the larger and wider market; thirdly, it has created many subsidiary occupations in rural districts such as creameries, cotton ginneries, jute-presses, oil mills, rice mills and canning and conserving factories. Finally, the application of science, technology and business principles to agriculture added to its productivity and dignity, thus facilitating the undertaking of agriculture by intelligent and educated classes as an honourable and profitable occupation.

The urbanisation of the country-side is also an important effect of industrialism. Like a royal residence, trade-route or river-junction in ancient times, organised industry with its allied and dependent business enterprises is a great factor in the rise of the modern town even among the rural districts. Some of the defects of the industrial town such as the slum with its insanitary and over-crowded houses, cannot be minimised, but they are accidental rather than inherent and can be avoided. In fact, with city-planning scheme and municipal organisation, a modern town whether industrial or otherwise, offers much better conditions of health and sanitation than most of the old villages, specially in India. The most important function of the town is to serve as industrial, political and cultural centre to the rural district inasmuch as it offers transporting, banking and marketing facilities for agricultural products, and provides school, library, hospital and recreation to the surrounding villages and thus brings the amenities of modern life even to the out-of-the-way country-place, and makes the rural community a part of general national organisation.

No country is in a greater need of industrialisation than India. Although organised industry made its appearance in India about the middle of the last century, it has made but little progress as indicated by the fact that no more than 17·5 per cent of her gainfully occupied persons are employed in industry including trade and transport as compared with 40 per cent in Japan, 41 per cent in Italy, 52 per cent in France and 75 per cent in England and Wales.[9] The social, political and economic backwardness of India is directly the consequence of her retarded growth in industrialism. It is through industrialism that India can, first, increase the volume of industrial occupation, thus decreasing the pressure on the land, and providing for subsidiary occupation to agriculture; secondly, help in the application of discoveries and in-

9. Adapted from *Annuarie Statistique*, Paris, 1936, Divers Pays pp. 243-45; *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1935, Tables Nos. 17 and 18.

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ventions and business principles to agriculture thus increasing the productivity of agriculture and creating greater demand for its products for a wider market; and finally, energise the rural population steeped in century-old ignorance and inertia into the activities of modern life.

Control of Population Growth

Closely connected with rationalisation and industrialism is the question of controlling population growth in order to bring about an adjustment between population and occupation as required by any planning for national economy. The Malthusian theory that population tends to increase faster than food supply, still holds good in general, inspite of the fact that birth-rate has tended to decline in the advanced countries. The fundamental causes of this decline in birth-rate are gradual industrialisation and urbanisation, rising standard of living and increasing struggle for a comfortable life, development of individuality among women, growing desire for voluntary and intelligent parenthood and increasing dissemination of knowledge of birth-control technique.

India has long been faced with the problem of over-population. In the fifty years from 1881 to 1931, the population of India, including Burma, increased from 254 million to 353 million, showing an increase of 99 million or 39 per cent.[10] Even in the last decade, the population of India increased by 10·6 per cent[11] and it is estimated that during the period 1939-41 this increase would amount to 11 per cent, and raise the total population probably to 400 million by 1941.[12] In any rational planning of the economic life of India, the question of the regulation of birth-rate must therefore be taken into serious consideration.

What is the extent of over-population in India is hard to estimate for the lack of sufficient data. The optimum population of a country does not depend upon the absolute necessaries of life, but upon the cultural ideal of the people as determined by natural resources and industrial efficiency. Owing to the increasing facilities of communication and constant contact among different peoples, there is a growing tendency, except for the limitation by the local conditions, towards the common standard of living in almost all advanced countries.

In his paper on "Population and Food Supply in India" in the World Population Congress at Geneva in 1927 as well as on "Problems of India's Over-Population" in the International Congress for Studies on Population in Rome in 1932,[13] the present writer showed that the *per capita* food supply, as indicated by the yield of principal crops, was only 0·83 million calories in 1921 and 0·75 million calories in 1931 as against one million calories required by the human body,[14] thus showing the extent of over-population to be 17 and 25 per cent respectively. Such estimation is however defective in view of the fact that it does not take into account milk, meat, fish, eggs, vegetables, fruits and similar other foodstuffs which form a large part of the dietary of the people.[15]

The average area of land needed by person for a decent living is still another basis of estimating the extent of over-population. But since the productivity of land depends upon the fertility of the soil, the facilities for irrigation and manuring, the quality of crop and live stock, and intensity of cultivation, the size of the holding cannot be the absolute criterion of estimating over-population. The actual size of the farm per person in important countries may nevertheless be helpful. The average acreage per person for food-supply including wool, fibre and other raw material is 2·6 in the United States, 2·5 in the United Kingdom, 2·3 in France, 1·8 in Denmark and 1·3 in Germany.[16] How much land would be required by a person in India, where, due to climatic conditions, one requires less food, clothing and shelter than in Northern countries, is a question which cannot be answered readily and may only be arbitrarily fixed at such a figure as one acre per person. On this basis, the optimum population in India may be said to be the same as number of acres actually sown with crops, *i.e.*, 214 million instead of 339 million (excluding Burma) as in 1931. In other words, the extent of India's over population would amount to 125 million or over one-third.

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10. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part 1.

11. The population increased by 1·5 per cent, in 1872-81, 9·6 in 1881-91, 1·4 per cent. in 1891-1901, 6·4 per cent. in 1901-11, and 1·2 per cent. in 1911-21.

12. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India*, 1936, Vol. I, p. 4.

13. *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, London 1927; *Proceedings of the International Congress for Studies on Population*, Rome, 1933, Vol. IX.

14. The Food (War) Committee of the Royal Society adopted the figures of 2,618 calories as representing the minimal daily energy required by unit of population, or 955,570 calories, or roughly 1 million calories, a year.

15. The estimate of Sir John Russell, suffers from similar defects, such as the vagueness of the data, inclusion of oil-seeds, some of which are not used as food, exclusion of foodstuffs other than food-grains, etc.

16. The German figure is good only if the law is devoted to the production of potatoes and pigs.

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Whatever may be the extent, the fact of India's over-population cannot be denied. This over-population is partly due to the inability or inefficiency of India's productive power to keep pace with population growth and partly to the lack of conscious control of birth-rate which is found to be the case among almost all classes of people in advanced countries. The decline of arts and crafts in the face of competition of organised industry from abroad and the retarded growth of industrialism within the country are still among the important causes of over-population. Among the outstanding effects of over-population in India must be mentioned famine, epidemics, under-employment, and abject poverty among the masses of the Indian people.

The problem of India's over-population requires therefore urgent solution in any scheme or plan of national economy. What is actually needed is the development of the policy of what is known as "adaptative fecundity," *i.e.*, adjustment of population growth to the social needs, encouraging population growth in case of under-population and discouraging in case of over-population, as determined by the provision of food-supply or occupational opportunities.

The solution of India's over-population involves a two-folds process, namely: first, the increase of national productivity by the intensification and diversification of agriculture and the appropriation of current fallows and cultivable waste; secondly, the control of population growth by the reduction of birth-rate over death-rate, which may however be opposed by the public as "racial suicide," secondly, by the emigration of surplus population which is however palliative and impracticable as no nation would accept India's surplus population amounting to about 3 million a year, and thirdly, by establishing an equilibrium between birth and death rates through conscious control of birth or voluntary parenthood.

The control of population growth has also objects other than mere check on the numbers. It helps in the improvement of the race inasmuch as persons suffering from congenital defects and diseases such as imbecility, insanity and epilepsy, may be prevented from taking part in the reproduction of future generations either by segregation or by sterilisation. Responsible and self-conscious parents suffering from some transmissible defects, but perfectly normal otherwise, may also voluntarily abstain from bringing children into the world with tainted heredity. Moreover, voluntary parenthood is a great help to the development of individuality, specially among women who would like to combine intellectual career with family life, and is thus an important factor in the moral and intellectual development of the whole nation.

Rural Reconstruction

The last, but not the least, important question of agricultural reorganisation is rural reconstruction which forms the immediate background of all agricultural activities. The movement for rural reconstruction has recently been gaining ground in most of the provinces. Although aiming at a larger aspect of life, such as sanitation, education, industry and government in the village, rural reconstruction has great influence on agricultural improvement inasmuch as it brings about a new spirit among the population, broadens their social outlook, helps them in the achievement of self-confidence, enlarges the sphere of their self-expression and inspires them to improve their agricultural activities.

Individual efforts have long been concentrated for rural improvement in certain localities, such as Santineketan in Bengal, and Gurgaon in the Punjab, but the origin of the movement for rural reconstruction by the Government took place only in 1929, when a special campaign was started in the Central Provinces for the concentration of the efforts of all Departments, agricultural, medical and educational, for village uplift. A similar movement was also started in Bombay and was followed by a more intensive campaign in 1933. Moreover, although a provincial subject, rural reconstruction has received the full support of the Central Government, which granted, in 1934-35, a sum of one crore of rupees, includnig Rs. 10 or 15 lakhs for the co-operative movement, to the Provincial Governments for promoting schemes of rural development, which they were not economically strong enough to carry on.[17]

An active part in village reconstruction has recently been undertaken by most of the Provincial Governments. With a view to rebuilding the social, cultural and economic life of the village, rural development boards, national welfare units and similar other organisations have been set up by the Governments of Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Bengal. Moreover, the co-operative societies movement has long been interested in rural reconstruction and has inaugurated, besides agricultural credit societies

17. *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, 28th, February, 1935, pp. 101-128.

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referred to above, a number of non-credit agricultural societies for the purpose of production, purchase, sale, insurance, stock-breeding, seed improvement, etc., the number of which was 5,150 in 1935-36. What is more to the point is the organisation of co-operative societies registered under the Act, for rural reconstruction, some of which are known as "better living societies," the Punjab alone having 300 such societies in 1936-37.[18]

The value of all these activities for rural improvement, whether by private individuals, welfare associations or co-operative societies, cannot be minimised. All are helpful to the reconstruction of the village, which has long lost its initiative and inspiration in the social, political and economic improvement of the rural population. But what is needed above all is the reorganisation of the village providing for, first, health and sanitation including the supply of pure water, physicians, medicines and hospitals; secondly, education and training including free compulsory elementary education and practical experience in agricultural and industrial art; thirdly, revival of arts and crafts as well as village and rural industries in the light of modern technology and business principles and the establishment of small-scale industries in the rural districts such as cotton ginning and canning and preserving of fruits, vegetables and other food-stuffs; fourthly, reorganisation of the *panchyat* or local self-government including adult suffrage for the election of the members of the district boards and provincial legislatures; and finally, cultural and recreational facilities including lectures, debates, exhibitions, sports, theaters and cinemas. The reconstruction of the social, political and economic life of the village alone can develop a new type of educated and trained cultivators, who can not only apply scientific and business principles to agriculture, but also take an active part in moulding different institutions determining both productive processes and distributive systems. In brief, it is the growth of the intelligent, enterprising and creative personality among the rural population on which depend the moral and material welfare of the agricultural masses and the progress and prosperity of the whole nation.

18. *Indian Year Book* 1938-39, p. 414.

INDICTMENT

Intoxicated with the wine of blood
they spread devastation far and wide.
Pity them, the inhuman machines:
they are only the blind tools of Death.

But, there are those others
—cruel by calculation—
who tear the vitals of humanity
in malicious frenzy:
and, they are termed *men*:
Alas for man, alas for his brazen tongue,
when his words suffice not
to utter the emphatic indictment
of hate and horror
of counterfeits that are called men.

I ask of the god of time yet again:
When will the end come
of the masked brute?
Will it come
with the awful stillness,
when the last things have crumbled down
and the funeral fire has nought left to burn?

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly.

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FINE ARTS IN THE DOON SCHOOL

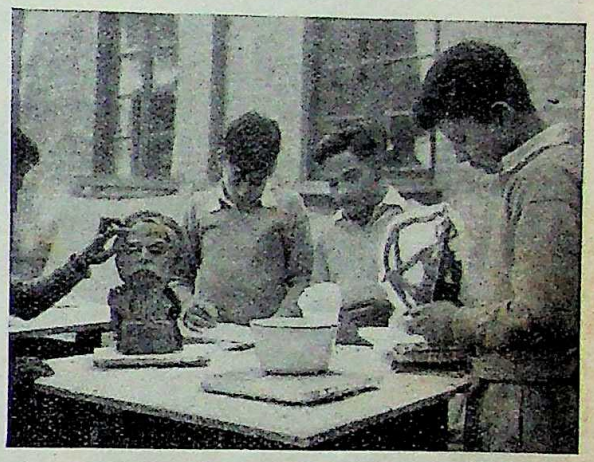
By RAMENDRA NATH CHAKRAVORTY

It is always instructive and interesting to study the methods of a famous school at close quarters. I was grateful therefore when I received an invitation to visit the Doon Public School at Dehra Dun some time ago.

The invitation came from Mr. Foot, the Headmaster, whose acquaintance I had made during my stay in England, when Mr. and Mrs. Foot had visited my Art Exhibition at Mr. Elmhurst's School at Dartington. I was very glad to get a chance of meeting them again. But there was one point in his letter not exactly to my liking. He wanted me to deliver a lecture about Art. An invitation of this sort, while highly flattering, always scares me, because I am a speaker neither by profession, nor by inclination. But as I learnt later on, the lecture portion was to be more or less of an informal and intimate nature. What the School authorities wanted

Stone carving

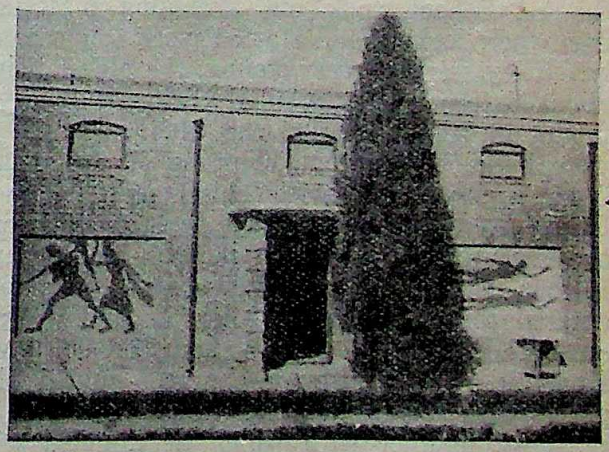
not a learned discourse from an Art critic, an unassuming talk from a man who himself is an Artist. This naturally reassured me. Mr. Sudhir Khastgir, the head of the Art Department, was entrusted with the job of seeing everything through. He had organised an exhibition of my works, which came as a prelude to my talk, to enable the listeners to gather some-



Preparing Plaster moulds

thing about the works of the man whom they would have to endure for the best part of an hour. I hoped they would be nice about it, but it came as a mild surprise to see them actually taking more interest in what I said than a grown-up would have done; and not one of the boys was past his teens.

The atmosphere of the School and its surroundings is tranquil, as it should be. The



Entrance of the Art School gallery

calm, green fields, the blue hills of distant Mussourie, a clear sky, all these combine to make the place an ideal site for a public school.

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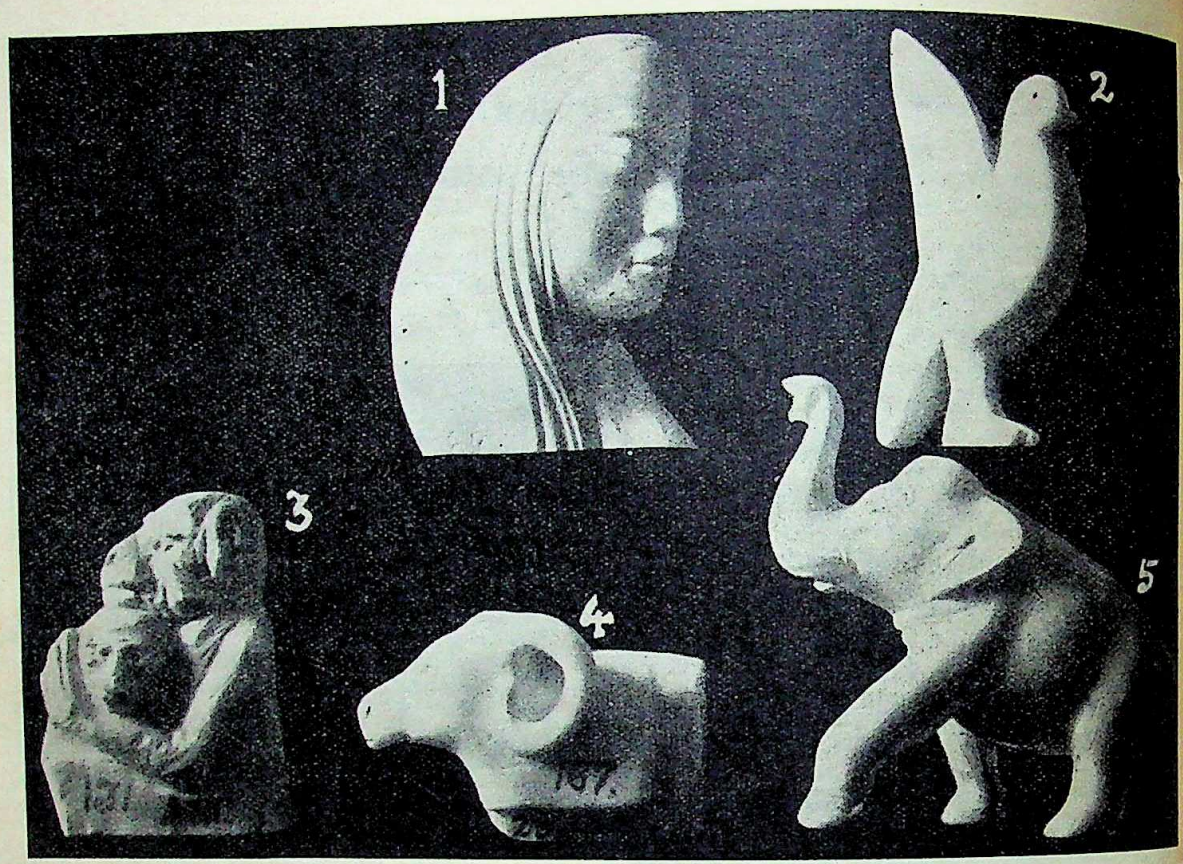

Students' works in stone

From early morning I could see boys of various ages, all boyishly eager to help with the hanging of pictures for the Exhibition. Their curiosity was unbounded and they flung questions at me right and left. I was glad to answer them all.

The School hours start from early morning. Even before sunrise, a number of boys entered the Art School, took out sketching materials from their lockers and started work immediately. They were all very young, the oldest being about sixteen. They painted various subjects—mountain streams, hills, the blue sea. There were budding sculptors, chipping off fragments from a stoneblock with chisel and hammer. Others were engaged in less artistic, but none the less useful, crafts, such as book-binding and leather work. Batch after batch of pupils entered the classroom at intervals and worked on enthusiastically for an hour or so. Mr. Khastgir, the master-in-charge, guided his pupils with great care. I envied him a little at the easy manner with which he mingled with his pupils, which helps him to keep so young in spirit, almost as young as the youngest of the boys.

It was a sort of never never land of the story books, where work is play, and play work, where half the time you do not know you are work at all. At least the boys apparently did n for young children are not expected to poss one quarter as much passion for work as play. But here they seemed to work while t played, and what is the biggest thing of liked it. Small boys appeared interested pottery. An old and wrinkled local potter making earthen vessels on the wheel, and it quite fascinating to see a shapeless lump clay gradually taking form into exquisite li vessels. The boys were emulating him at wheels, and quite a number of them seemed be very nearly expert at this sort of thing. case was different with Mr. Foot, the He master. Obviously he had more enthusiasm he had skill. The lumps of clay which wer submissive in the hands of the aged potter the small boys, refused to stand such handl from the Head, and splashed him with mud. deterred, he worked on, and at long last rewarded with a beautiful vessel, but so that it crumbled to its original clay at a touch. A helping hand came, a young boy thirteen or so, and showed him how to do it think the Headmaster was grateful.

I saw a few large figures made by

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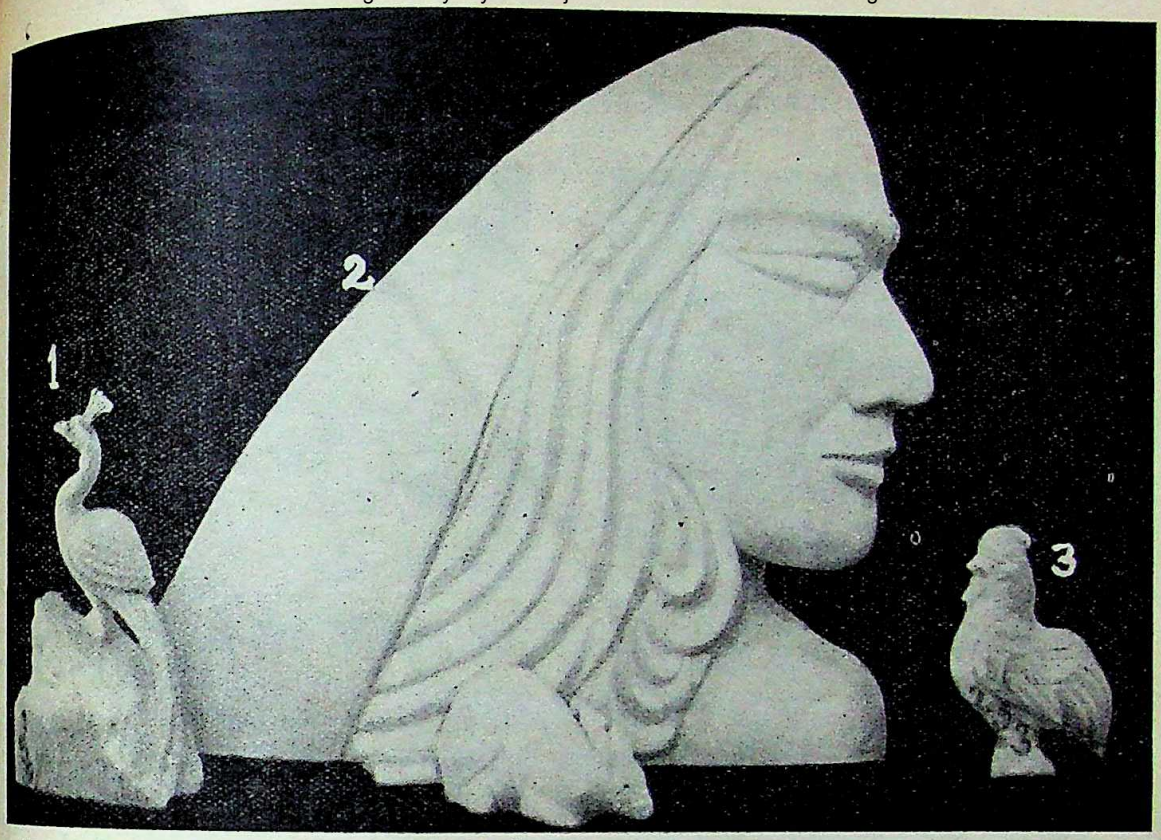

Works of the students of the Art school

Khastgir with occasional help from his pupils. On all sides of the Art School are large reliefs in cement. In addition to the Art School, the walls of the assembly hall, the laboratory, and the dining hall, are covered with frescoes which the boys themselves had painted under Mr. Khastgir's guidance. Care has been taken to see that subjects chosen for the frescoes tally with the pieces they decorated. I remember being in the Science Laboratory, various scientific subjects illustrated in a beautiful and simple style.

Mr. Khastgir is the Head of the Art Society and does his utmost to inspire the boys to a true artistic vision. Those of the boys who have a decided inclination towards Art are enrolled as members. Exhibitions are organised, and sketching tours held: Quite often they hold discussions about art. This is indeed a splendid idea to make young boys interested in the art of their country. In this, the School has a decided similarity to its English prototype, the Eton College; it is perhaps significant that the present headmaster Mr. Foot was formerly a master at Eton, which Mr. Khastgir and myself had the privilege of visiting together once. It will, of course, serve no useful purpose to draw a comparison between the two schools. But this much can safely be said that the method of teaching Art at both the schools is highly satisfactory. In India, till lately, no importance was attached in any of its numerous schools to Art teaching, with the exception of Santiniketan. It is gratifying to note that at least two schools, run in the same way as the Public school under discussion, have recently thought it fit to introduce Art in the school curriculum. The development of the artistic faculties of a young child is much too important to be treated with scant attention. We cannot, of course, all be artists; but unless most of us can develop an artistic sense, the society will be the poorer. It is essential that some sort of craft is learnt along with the usual education from the very childhood.

I may add that I have a horror of mere bookish knowledge that enables the man of average intelligence to glean some undigested data from foreign treatises, and use them in writing long and and boring articles, which go by the name of art criticism. Divorced from a real love of Art, these synthetic critics do more harm than good. But we stare at these learned critics with awe and swallow whatever nonsense they have to tell us. The result is that the little chance we have for a development of artistic sense, vanish to make room for foolishness and snobbery.

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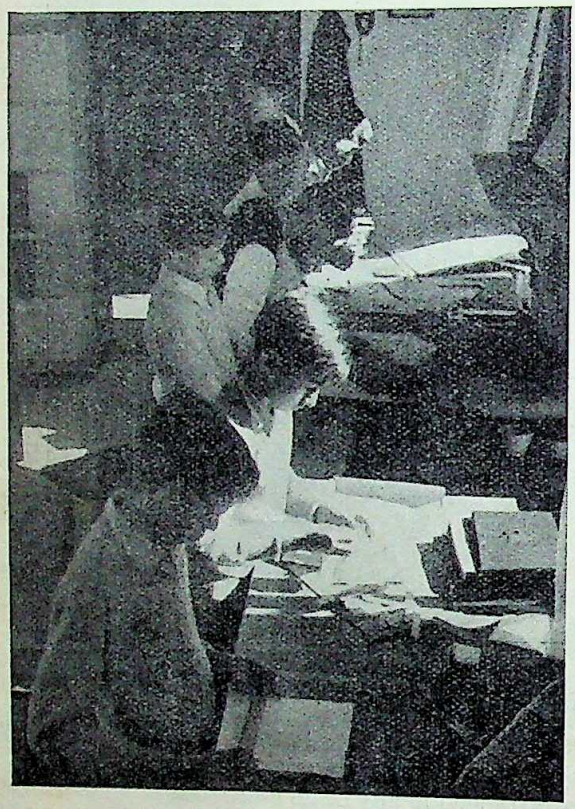
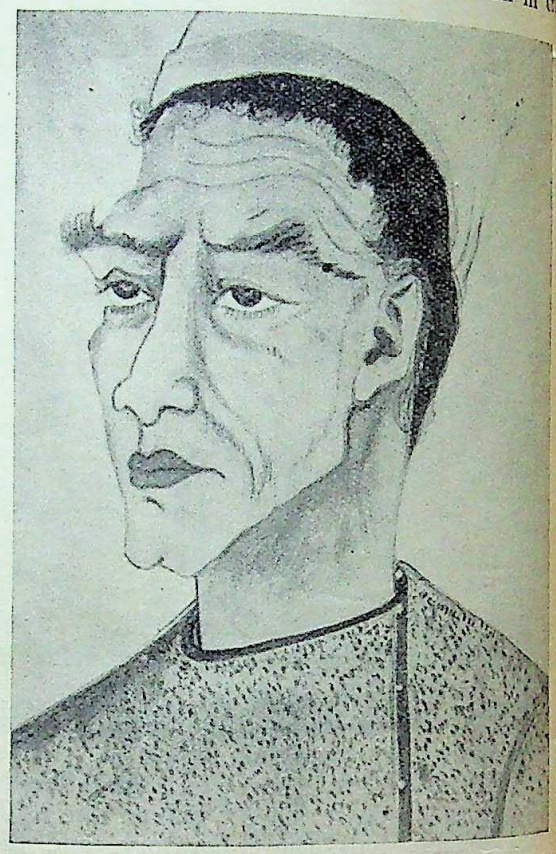
A word may lastly be added with regard to the Doon School. It is undoubtedly expensive judged from the Indian standard. Only the comparatively rich people can send their sons there. We are unpleasantly conscious of the roles the rich man's son is expected to play in the society in the wider sense. The standard of living they get used to is an insuperable bar in their way of making themselves useful to the society at large, a society of poor, ignorant, and half-fed people. But the authorities of this school are not blind to this drawback, and accordingly pupils are subjected to a subtle but strict discipline that obliges them to forget about their parent's wealth, and treat the man in the street as a human being just like themselves and when this idea replaces the long-rooted notions of social superiority in the very childhood, one can hopefully expect them to develop into good citizens, altogether a better product than the average aristocrat in education, heart and manners.



Book-binding class



A portrait by G. Jilani (age 14)

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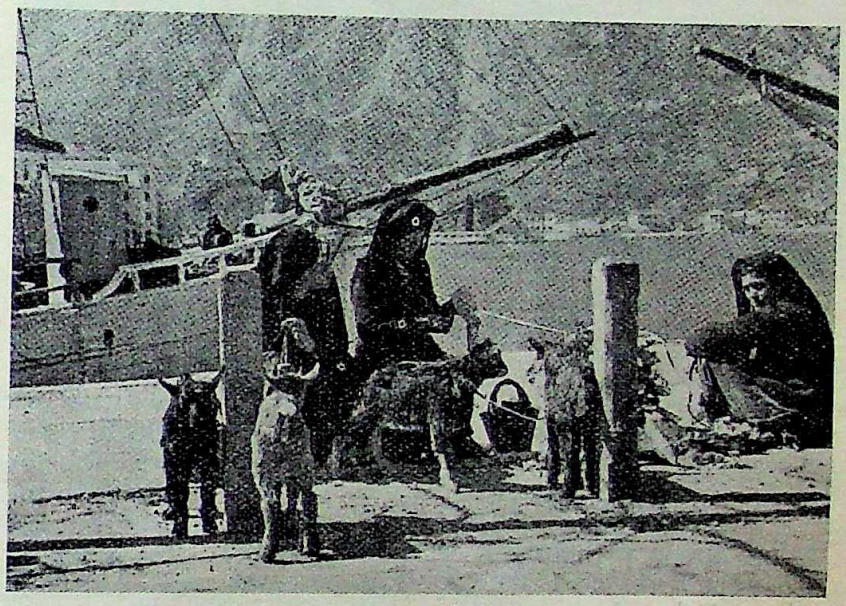
YUGO-SLAVIA

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI, B.Sc. (London)

The history of Yugo-Slavia starts after the union of southern Slavs with the Croats and the Slovenes of the north, north-west and north-east. This union took place after the last great war and into it were brought in seven areas inhabited by different peoples with widely variant standards of culture, religious faith and ways of life. These seven were (1) Serbia, as she became after the treaty of Bucharest in 1913, (2) Montenegro of 1912, (3) Bosnia and Herzegovina, (4) Dalmatia, less the port of Zara and the island of Lagosta and Pelagosa which three were given to Italy, (5) Croatia-Slavonia, less Fiume pirated by Italy, (6) Slovenia and (7) the Duchy or Voivodina. Of these the first two were free Kingdoms before 1914 of whom Serbia had attained to twice its former area and one and half time its population as a result of her conquests in the Balkans wars of 1912-13. Serbians and the Montenegrins are southern Slavs of the orthodox Christian faith and they both use the Cyrillic script, but the southern portion of post-Balkan war Serbia contained large numbers of Mahomedans notably in Mecedonia. Bosnia and Herzegovina formed parts of the Austrian Empire from 1878 and Moslems form a considerable part of the population, specially in Bosnia. Dalmatia was an Austrian province, most of its peoples are Catholics and the script used is Roman. Croatia and Slovenia formed parts of Hungary although the Croats always preserved their distinctiveness. These are also Catholics and users of the Roman script. The Slovene States had no separate existence after the Middle ages, but such parts of the Austrian Empire as contained large numbers of Slovene peoples, were cut out of it and attached to Yugo-Slavia. The Slovenes are highly westernised and Catholics. Finally, the Duchy of Voivodina. This was a purely post-war creation, as this area is inhabited by a hetero-



The Adriatic port of Kotor. Herzegovina

Kotor bay near Cettinje

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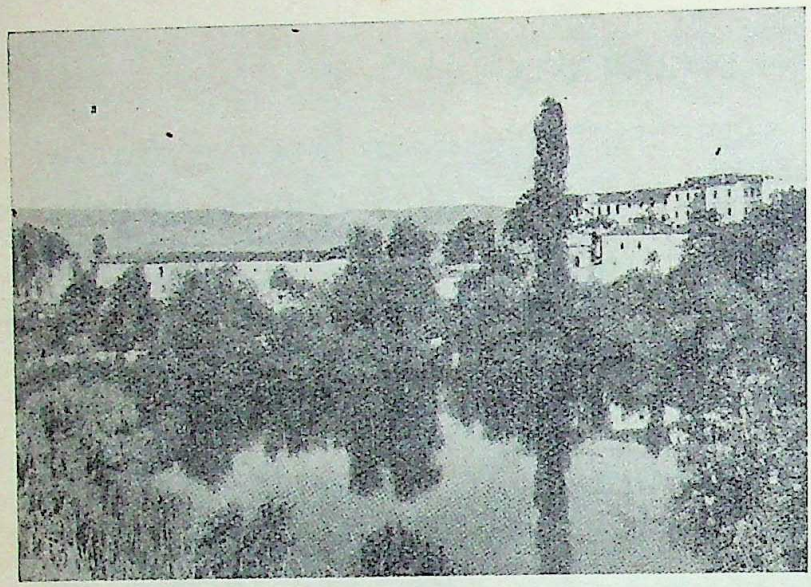

Lake Okhrida. Macedonia

geneous mass of peoples, German, Magyar, Rumanian and Serb, scattered over a tract of land that had never had any separate entity as a state or principality prior to its creation as a Yugo-Slavian province.

Yugo-Slavia, with an area of 96,000 sq. miles and a population of 14,000,000 is a post-war creation of the victors of the great war. Its boundaries are Germany and Austria to the north, Italy, Albania and the Adriatic sea to the west, Greece to the south, Rumania and Bulgaria to the east and Hungary to the north-east. No state of this magnitude ever existed within these boundaries prior to the formation of Yugo-Slavia and therefore it cannot be said that that state has any history. The Allies created it after the great war—and then ignored its existence for about eighteen years or so. The Serbians, who form about 35% of the population, were put in charge of a great Kingdom, surrounded on all sides by land-hungry turbulent nations, formed out of very uneven and heterogeneous elements, and left to get on as best as they could without any aid or helpful suggestion. The present tragedy is the consequence. For it is inconceivable that Yugo-Slavia would have gone down in this short space of time if it had had any organisation in its army backed with a minimum of modern equipment. For, although Yugo-Slavia has no history, the Serbs and the southern Slavs have, and it is the history of a freedom-loving, warlike people, who have struggled for centuries together against vastly superior forces for the attainment of independence. No defeat has crushed them and nothing has daunted them, in waging war, the Serb has never, before this present catastrophe, bowed down before superior might. And for all we know the present phase may well be a temporary one.

In the seventh century of the Christian era the tribes that formed the southern Slavs started moving from the Black Sea in a westerly direction along the left bank of the Danube. They finally settled down in the north-western region of the Balkans, where the Emperor Heraclius permitted them to have feudal rights of tenure, after a treaty had been made. At that period each tribe or "Zhupa" was a separate entity with a headman or "Zhupan" at the head.

Serb peasants

Inter-tribal warfare was constant and even inside the tribe there was conflict, plot and counter-plot in the family of the "Zhupan." The orthodox and the Catholic powers, Byzantium, Venice

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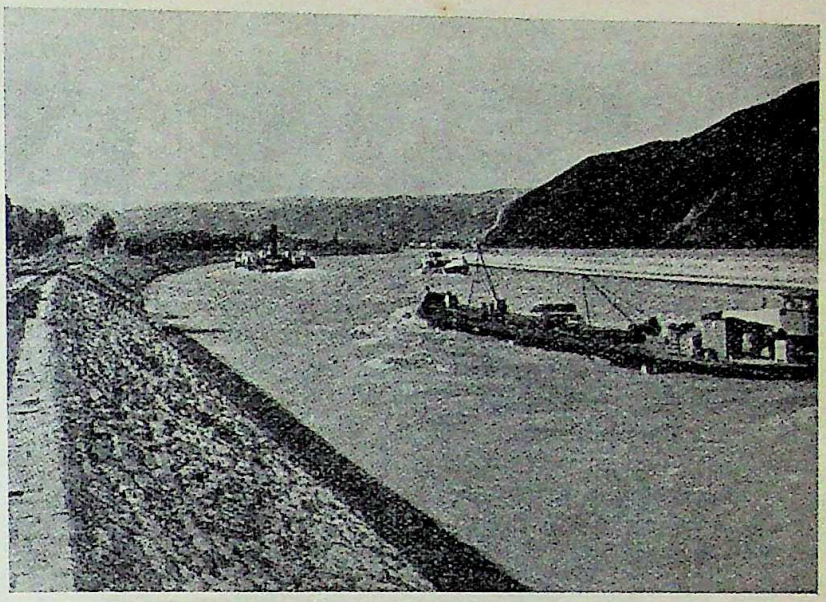
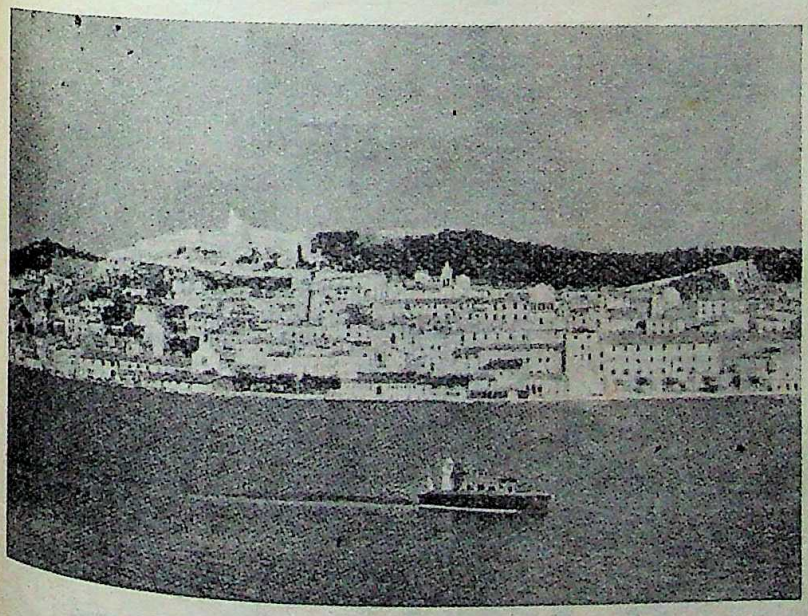
and Hungary were also trying to get control of these fierce warlike tribesmen as they provided magnificent fighting material for their armies.

Zhupan Visheslav was the first Serbian chief who became overlord of all the tribes and it was his great grandson Vlastimir who first organised them into a solid body against aggression from outside. Shortly afterwards the Serbs accepted Christianity of the orthodox church as their faith and acknowledged the suzerainty of Byzantium. Then followed five centuries of ceaseless warfare amongst the Greeks, Bulgars and the Serbs. With the coming of the Turks there was an attempt in 1374 A.D. by Lazar Hrebelyanovitch, Prince of the Serbs, to organise a Christian league against the Turkish invaders. In consequence of this attempt Sultan Murad attacked the Serbs, and in the historic battle of Kossovo—15th June, 1389—defeated them. The flower of the Serbian army fell on the battlefield with Prince Lazar and the Turks lost Sultan Murad with a great many nobles and warriors. Then followed four centuries of bitter subjection under the Turks, but times without number, the Serb joined any standard that was raised against the Sultan—and was made to pay in blood and tortured pain for his undying courage.



The Iron-gates ship canal on the Danube

In 1804, after such a rising, the Turkish Janissaries perpetrated a series of particularly horrible butcheries of the Serbian leaders. This led Petrovic Karageorge, an ex-Sergeant of the Austrian army to start a fierce revolt. Russian aid being forthcoming he succeeded for a time but Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 put an end to Russian help and with it to Karageorge's revolt. Karageorge was put to flight and then followed a most inhuman slaughter of the Serb warriors by the Turks. The Sultan having beheaded and impaled to death one batch of 200 Serbian warriors and nobles in 1815, a desperate revolt started again under Milas Obrenovitch. Milas, having fought well and having had Karageorge murdered to placate the Sultan, was acknowledged as Prince of the Serbs by the Sultan. But the Serbian people split over the murder of Karageorge and a bitter feud started between the followers of Karageorge and Obrenovitch, which has come down to the present day. The Obrenovitches were driven out in 1843 but they regained the throne in 1858. Milas was succeeded by his son Michael in 1860. Michael



The Adriatic port of Sibenik

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obtained the help of France and England in loosening the chains of the Turkish Empire but was murdered by a Karageorge partisan in 1868 before his plans for an independent Kingdom could mature. After this the Balkans became the plaything of European power politics and vast areas were cut and parcelled out at the will of the Russian or the Austrian Emperor.

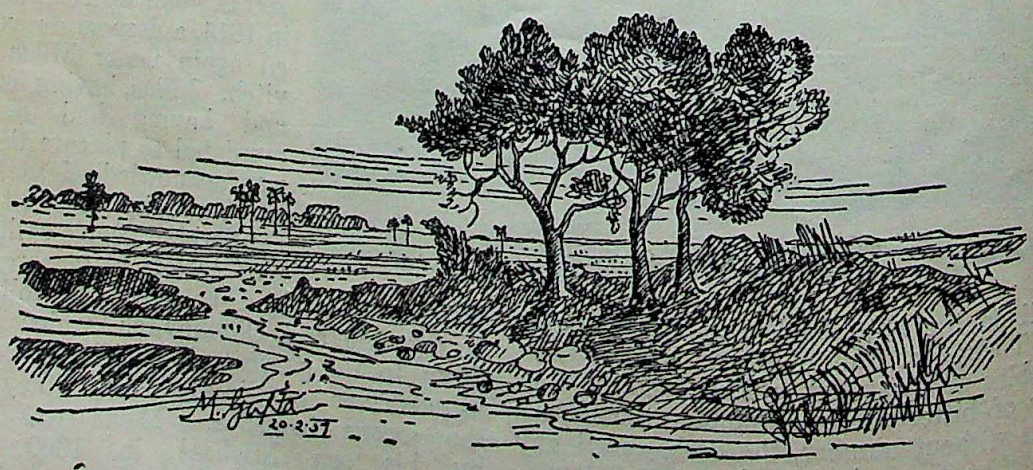
In 1882, Serbia was declared to be an independent Kingdom but there was a great deal of internal strife and disorder due to the Karageorge-Obrenovitch vendetta. The climax came with the brutal murder of the last Obrenovitch King Alexander and his Queen Draga, whose body was defiled after the murder. After this there was peace till 1912.

In 1912, the first Balkan war started and the defeated Turks were obliged to sue for peace by the beginning of May, 1913. Over the spoils of victory started the second war, this time against the Bulgars, and out of these two struggles a Serbia emerged very much enlarged and powerful. 1914, saw the outbreak of the great war which started between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. The Serbians fought magnificently for about fifteen months against a superior force, but were beaten and their army was driven out by the German army under General Mackensen in October, 1915. They had fought alone with the traditional courage and tenacity of their race. As a reward of their prowess the Yugo-Slavian Kingdom was formed and given to them. If contact had been maintained between them and the Allied powers since that time, the history of the present war might have been conducted along a different channel.

A strong, united and well-organised Yugo-Slavia would have meant a formidable barrier to the "Drang nach Osten" schemes of the axis. It was well-known to all students of European power-politics that sooner or later Greater Germany would seek an outlet on the Mediterranean Sea. There were but three direct routes, firstly by the river Danube and then the Black Sea, secondly by rail to Salonika and the Aegean and the third by rail to Tagreb and then on to Fiume on the Adriatic.

Now all three routes pass through Serbia, and therefore it should have been plain to all the Allied statesmen that the doors and the locks have to be looked into in that quarter, once the anschluss became an accomplished fact. But nothing was done apparently.

Then again as to the arming of the Yugo-Slav army, nothing was apparently done even after Czecho-Slovakia had been absorbed by Hitler. Yugo-Slavia got all her modern armament—what little she had of it, for armies of today march on their cheque-book pockets—from the Czechs, in exchange for iron ore, copper ore, bauxite and foodstuffs. Company promoters of the Allied nations exploited the Yugo-Slav copper mines but did nothing in exchange that would lead to the solidarity and the safety of the people who owned the soil. No arms were supplied to a possible ally, and a valiant and true ally at that! No tangible offer of mediation was put forward as between the Croats and the Southern Slavs, between whom there had been an ever widening gulf since the murder of the Croat leader Raditch and two of his companions by a Montenegrin member during a sitting of the Yugo-Slav Parliament on the 20th of June 1928. What a tragic sequence of events it was and is!



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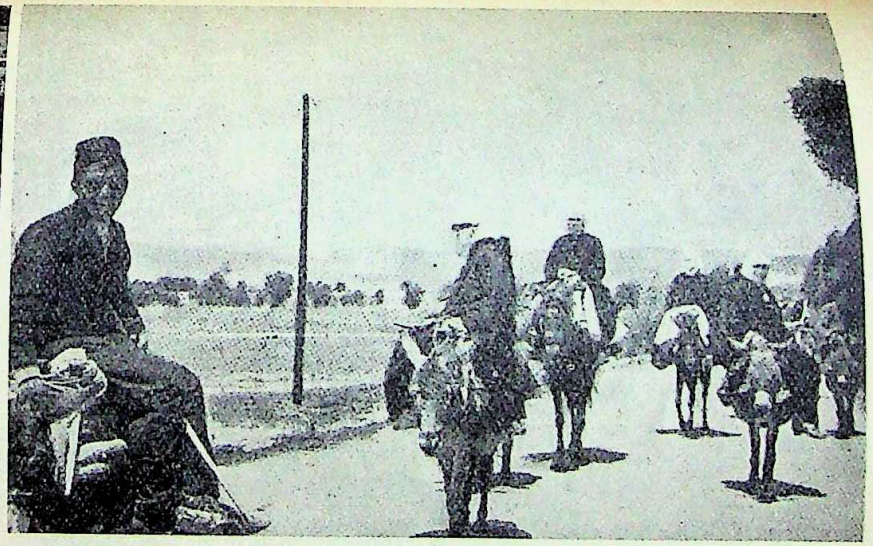
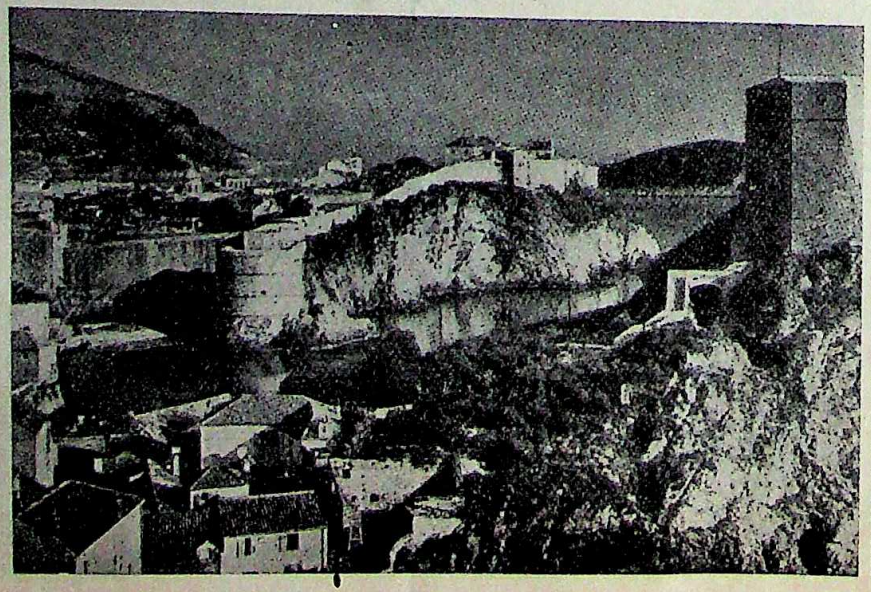
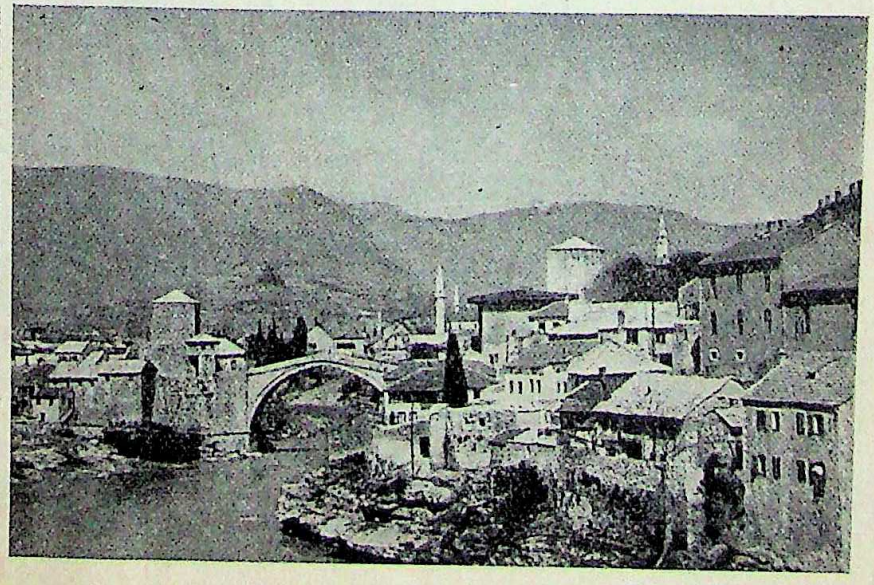
Slovenian women in festive dress



Moslem women of Yugo-Slavia near Monastir



Dubrovnic, the cradle of the Southern Slav and Serb nationalism



Mostar. Herzegovina

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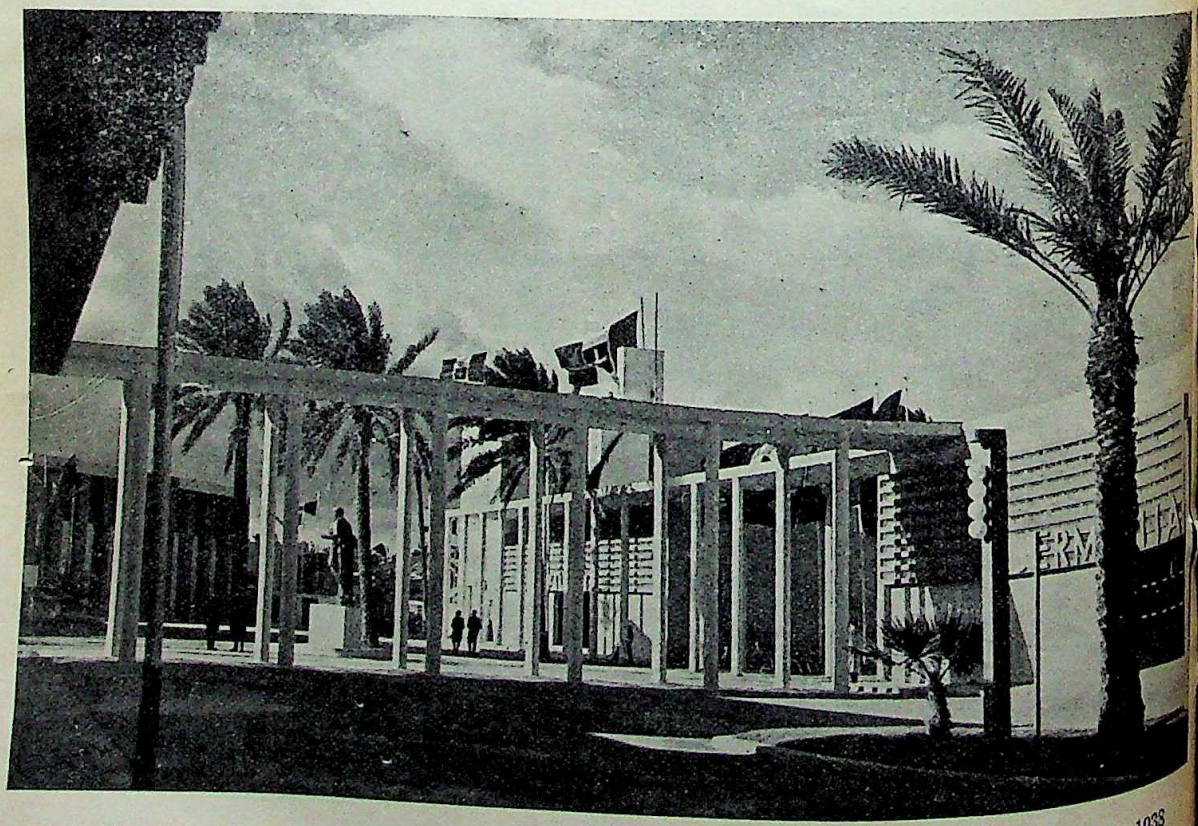
The Italian peasant colony in Libya in festive dress



The Central Square of the Exhibition of Mediterranean Arts and Crafts held at Tripoli in 1933

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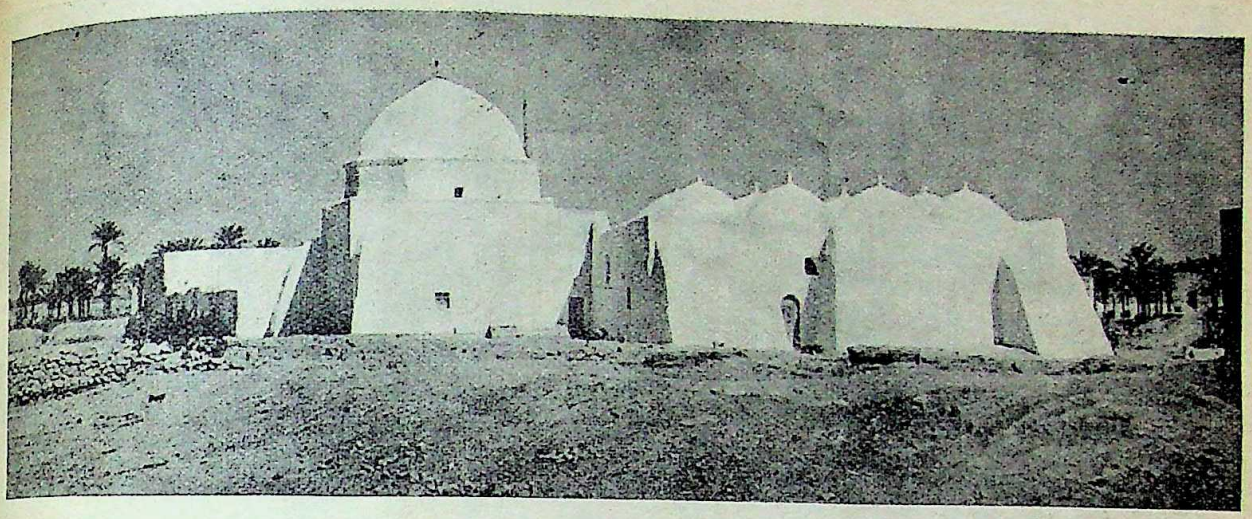


Structures like these silhouetted against the desert skies of Libya, bespeak of the Arabic influence

ON LIBYAN SANDS

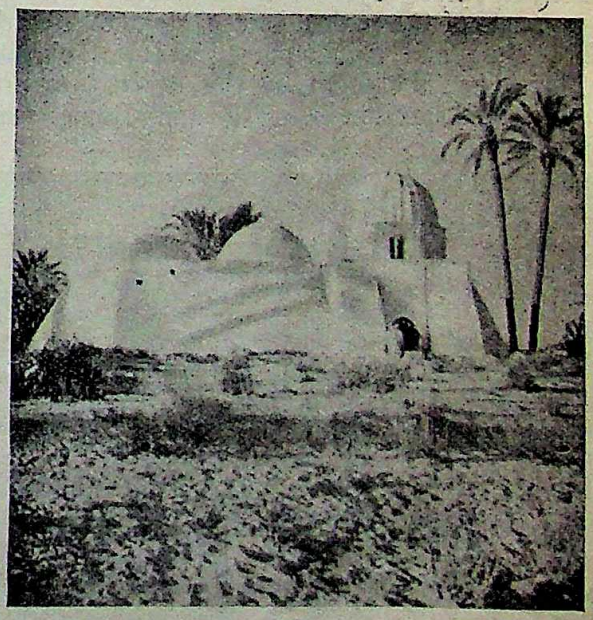
By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.SC. POL. (Rome)

THE sands of Libya have been in turmoil since last winter.

The Italian advance, Marshal Graziani, the fateful flight of Marshal Balbo, the Army of the Nile, General Wavell, the western desert, have been as familiar with us for some time as the tingle of tea-cups on the breakfast table. The British victory, the long trail of Italian prisoners, Ramgarh, Wavell's triumph, Graziani's disgrace are all still fresh in public memory.

All was quiet a few days on the desert sands. The tide turns, the Germans cross the Mediterranean under mysterious circumstances with, we are told, one thousand tanks that roar on the sun-scorched plains, the Army of the Nile hatches its plans for a decisive encounter. Advancing and retreating are resorted to in quick succession by both the parties; they have no meaning for us, laymen—they are both strategy, the General's trade-secret.

A crop of names flash across the headlines of newspapers—some of them already familiar, others familiarized by the present war: Benghazi, Tobruk, Bardia, Sidi Barrani, Sollum, Mersa Matruh, Derna, Gazala, and so on. Fortifications, communications, supplies, naval bases, air raids, harassments, blind alleys, brilliant withdrawals, glorious evacuations and all sorts of queer and sometimes meaningless strategical jargons are thrust upon the meticulous reader in their fascinatingly confusing sequence. News is cooked in the tents of the special war correspondents, tested by the Ministries of Information and Propaganda, rendered innocuous by the Press Censors and finally served out by the discriminating papers with the utmost care and



An Arabic mosque of historic Libya

skill. As a result we are well-informed and can say exactly when and where what is happening.

Tripoli, the capital of Libya, is not yet in the news; nor are those cities of the ancient world that are associated with the glories of

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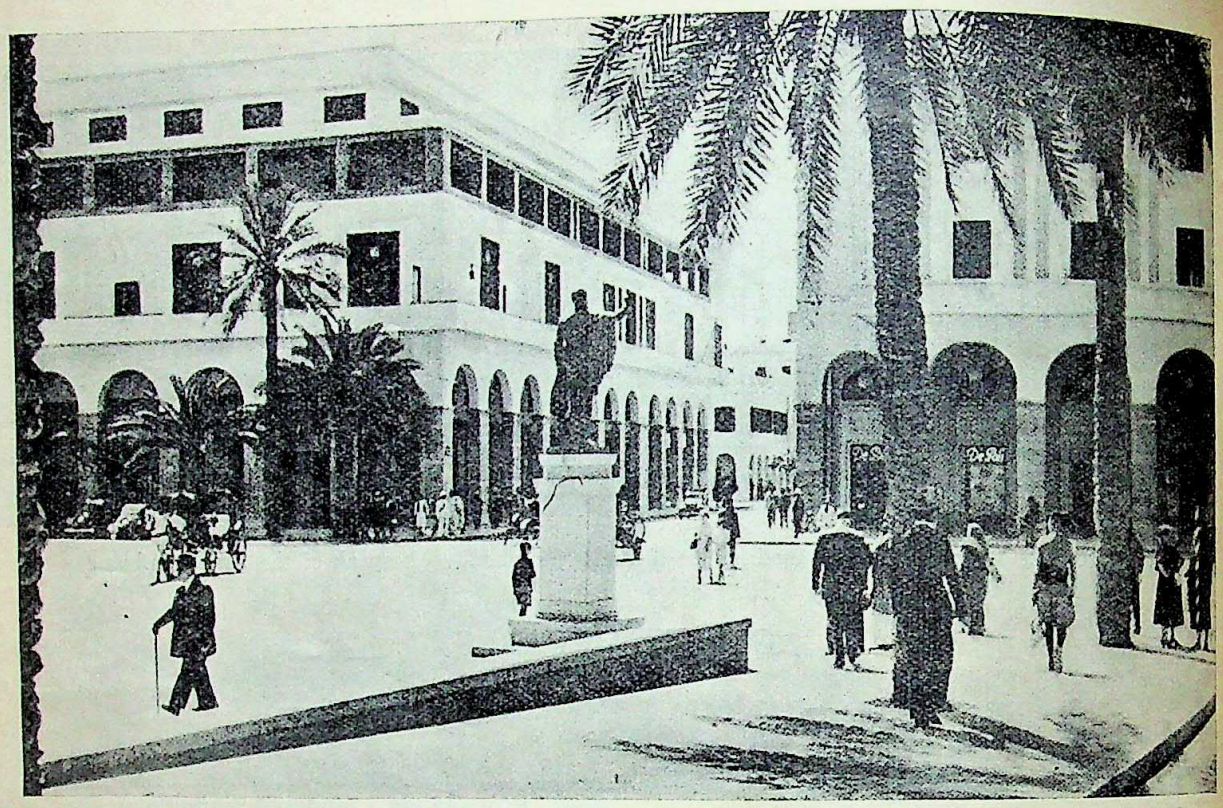
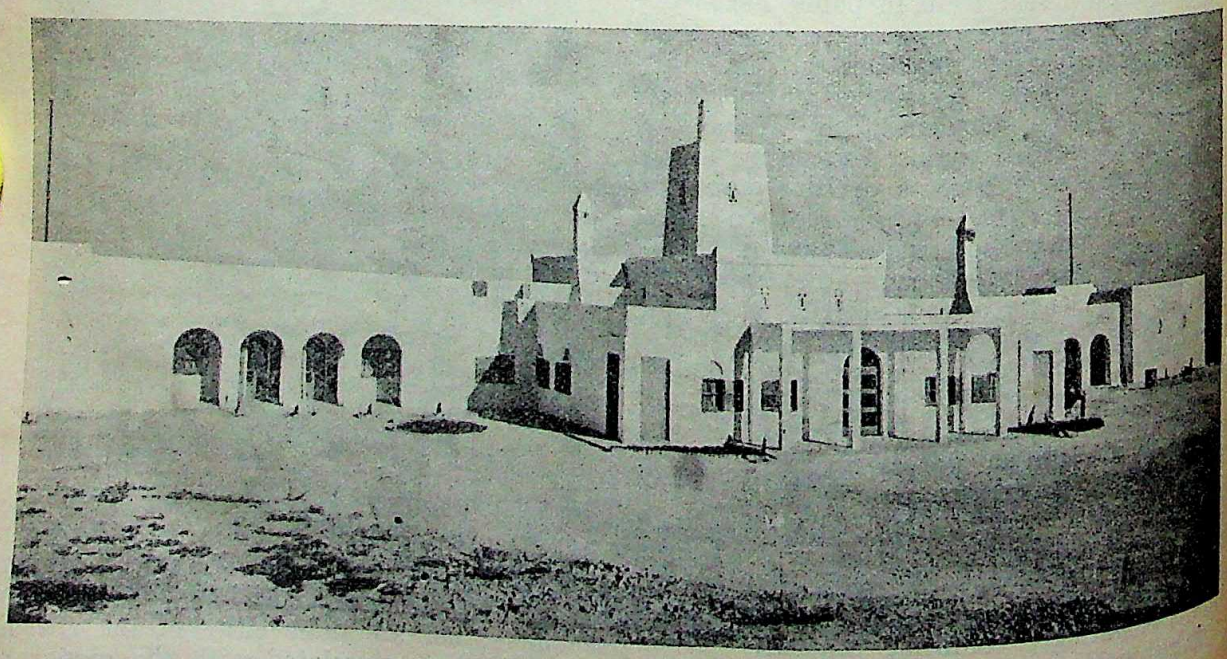


The Piazza Castello. Tripoli

ancient races—Cyrene, from which is derived the name of Cyrenaica, Leptis Magna, Sabratha, Ptolemais and Apollonia. Waves of civilized life reached the shores of this desert land from Egypt, Byzantium, Greece and Rome; their memories had been buried under the shades of date-palms for a long long time until the rush of a new life and the gush of a new inspiration disturbed their slumbering bones. A new Cyrene, a new Carthage, a new Leptis Magna and a new



A modern hotel on the edge of the desert about 330 Kilometeres from Tripoli

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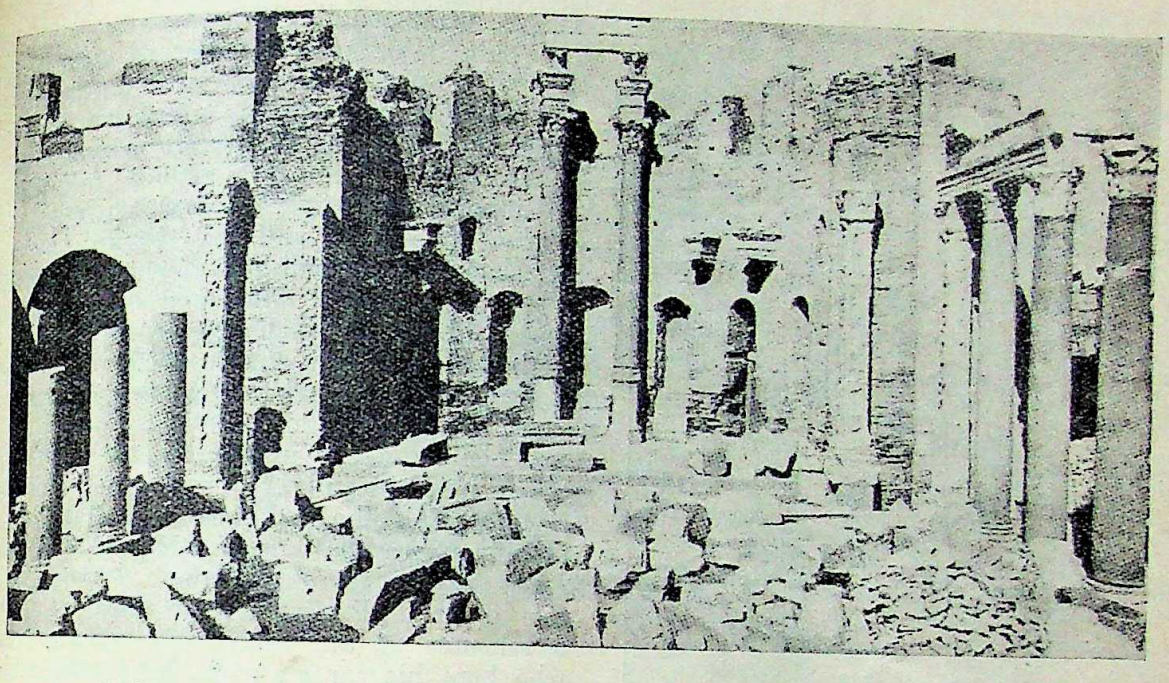
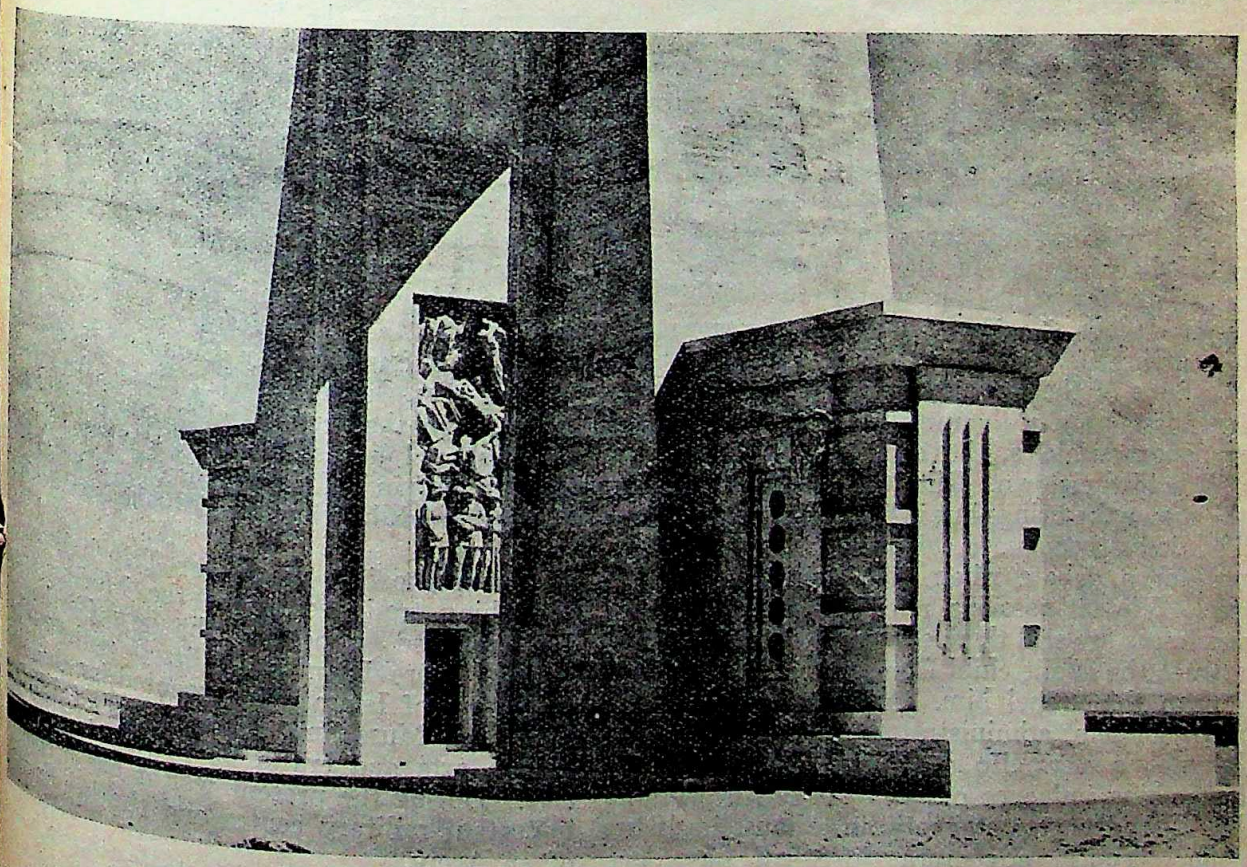


Ruins of the Forum in Leptis constructed by the Emperor Septimius Severus

Sabratha have raised their heads once again above the creaking and complacent stones of their tombs. What names and what historic associations.

Libya is as much fascinating and romantic as any of the typical lands on the southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. Here in addition there are the charm and awe of the



The Arch stands at the southern end of the desolate Syrtic Gulf

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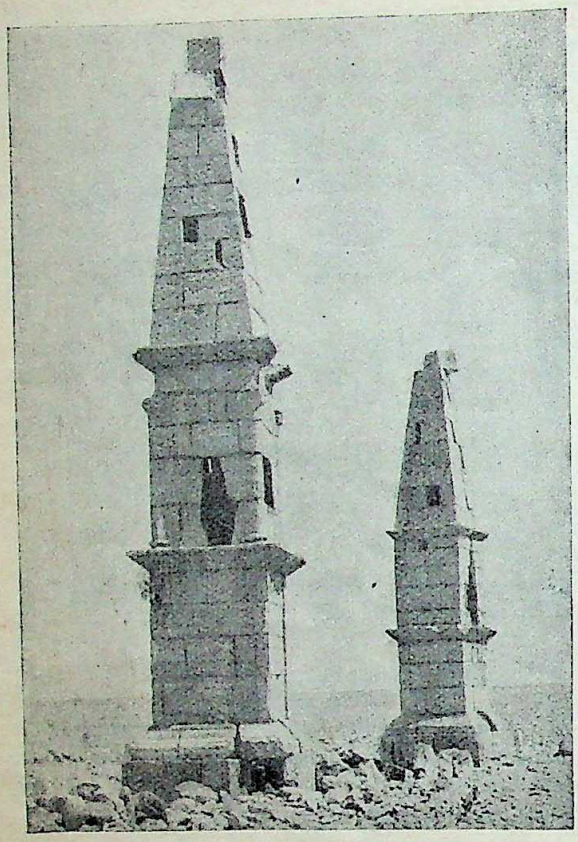

Roman tombs at Ghirza in the desert of Libya

great desert just behind the back-door. The blood-red sunset, the tender breeze from the sea, the romantic night life in small cafes and inns in the dim light of indigenous lamps behind latticed windows, the lanes and temptations, the melancholy strains of the oriental guitar, the unfailing muezzin, the dice-thrower and the fortune-teller are the changeless paraphernalia of Libyan life.

Sons of the land have as well changed very little. In spite of the metalled roads and modern transport vehicles, the camel and the caravan still hold their own. The white man is liked for the money he brings but is hated for his manners. The desert people are chivalrous. They have no use for a debate when they may still have a duel. Violent passions, relentless intrigues, cruel vendettas are still there of course, but they rather attract the spoilt child from across the Mediterranean than repel him. Adventurers, businessmen, soldiers, administrators from abroad have brought a new life of course, but under the bewitching influence of thirsty sands everything has a tendency to stagnate, to exhaust itself too soon. Youth, adventure, love—all have one destiny, not to blossom in fruition but to sink easily into oblivion. The long trek of the caravan leisurely winding its way across the sand-hills silhouetted against the crimson evening sky symbolizes the eternal spirit of the desert—the caravan goes on with its silent indifference to the march of time and parade of vanities.

Libya itself had been reduced to a place of no importance during its long subjection. The Pasha of Tripoli and the Turkish overlords thrashed out a small revenue from the toiling people of the land who eked out a miserable existence. Its doors had been virtually closed against modern civilization. The chariot-wheels of progress had stuck in the mud of ignorance, superstition and indolence.

The strategic importance of the Libyan coasts was not fully realized until the Turkish revolt in Salonika had started the Balkan Wars. Germans had designs on North Africa, and Italy had her eyes on Tripoli. Even Giolitti, the finished Parliamentary artist, to whom adventures of all kinds were unwelcome but who kept his ear close to the ground, realized the need for speedy action. In July, 1911, without a shadow of a pretext, he declared war on Turkey and sent the Italian Army into Libya. Since then Libya has remained under Italian tutelage.

Italian rulers had thrown a bridge across the two Libyas—the historic and the modern. Ancient treasures were dug out of their burials of sand and new centres of commerce and culture were built. Tripoli entirely changed its face. The best traditions of Islamic architecture and Italian art have been harmonized in the modern palaces, government offices and mosques. Hotels, parks and boulevards, particularly the glorious strand lined with rows of stout and short date palms stretching along miles and miles of the water-front may easily remind one of Nice, San Remo or Cannes. In the heart of the city, however, the small trader, the peddlar and the fortune-teller continue to have a flourishing business. A new harmony is created by the muezzin calling the devout to prayer and the jazz band drawing the light-hearted to frolic and mirth.

After the last great war Tripoli became a flourishing trade centre of the Mediterranean. She promised to become the new Carthage of Africa. Here Islam allied itself with Fascism. the Sword of Islam was presented by the Arabs to Signor Mussolini. Exhibitions of Mediterranean arts and crafts have been held in this city. During the present war it has become an important military centre and the headquarters of an Army.

The splendid Roman theatre at Sabratha has been reconstructed where presentations of

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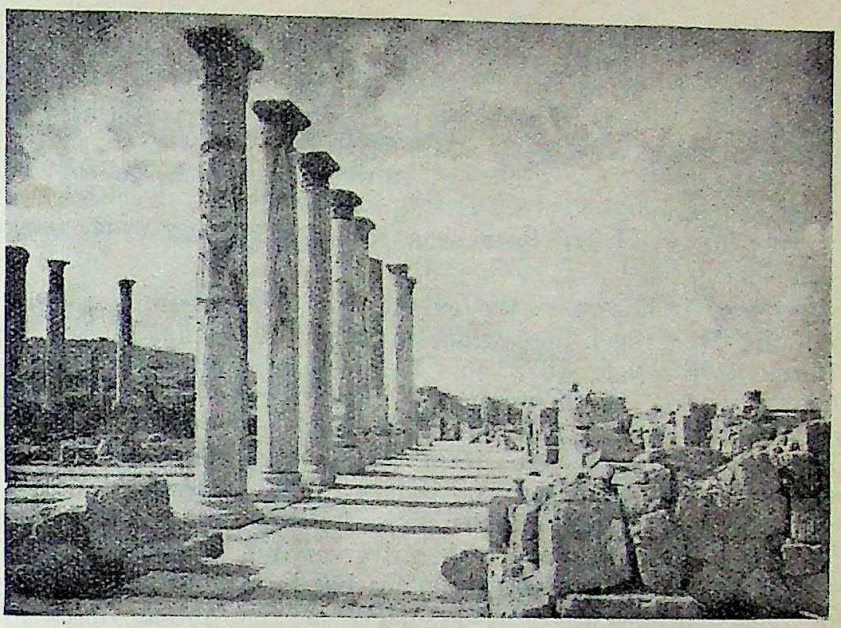

Marble columns in the Byzantine Basilica at Appolonia

lassical dramas are given during the tourist season. In Leptis Magna, the birthplace of the Emperor Septimius Severus, the Basilica, the Arch and many other beautiful monuments and relics of outstanding importance have been reconstructed and many precious documents have been found out regarding the history of these sandy wastes. The ruins of the tombs at Ghirza stand out like sentinels in the desert where there flourished a Roman town. The beautiful marble columns in the Byzantine Basilica at Apollonia have withstood the ravages of time and reflect a glorious past. Besides these, the dry air and shifting sands of the Libyan Sahara have preserved the immortal memory of the Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Saracen monuments scattered all over the country.

Lungo Mare Volpi, the boulevard running along the shore at Tripoli

The Fascists raised a great and impressive Triumphal Arch at the southern end of the desolate Syrtic Gulf, almost in the Syrtic desert, and on the coastline highway connecting Tunis with Egypt. This imposing monument rises on the spot called in the ancient times the "Altar of the Phileni," where the border line between Carthage and Cyren was fixed. A legend has it that this boundary, according to an agreement made by the two countries, was established at a point where the runners starting from their respective capitals had met. The Carthaginian athletes, the two Phileni brothers, addressed themselves to the ordeal and ran for hundreds and hundreds of miles so that they were able to meet the Cyrenians at a spot much nearer Cyrene than to Carthage, and having almost immediately died of exhaustion they were buried here by their grateful compatriots who built an altar to their memory, the "Ara Philenorum."

Far away on the edge of the desert, modern hotels have sprung up in the wilderness of sands. In the stillness of the night when a whispering wind blows through your hotel window and a pale moon peeps into your room you may really feel the majesty and grandeur of the desert. Nostalgic strains of the native flute come floating in the nocturnal air from distant huts and transport you to a realm of imagination and unreality. The desert, like the sea, has its mysterious moods, and human beings feel baffled, powerless and small before it.

I do not know in what mood the western desert will take the present war, but one thing is certain: one of the most decisive phases of the war will be concluded on the fateful sands of the Libyan Sahara.

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SREE AUROBINDO ASRAM

Impressions of A Visitor

By Professor KHAGENDRANATH MITRA, M.A.

Pondicherry is known to the outside world as one of the five French possessions in India. As far back as the year 1672, this place, then a small village on the Coromandal coast, was purchased by the French from the King of Bijapur. Since then the town has passed through various vicissitudes and is now nestling restfully among the peaceful hamlets of British India. Its situation on the seaboard gives it a great natural advantage and the place has been made the administrative headquarters of the French establishments in India. The Government House, a High Court, a colonial college—are all located in Pondicherry. But under the terms of the treaty with the British, no garrison is maintained there. The whole town is lighted by electricity. It has a beautiful promenade, a long pier which reaches out into the sea and a lighthouse 89 feet high.

But since the establishment of the Asram by Sri Aurobindo in 1910, the town has become well-known throughout the world as an important seat of Indian culture, so much so that the name Pondicherry has almost come to be a synonym for the Asram of Sri Aurobindo. The Asram proper is but a moderately big house in which the saint has been living for the past few years. But it extends to a much wider area comprising some seventy or eighty brick houses scattered over the town where the devotees are accommodated. One important feature of this area which strikes the most casual observer, is the scrupulous care with which it is kept bright, tidy and spotlessly clean. Originally the town was divided into Black and White towns separated by a small canal. The Asram belongs to the white town and is certainly the brightest spot in the whole settlement. Entering this part of the town one feels that it is a piece of territory carved out of Bengal and bodily planted on the seacoast more than a thousand miles away. The Asram, however, has a cosmopolitan character and is resorted to by people from all parts of India and the larger world, but the Bengali element seems to preponderate and the cultural asmosphere is distinctly Bengali in some important respects at least.

Sri Aurobindo gave up his political life in 1910 and removed to Pondicherry in the same year in pursuit of some abiding good. Ever since he has been living the life of a recluse. But his creed, so far as I could gather, is not one of pure resignation and escapism—a flight from the manifold ills of wordly life. It is rather a life of contemplation on the ultimate destiny of man and the progressive realisation of the inner self. His Asram, therefore, has not been established on any customary model and it has slowly grown as the result of some intensive intellectual and spiritual urge. The people who are attracted to Pondicherry feel the same urge perhaps which prompts them in many cases to cut off all earthly ties and adopt a life of self-surrender. Complete surrender is the passport to the spiritual life which the Asram of Sri Aurobindo offers. 'Transformation' of human nature is only possible through self-surrender. So long as the least bit of attachment remains self is swayed by a duality and conflict and surrender becomes a myth. Those, therefore, who have joined the Asram have surrendered their all and severed their earthly connections. They look upon Sri Aurobindo as their Guru but so far as I could gather there is no formal initiation. The relationship is based more or less on an intellectual and spiritual appreciation of the ideals of the order, and the communion of spirit takes place generally through the writings of Sri Aurobindo, which are by no means rare. Although he is rarely accessible, Sri Aurobindo takes the trouble of enlightening enquirers through correspondence, which usually takes place through the medium of English. Sri Aurobindo's powers of expression are great and they are often characterised by a sense of humour which is a rare gift among persons of philosophical temperament. In this respect he can be compared to our beloved poet Rabindranath.

In the organisation of this Asram, Sri Aurobindo is assisted by Mother, a lady of French origin. She joined Sri Aurobindo in 1914. Ever since she has been helping him in his Yogic Sadhana, success in which, he has himself admitted, would not have been possible in such a short space of time without her active participation and co-operation. Sri Aurobindo has further characterised her as a centre of great

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spiritual force. Sri Ma, as she is called, has taken charge of the spiritual and secular life of the Asramites, and has thus enabled Sri Aurobindo to devote himself exclusively to contemplation and spiritual research. Unlike Sri Aurobindo, the mother is visible daily, although she does not come out of the Asram nowadays. She appears on the terrace of the Asram building every day in the morning and all the devotees flock to the courtyard for darsan. Then again in the evening, she joins the devotees in silent meditation at the prayer hall. Her presence is felt by the Asramites as a great spiritual inspiration. After the meditation or Dhyānam, those who desire to approach the mother are permitted to do so on the stair-case with flowers and other offerings and receive her blessings. Her chief merit lies in the eyes of a casual observer in the excellent organisation of the Asram. Considering the extent to which the Asram has grown in recent years, it is little short of a miracle how she finds time and energy to attend to the minutest details of its administration and to the smallest needs of its two hundred inmates both men and women. Their needs are no doubt few, for they are trained in the art of plain living and high thinking. The female devotees or Sādhikās, as they are called, live in separate houses allotted to them. Every Sādhaka or Sādhika must spend a considerable portion of his or her time in solitude so essential to the realisation of a higher life. But this does not mean that they are condemned to a cold and lifeless existence devoid of sunshine and comfort. The sublime need not be divorced from beauty and joy. Many of the inmates find time after finishing their daily routine of duties to develop their own approved aptitudes for music, poetry, philosophy, art and the like. Many of the members of the Asram have made their mark as accomplished musicians, artists, and poets. I attended some of the musical soirees at the Asram, which were very largely attended by people of both sexes—not only by the members of the Asram, but also by a good many visitors of all sects and communities—Bengalis, Gujaratis, English, French, and Madrasis. I have also seen some of their art creations, and so far as I can judge, they are quite creditable performances.

The Asram and its environs daily require a great amount of manual work, and a very considerable portion of this is done by the Asramites themselves. The mother is a great lover of flowers and quite a large quantity of this commodity is supplied daily from the Asram gardens and outside. It is a pleasure to see the devotees gathering these flowers early in the morning with a zealous care. These are then sorted and sent daily to the Mother in their hundreds and thousands for such use as she may be pleased to make of them. But this is no haphazard work. The people who are in charge of it have to attend to the minutest details and this they do from day to day with commendable assiduity and care.

Nor is this all. The Asram has several vocational departments in which also the devotees have to work for the benefit of the Asram, *e.g.* a bakery, a dairy, a carpentry and an Electric Supply Department. Those who have special aptitudes in these directions find ample scope for them. These departments are run under the supervision of the mother. There is a European gentleman known under the Asram name of Pavitra who, I was told, is a skilled engineer. His is the brain behind the technical departments. The kitchen is also a very important institution in the Asram. In the British Universities of Cambridge and Oxford every college has got a kitchen, which is an institution in itself. Here in Pondicherry also the kitchen is something worth seeing. But its organisation is based on different principles. The work is here done by members of the Asram with a zeal, neatness and perfection unparalleled anywhere perhaps. For the kitchen has to feed no less than two hundred members twice daily—and the number is growing. The dining hall, which is located in a spacious hired building, is kept scrupulously clean, and the usual round of manual duties, such as dressing the edibles, cooking, serving out food, washing dishes and utensils, is gone through in silence and with an orderliness and discipline which are seldom found in a non-military mess. The food is simple but pure and wholesome. Eggs, meat or fish are not allowed in the Asram and sugar is rationed. The diner finds his daily requirement of sugar in a tin deposited in a shelf with his or her name label put on it. He takes it out himself at dinner. The rich and the poor partake of the same food, which consists of either rice or bread or a combination of both. Bread, which is consumed in fairly large quantities, is wholly supplied by the Asram bakery. The stress which is laid on the simplicity of food seems to recall the principle of the Indian sages of old :

आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिः सत्त्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवा-स्मृतिः ।

i.e., the mental powers on the purity of which spiritual progress depends are ultimately dependent on the purity of the food one takes.

In the dining hall the men and the women sit separately. Generally the cooking is done by the male members, but I was told that the

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Sādhikās also take a turn in cooking, particularly on Fridays, when more than one course is served, including a delicacy now and then.

The Asram maintains a library and a reading room, where the inmates may read books and daily papers, but their interest in current affairs of the world did not seem to be keen. I tried to ascertain if Sri Aurobindo had any definite views about the present chaotic condition of the world, but I could not elicit any information on this point beyond a general statement that he believed a better world-order would emerge out of the present confusion and ruin.

This optimism forms the keynote of the Sadhana inculcated in the Asram. Man's destiny cries out for a better and a fuller realisation, and the dark forces of nature which stand in its way have to be dispelled by the Sādhanā of man assisted by divine grace. What form exactly this better state of existence will take it is too early to say. But a firm belief in the possibility of a fuller and richer consciousness for man, in the emancipation of spirit from the shackles of crude traditions and age-old prejudices and in the transcendence of the gross animal existence through freedom, is what is demanded as a *sine qua non* for the spiritual side of the life of the Asram.

The tenets of Sri Aurobindo's teaching have been embodied in three volumes of his *Life Divine*, which has been published from the Asram. Some of the members of the Asram have made it a part of their daily Sādhanā to meet together for the purpose of reading and understanding the principles inculcated in those volumes. As Sri Aurobindo is rarely visible and as he does not hold any discourse on his philosophical creed, these study circles are very helpful to those whose souls hanker after truth. On my return from Pondicherry, I learnt that there was a similar study group in Calcutta and elsewhere which reads, discusses and tries to assimilate the principles of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy.

I had *darsan* of Sri Aurobindo on the 24th November last. He was seated on a divan in a room upstairs, and nearly five hundred people wended their steps in silence one by one. The route was short, but the passage was narrow and the same staircase was used for going up and coming down. This necessarily took a lot of time, but no one grumbled. People had come from long distances to have a *darsan* of the saint, and they were satisfied so long as they got a chance. They ascended the steps, one deep, in solemn silence and approached the door-step of the room, in which Sri Aurobindo was seated along with Mother, bowed at the door, deposited their floral presents in a chest kept for the purpose and then turned away. The whole function took more than three hours to finish, but the arrangements were perfect.

It was almost dusk when my turn came and the shades of evening were gathering in the distant offing. The room, however, was well lighted with electric lamps and we could see distinctly the smiling face of the man who is practically dead to the outside world except for the few rare occasions when he gives *darsan* to his votaries and admirers. Here is the man who was at one time regarded as the brain of a dangerous subversive movement. The change is great indeed. The fire was still there but it was crowned with peace and contentment. I have brought with me a portrait of Sri Aurobindo—a likeness with which we are all familiar. But his present appearance seemed to be very different and there is no recent portrait available. He appeared much older, fairer and more like a sage who had fulfilled the great mission of life. His appearance in silk dhoti and punjabi suggested in a very welcome manner his fondness for the Bengali mode of life. He did not at all look grave or indifferent; and there was no pose or artificiality about him.

Sri Aurobindo never goes out of the precincts of the Asram, nor is he visible to anyone except Mother and a few privileged workers of the Asram, like the doctor, manager, etc., barring the days of the *darsan* of which there are now only four in the course of the year. It is difficult to imagine how one can spend his life year in and year out under these conditions of self-imposed imprisonment. He seldom speaks. At least none of the visitors at these *darsans* ever gets a chance of having any conversation with him. During the November *darsan* at which I was present with my wife, there was among the visitors a ruling chief from Bombay—a very cultured gentleman who was eager to have speech with Sri Aurobindo, but he could not be obliged. The Maharaja based his claims to have preferential treatment not on any personal grounds, but he said that having been the first ruling nobleman to pay his homage to Sri Aurobindo, he was in a position to carry Sri Aurobindo's message to his brother chiefs. Besides, he represented a few hundred thousand of his subjects whose spokesman he was. But Sri Aurobindo, as His Highness himself told me, declined to depart from his usual practice and break his silence on any account.

The Asram people did not make it a grievance that Sri Aurobindo was not always visible to them nor that the privilege of speech with him was denied to them. The *darsan*

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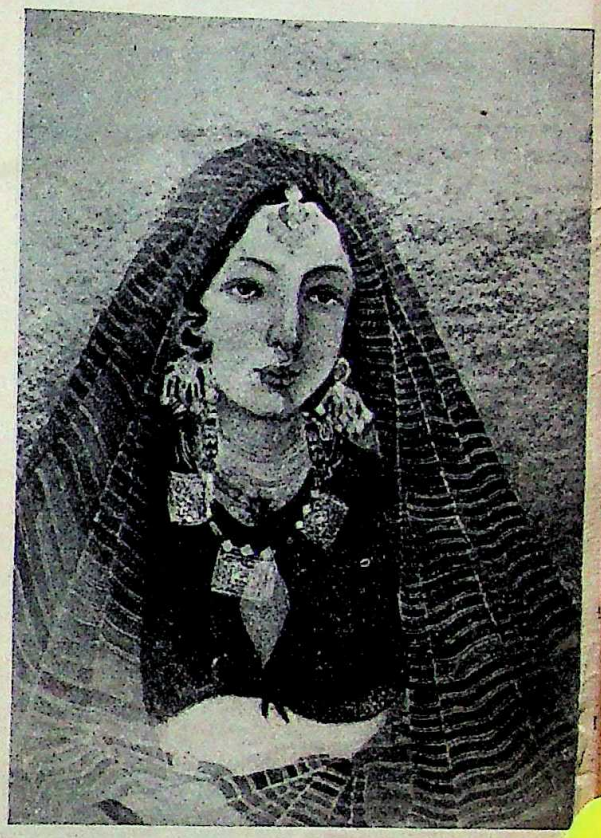
SCHOOL OF ARTS EXHIBITION, MADRAS

The Hunter
By J. Shaw



A Rajput Lady
By S. Dhanapal

Comrades
By K. Rajagopal

Winter Evening
By K. C. S. Panikar

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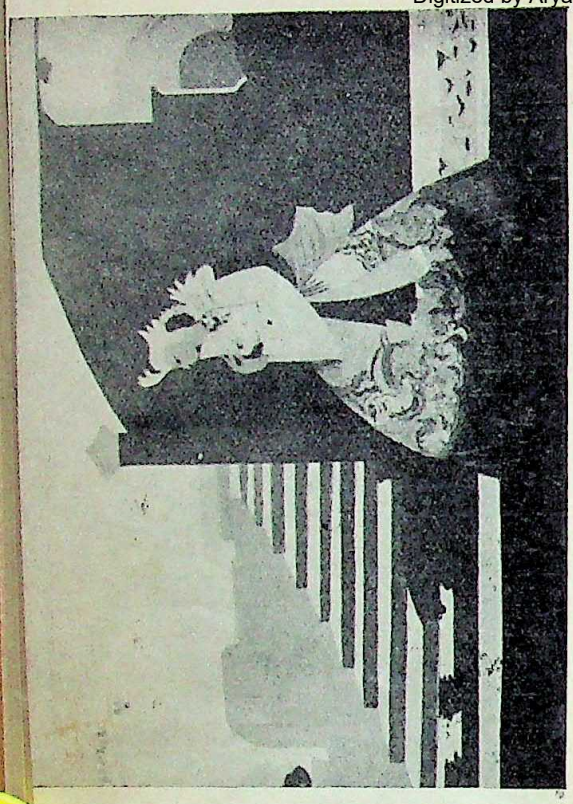
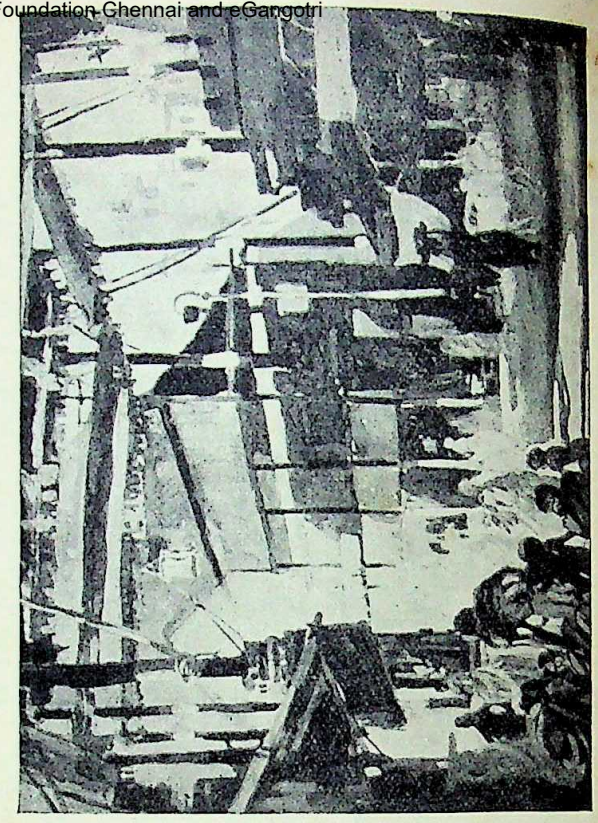
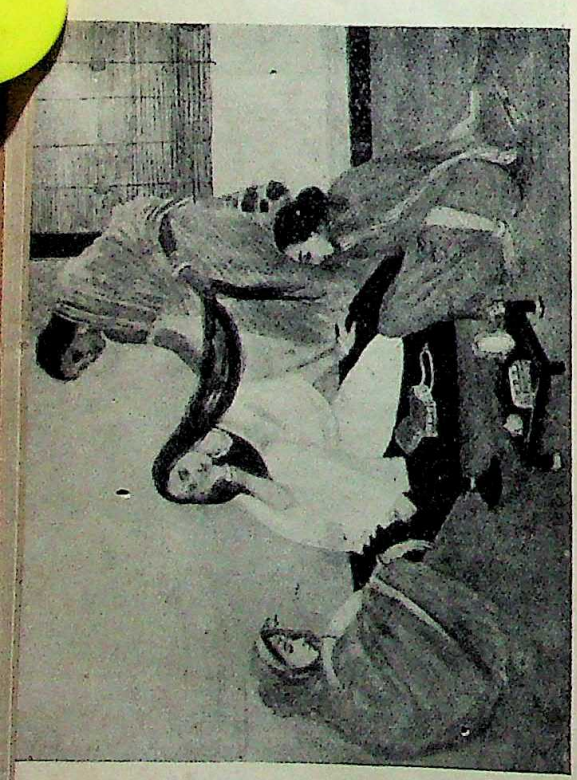


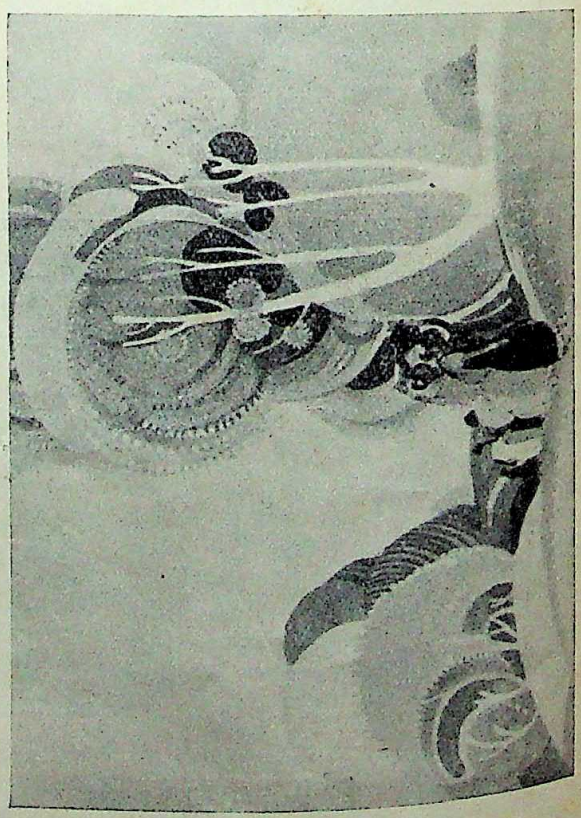
The Princess of the Mysterious Palace
By Sushil Kumar Mukerjee



Festive Pandal
By P. M. Srinivasan



Toilette



Returning from the Market
By Govind Raj

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though so few and far between, was itself full of inspiration for them, as I noticed on that memorable day. One of the devotees actually seemed to walk in a trance when crossing the courtyard and ascending the stairs for the darsan.

To some Sri Aurobindo is a seer and to many a dreamer. From his youth upwards his life has been characterised by an idealism which is quite out of the ordinary. In the political sphere, it bordered dangerously on revolution. In the spiritual life, it is tending towards a conception of evolution which promises to be a revelation in philosophy.

SCHOOL OF ARTS EXHIBITION, MADRAS

The ninth annual exhibition of the School of Arts and Crafts, Madras, was opened to the public on March 15, 1941. It redounded to the credit of the Principal, D. P. Roy Chowdhury, whose example, influence, untiring energy and able guidance made such excellent display of water-colours and other exhibits possible.

The general level of excellence of last year's exhibits were maintained this year also. The visitor was at once impressed by the water-colours, which in composition and technique can be surpassed by few schools of art anywhere.

One of the most attractive works on view is "Festive Pandal" by P. M. Srinivasan. The heat and dust of the bazar, its colour and composition have been rendered magnificently, carried out in tempera and finely arranged. In contrast to this is the cool rendering of "Trees" by K. Srinivasan. The use of the small figure in the red sari in the middle-ground is necessary and typical of the subject.

"Boat Yard in Madras" by Bhoopati Rao, a first year student, shows an ability to handle water-colours well above those students of more advanced classes.

A welcome change from the preponderance of landscape is Sushil Mukherjee's "Philosopher," a scheme pleasing in black, gold and green; the picture is undoubtedly attractive and reminiscent of Whistler in composition, although the use of gold is a doubtful asset to a picture, unless purely decorative.

The India School is well represented by a fine work, "The Beggar" by S. Dhanapal; his line is delicate and expressive and the draughtsmanship excellent. Two heads by P. Rangaswamy and N. M. Mohan respectively are again welcome being strongly drawn and well placed in the frame, they are easily the best exhibited. Unfortunately there seem to be a penchant for the profile among students. This, while not a bad feature in itself, is apt to become tiring.

A work which is likely to be overlooked is "Jutka Stand" by P. M. Srinivasan. While unfinished, it is noteworthy for the way in which the artist has placed his subject in the picture and shows shrewd observation.

Crafts Section

The Crafts section contains some fine example of jewellery, particularly a pair of ear-pendants in blue enamel, gold and ivory designed by Mr. Roy Chowdhury, who incidently is responsible for most of the designs; his cigarette box of copper on an ebony base is a delightful piece of workmanship.

It is not easy to estimate the value of the furniture designs displayed and it would be interesting to see an interior decorative scheme carried out on the line of the designs exhibited. Those basing their criticism on pre-conceived notions of so-called "modern" design from Europe without regarding the subject from a purely Indian viewpoint may be led to curious conclusions.

Festive Pandal By P. M. Srinivasan

Returning from the Market By Govind Raj

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THE BENGAL SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

The Select Committee Report

By Kumar BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill has, since its introduction in the Bengal Legislative Assembly some eight months ago, raised a storm of protest the like of which cannot possibly be recalled within recent memory. All sections of disinterested opinion unequivocally condemned the Bill in the very representative conference of teachers, guardians as well as representatives of managing committees of secondary schools in Bengal held in December last at Hazra Park, Calcutta. Since then the voice of protest is being echoed and re-echoed in all the districts of Bengal in ever-increasing volume. Inside the legislature, the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Nationalists and representatives of the Independent Scheduled Caste Group combined in opposing the Bill, with the result that not a single member from these groups could be found willing to serve on the Select Committee. It was, therefore, not unnatural to expect, when further time was taken in January last for submitting the Select Committee Report, that good sense would at last prevail and some settlement would be arrived at. But that hope has been dashed to pieces. It could have been anticipated that the opinion of this Select Committee, composed of the chosen few, would be anything but representative and acceptable in such a vital matter as this, specially when that report would not embody the viewpoint of those communities as were likely to be affected most by the measure and this fact alone was a sufficient ground for the withdrawal of the proposed measure. But instead of taking such a course of action, the Government, strangely enough, proceeded with the work of the Select Committee and threatened to place its report before the Assembly at any moment. The Report has in fact been published the other day and published to our dismay in such a shape as would accentuate rather than minimise communal differences in this province; it has been published at a time when Bengal is having a taste of communalism of the worst kind. The attitude of the Government towards this measure which has evoked such strong criticism from the public; the lack of sympathy for the viewpoint of a very large section of the population of this province; the inordinate desire for pushing on a communal measure without paying any heed to the exigencies of the times—these are not only indications of the state of affairs that the passing of the Bill would lead to but also go to show how far the Government has failed in their duty of maintaining a non-communal attitude in times of communal tension.

The Select Committee: Its General Attitude

The Report of the Select Committee has not improved matters in any way; in fact a close analysis of its recommendations would prove beyond doubt that the position is just the reverse. Among the various charges made by the public against the Bill, one was that the composition of the proposed Board was objectionable inasmuch as (*a*) it was based on communal lines; (*b*) representation given to the University was not sufficient; (*c*) no arrangement was made for having educational and technical experts on the board; (*d*) unjustifiably large representation was given to the European and Anglo-Indian community; (*e*) no representation was given to the management of non-Government schools; and so on. The second most important criticism made against the Bill was that the Bill in reality was a move for extending official control and exhibited a singular distrust for democratic methods. Another broad charge levelled against the Bill was that it did not envisage any plan for educational development not only because financial provisions were totally inadequate for the purpose, but the Bill did not strengthen that bond of sympathy and understanding between the Government and the people on which alone the development of secondary education in this province must depend. It is a matter for us to take note and learn from, that the Select Committee has not only flouted public opinion on each of these points but has rendered the Bill more obnoxious particularly with regard to these provisions with a characteristic reaction against public criticism that has become so marked in the recent acts of the Ministry.

The Composition of the Board: Suggested Changes

To begin with the question of composition of the Board, we find that the Select Committee has tried to manipulate the provisions in a clever

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way in the interests of one or two communities at the cost of others. It has in the first place maintained studied silence regarding the basis of representation on the Board and has thus lent support to the view though most surely a perverted view—that the educational needs of any community cannot be served without having communal representation on the Board. Guided by the said principle, it has further suggested alterations that would aggravate rather than minimise the injustice done to certain communities and to certain institutions in the Bill in its original form. It may be pointed out that the Select Committee has perhaps conveniently forgotten the recommendations of the Sadler Commission regarding the number of representatives of the University of Calcutta and has thus perpetuated the injustice done in the Bill, for no change has been made in this direction. The Select Committee again has not been able to show the courage of recommending adequate reprsentation for educational and technical experts, for it has done nothing in this respect except expressing a pious wish in a proviso that the persons nominated by the Government should as far as possible be connected with problems of technical education. The Committee further has provided for more representation for the Moslem, the Anglo-Indian and the European communities without having regard to the fact that about 75 per cent of the provincial revenues is paid by the Hindus alone. It has been suggested that the Government should nominate under clause 4 sub-clause 21 ten persons instead of eleven, but the number of Muslims among those ten would now be three instead of four and the number of Hindus five instead of seven. Similarly the number of the Principals of Madrassahs has increased by one, though there has been no corresponding increase in the case of Hindus. But what is of greater interest is the fact that the Select Committee has not only substantially reduced the weightage given to the Hindus but has also added two other members—one from the Indian Christian community and another from a community other than those mentioned above. The number of Government nominees has, therefore, certainly gone down by one, but the number of communities to be represented has gone up thus making unanimity of decision amongst these persons more difficult and official control consequently easier. The changes suggested by the Select Committee regarding the representation of Anglo-Indians and Europeans are of the greatest significance. The Committee has indeed omitted the clause providing for an *ex-officio* seat for the Inspector of European Schools; but it has characteristically hastened at the same moment to delete the bar that was placed on official members of the European Board so that the said inspector may, if necessary, find his way to the Board through this back-door. But the Select Committee in its desire to placate the European Group has gone much further than this; it has recommended that the number of non-University representatives in the Executive Council should be raised from one to four so that more adequate representation may be given to the Anglo-Indian, European and Moslem communities.

The Executive Council and the President: The University of Calcutta

It is the same story with the composition of the Executive Council. Certain minor alterations have been suggested regarding the election of two inspectors of schools under clause 19(g), but care has been taken for maintaining intact one reserved seat for a Muslim inspector. This policy is carried further in the amendments suggested in connection with the number of Hindus and Muslims amongst the representatives of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities. But, as already pointed out, the real motive of the Select Committee is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the provisions newly made for increasing the number of non-University representatives from one to four

"to provide for a representation from the European and Anglo-Indian communities and a more adequate representation of the Muslim community."

It is to be remembered in this connection that the astonishingly large powers of the Executive Council have been left intact so that the Council may serve as a very powerful check on the Board in case it makes some unsuitable gesture, packed though it is by government nominees, ex-officio members and members of the Government party. The position has thus been rendered infinitely worse; for to increase the number of non-University representatives without granting additional powers to the Board to control them is nothing but the removal of the last vestige of democracy. Furthermore, the attitude of the Select Committee towards the President of the Board indicates clearly that the committee had no real intention to change the anti-democratic character of the Bill. It has put up only a false show of popular control by limiting the President's term of office but it has left unaltered the provision that the President would be appointed by the Provincial Government and not elected by the Board, though this President would be empowered not only to exercise all general powers on behalf of the Board or the Executive Council but may

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exercise in the name of emergency even those powers which are expressly conferred on the Board or the Council by the Act and not on the President.

And what are the suggestions of the Select Committee regarding the University of Calcutta? Instead of strengthening the position of the university, as has been actually done even in recent years in other Indian provinces, it has incorporated new clauses that are more in the nature of punishment than reform. Not only has the Committee ignored the legitimate claim of the University of Calcutta for adequate representation on the Board, but it has positively tried to eliminate it altogether out of the picture by taking away even the Matriculation Examination out of its hands and, what is much more, by making it obligatory by legislation for the University to admit without any further test students who have passed the Board's Final Examination. It may be of interest to know that the annual Government grant to the Calcutta University has not yet been made a statutory grant, though the Dacca University has been granted that privilege long ago. The reason for this invidious distinction in favour of the smaller and the younger University; for this unfair treatment to the biggest and the oldest University in the whole of India; for this positive attack launched on it, is not very far to seek. This alone is an eloquent testimony to the ultra-educational character of the Bill and a clear proof of the real motive of the Select Committee which was expected to alter it in the light of public criticism and in accordance with national needs.

'Regulation, Control, Development'

It is in this way that the Select Committee has tried to meet public criticism regarding regulation and control. It was charged by the public that there was too much regulation and control, and the Select Committee has possibly, because of public criticism, provided for wider regulation and control. Each of the changes suggested by the Committee has gone directly or indirectly to extend official control over secondary education. But the question of development has not been dismissed so summarily. The Select Committee has indeed tried to put up a show of having some sort of a plan in the proposed measure. It has for this purpose firstly changed the preamble of the Act and added the word 'development'; it has further empowered the Executive Council to

"make a survey of the existing condition of secondary education in the province and advise the Board as to the principles to be followed and the plan to be adopted in developing secondary education,"

while the Board has been given the power

"to determine after considering the views of the Executive Council the principles to be followed and the plan to be adopted in developing secondary education in Bengal."

It has also suggested that the annual financial grant from the Government, besides the statutory annual grant of Rs. 25 lakhs provided for originally, should consist of

"such further sum, increasing by yearly increments to twenty-five lakhs of rupees in the fifth successive financial year after the financial year in which this Act comes into force, as the Provincial Government may determine in each such financial year for the purpose of grants-in-aid and assistance to secondary schools."

Needless to say that there is absolutely nothing in these provisions to assure us that the establishment of a Board with these modifications would lead to any planned development of secondary education in Bengal. On the contrary recent experience goes to show that even if the proposed Board makes any sincere effort in this direction, though the Board would be constitutionally incapable to do it, its efforts cannot result in anything but a mockery of plan and the reversal of progress. For it is not possible for this Board to develop secondary education according to a well-thought-out plan, firstly because that is not the object of this ultra-educational measure; it is again impossible for the Board to take any such action because the establishment of this Board would, in the words of the Sadler Commission,

"jeopardise the good understanding between the Government and the educated classes upon which the prospects of effective reform in the existing system mainly depend."

The proposed Board would not be in a position to undertake any planned development, thirdly because it would not command the confidence of all sections of the public. The composition of the Board again rules out of question any such possibility because the Universities and educational experts are not adequately represented. Such development cannot be expected because the Government begins with a policy of destroying the existing system though it is not in a position to build up a new one. We do not find in the Bill as modified by the Select Committee any broad vision that is essential for the development of any sound educational system, nor any desire to face boldly the problems that are disquietingly knocking at our doors at the present moment. It was pointed out in a previous issue of *The Modern Review* that any real scheme of educational reform must break down the division between

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primary and secondary education as also the barriers between general and vocational education. Nowhere do we find in the recommnedations of the Select Committee, so eager for the development of secondary education in our province, any desire for tackling these urgent problems and reforming the present system of secondary education according to our social and economic needs. It is time to remind the Select Committee that unless attention is paid to those aspects of the question, it would not be possible to browbeat the critics of the Bill into thinking that the Bill would make possible any well-planned development of secondary education in this province simply because the word 'development' has been added to the preamble.

The Financial Provision

Now we come to the last aspect of the question. It was urged that the sum of Rs. 25 lakhs as provided originally would be totally inadequate even for our present-day needs. So the Select Committee has increased the annual statutory grant from Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 50 lakhs. This alteration appears on the face of it to be a change for the better. But a closer examination of the recommendations of the Select Committee as a whole would prove that this has not improved matters in any way. The Select Committee has taken away the Matriculation Examination from the Calcutta University, thus depriving the University of the fee-income as also the income from the sale of text-books. It is an open fact that the economic condition of the Calcutta University is not very good and this loss of income would at once affect its manifold activities and arrest its growth. The Select Committee, though it has increased the grant by 25 lakhs, has not thought it necessary to compensate the University for the loss that would result from the newly suggested changes regarding the Matriculation Examination and has thus damaged educational progress in Bengal rather than encouraged it.

Then again it is not a very hazardous prediction to say that the establishment of the Board would almost certainly stifle private enterprise and thus curtail the existing facilities for education. This drying up of private contribution can hardly be made up by a Government grant of Rs. 50 lakhs. It is of interest to note that in the United Provinces, the Government pays a sum of Rs. 45 lakhs out of a total expenditure of 87 lakhs on secondary schools for boys; yet we have it from the latest Review of *Educational Progress in India* (1932-33) that

"Many of these (aided) schools unfortunately live from hand to mouth and can only afford the bare minimum of equipment."

No better is the condition of secondary schools in the Punjab where the Government pays more than 66 lakhs out of a total expenditure of 1 crore 35 lakhs. So if the Government of Bengal decides to pay only Rs. 50 lakhs out of a total of Rs. 1 crore 62 lakhs that is at present being spent on secondary education of boys and girls, needless to say that sum would not only be utterly inadequate for developing secondary institutions in this province, but that the sum would not even be sufficient for improving existing institutions even in the slightest degree; firstly, because the grant of Rs. 50 lakhs out of a total sum of Rs. 1 crore 62 lakhs is not sufficient even for that purpose as our experience in other Indian provinces go to show and secondly, because Rs. 50 lakhs would not make up the loss to secondary institutions that would result from the falling away of private contribution which is sure to happen if the Bill becomes law.

Conclusion

We have described above the changes suggested by the Select Committee and have tried to examine whether these changes can in any way satisfy the public. A single glance at the recommendations of the Committee is sufficient to convince us that the Committee has not made any effort to undertake that difficult task of so altering the Bill as to make this virtually unacceptable measure acceptable to all sections of the public; on the contrary, it has deliberately rendered this obnoxious measure more obnoxious. The reason for this reaction is possibly not very far to seek. We do not know whether there is anything like the idea of "teaching a community the lessons it needs" behind this surprising attitude of the Select Committee, but we are sure whatever else might have been the objects of the Select Committee, educational reform was certainly not one of them. We are indeed grateful to the Select Committee for revealing the Bill in its true colours and making clear its real motive. It is of the utmost significance that not even a single member of the Select Committee had any qualms of conscience to lend his support to this reactionary measure. It is indeed a sorry spectacle to find Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, long connected with the Education Department, signing the Report without any reservation; or to find Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, whose party is expected to take its stand on non-communal principles, signing the report only with the suggestion that another effort should be made to arrive at a settlement with the Hindus

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in this matter, as if it is nothing but a question of giving a few more seats to the Hindus. It should, therefore, be clearly realised by each and every individual who holds dear the cause of education in this province that no relief can be expected from that quarter. It is for the people of Bengal to defend and develop the system of secondary education that has all along been a people's system *par excellence* and must continue to be so.

RELATIVE INCIDENCE OF LAND-REVENUE ON THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THE Floud Commission Report (Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal) says with reference to fixing of rents in perpetuity :

"We have expressed the view that if the State becomes the landlord, *it would be a mistake to fix rents in perpetuity, thereby following the same policy for which Lord Cornwallis has been criticised.* (Italics ours). It cannot be assumed that the financial requirements of the State will be satisfied for ever with fixed income from land revenue : nor would it be possible to maintain fixed rents in cash, once it is accepted that the level of rent ought to be readjusted from time to time in relation to the rise or fall of prices. It could not be contended that if there is a marked fall in prices, not of a temporary nature, the tenants should not get the benefit of reductions. Of the provinces which we have visited, the only one which does not readjust the level of rent to the level of prices is the United Provinces. There, the rise or fall in the price of agricultural produce is not a ground for enhancement or reduction of rent, but at the time of resettlement the Settlement Officer takes into consideration the prevailing level of agricultural prices. This may be a defect in the system of assessment. We certainly think that the rise or fall in prices must be taken into account in adjusting the level of rent, and if that is done the level of *cash rents cannot remain fixed,* although the rent in terms of produce remains unaltered." (Italics ours). [See Vol. I, pp. 144-145].

The above extract contemplates, rather assumes, that the tenantry all over Bengal, pays rent which is more or less some fixed proportion of the agricultural produce of the land. This is far from the truth. The tenantry in different parts of the province do not pay the same proportion as rent. The land in Western Bengal produces less, but the tenant pays higher rents; while the tenantry occupying the more fertile regions of Eastern Bengal pay less.

From Table VIII (a) giving the statement of cultivated area and gross agricultural produce per acre &c. [see Vol. II, pp. 112-113], we get the average value of agricultural produce per acre in the several Divisions of Bengal as below :

BURDWAN DIVISION

		Rs.
Bankura	..	36
Birbhum	..	40
Burdwan	..	41
Hooghly	..	52
Howrah	..	50
Midnapore	..	39
Average per acre	..	41

PRESIDENCY DIVISION

		Rs.
Murshidabad	..	42
Nadia	..	43
24-Parganas	..	46
Jessore	..	44
Khulna	..	42
Average per acre	..	44

RAJSHAHI DIVISION

		Rs.
Bogra	..	48
Dinajpur	..	47
Jalpaiguri	..	45
Malda	..	45
Pabna	..	53
Rajshahi	..	48
Rangpur	..	62
Darjeeling	..	29
Average per acre	..	50

DACCA DIVISION

		Rs.
Dacca	..	59
Mymensingh	..	61
Faridpore	..	56
Bakarganj	..	53
Average per acre	..	58

CHITTAGONG DIVISION

		Rs.
Chittagong	..	55
Noakhali	..	57
Tipperah	..	58
Average per acre	..	57

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All the above averages are weighted averages, *i.e.*, obtained by dividing the sum of the products of respective cultivated areas with the value of gross agricultural produce per acre by the sum of those areas.

From Table VII, we get the respective raiyati assets in the several Divisions of Bengal to be as follows :

BURDWAN DIVISION

	Raiyati assets in lakhs of rupees	Net area cultivated in '000' acres
Bankura	31·07	797
Birbhum	34·32	765
Burdwan	45·10	1,080
Hooghly	30·77	534
Howrah	21·88	239
Midnapore	95·65	1,994
Total	Rs. 258·79	5,409

PRESIDENCY DIVISION

Murshidabad	38·07	941
Nadia	40·65	1,279
24-Parganas	96·82	1,407
Jessore	39·28	1,410
Khulna	46·65	1,115
Total	Rs. 261·47	6,152

RAJSHAHI DIVISION

Bogra	24·46	723
Dinajpur	48·15	1,923
Jalpaiguri	11·79	708
Malda	23·48	847
Pabna	32·01	835
Rajshahi	51·19	1,249
Rangpur	59·85	1,611
Darjeeling	4·16	121
Total	Rs. 255·09	8,017

DACCA DIVISION

Dacca	48·42	1,305
Mymensingh	94·59	2,661
Faridpore	47·52	1,197
Bakarganj	70·09	1,553
Total	Rs. 260·62	6,716

CHITTAGONG DIVISION

Chittagong	26·68	632
Noakhali	27·19	720
Tipperah	42·20	1,304
Total	Rs. 96·07	2,656

The rental per acre in the several Divisions works out to as follows :

Division	Average Rental per acre Rs.	As.	P.
Burdwan	4	12	7
Presidency	4	5	9
Rajshahi	3	2	11
Dacca	3	14	1
Chittagong	3	9	10

The Rental as percentage of the average value of gross agricultural produce in the several Divisions is as follows :

Division	Rental as per cent of Gross Agricultural produce
Burdwan	11·6
Presidency	9·9
Rajshahi	6·3
Dacca	6·7
Chittagong	6·4

The following table shows the composition of the population in the several Divisions by Religions as in 1931 :

Division	Per cent of Hindus	Per cent of Muhammadans
Burdwan	82·8	14·1
Presidency	51·2	47·2
Rajshahi	36·4	60·8
Dacca	28·5	70·9
Chittagong	25·1	71·2

Thus in those areas where the Hindus are in majority, not only is the rent per acre high compared with areas where the Muhammadans form the bulk of the population, but the percentage of gross agricultural produce which is paid as rent is also very high, more than one and a half times the proportion paid by the tenantry where the Muhammadans are in majority.

The incidence of Land Revenue per acre in the several Divisions is as follows :

Division	Land Revenue per acre Rs.	As.	P.
Burdwan	1	9	9
Presidency	1	0	5
Rajshahi	0	14	0
Dacca	0	13	3
Chittagong	1	1	7

The incidence of Land Revenue as percentages of the gross value of agricultural produce works out in the several Divisions as follows :

Division	Percentage
Burdwan	4·0
Presidency	2·3
Rajshahi	1·7
Dacca	1·4
Chittagong	1·9

Thus it is higher in those areas where the Hindus form the bulk of the tenantry, and less where the Muhammadans are in majority.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

FREEDOM AND CULTURE: *By John Dewey. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. London. Price 7s. 6d.*

This is a very timely book by the well-known American philosopher. Like most of his other works, its value is in adventure rather than in systematic text-bookish treatment. The mind is stimulated by every page, as it were by highly cultured talk, and if no clear picture is conjured up at the end of the discourse, the reader finds ample explanation in the fact that the author is more interested in inducing certain attitudes of mind and modes of conduct than in the philosopher's luxury of "picture-making." Dewey's instrumentalism peeps out in the following remark: If there is one conclusion to which human experience unmistakably points it is that democratic ends demand democratic methods for their realisation. In other words, freedom is only a function of Democracy.

According to Dewey, the victory of democracy was brought about in the nineteenth century by fortunate but fortuitous circumstances. In this the twentieth, when it has been endangered by totalitarian dogma and authoritarian practice, it has to be once again achieved and sustained by intelligent endeavour. In other words, the functioning of democratic processes is a perpetual struggle on as many fronts as culture has aspects, political, economic, international, educational, scientific and artistic, religious.

Dewey's conception of culture is anthropological in its comprehensiveness. His idea of freedom is that of the enrichment of individual values. The blending of the two is Dewey's personal achievement. Otherwise, usually, an anthropologist remains in doubt about the place of the individual in the culture-pattern of the tribe or the society he studies. Dewey finds a synthesis in the co-operative action and the harnessing of the collective goodwill and intelligence in the democratic process, which is essentially a creative procedure.

The weak point of the book, in my opinion, is the inadequate analysis of class-structure and of its relation to freedom, culture, and democracy. Dewey's remark that, of the many guises of authoritarianism the promise of the abolition of class-structure is one, gives a partial view only. The war itself is the indirect product of class-structure; sensationalism and commercialisation of art and entertainment is another; leader-worship, dictatorship is a third. In one country, at least, the war has foreclosed the democratic process. So, if freedom, culture, democracy and all that is going to survive, Democracy has to be differently composed.

Intellectual honesty demands that the reviewer should confess to a general feeling of disappointment after he has closed the book. For an Indian, today, all this talk sounds somewhat hollow. India is vitally interested in all the problems that this eminent American philosopher has raised and discussed. She is genuinely willing to contribute to this great struggle, *but*, shall I write *and*? for nothing could be more consistent, on terms of the democratic process itself. What do we see now? Democracy, with a capital D, is mouthed by all and sundry, while civil liberties, which constitute the essence of the process, cannot breathe freely. How is it that such a logician should fail to distinguish between the name and the process, between one type of democracy and another, that such an empiricist should ignore the political reality of a continent of 400 millions?

My disappointment becomes keen when I remember what I owe to Prof. Dewey.

Dhurjati Mukerji

POLAND after one year of War. *Published for The Polish Ministry of Information by George Allen and Unwin Limited, London. Price 1s. net.*

This book shows what wicked methods were adopted by the Nazis to find a pretext for invading and annexing Poland, in what savage ways war was carried on against that country, how it was partitioned between Russia and Germany, and in what a diabolical and systematic manner the Nazis have been trying to destroy the Polish nation body, mind and soul and to reduce the survivors to utter slavery and keep them for ever in that condition. It should be read by all, particularly by publicists.

D.

PSYCHOLOGY PSYCHOTHERAPY AND EVANGELICALISM: *By J. G. McKenzie, M.A., B.D., D.D. London. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 238. Price 10s. 6d.*

Prof. J. G. McKenzie has studied the problems of evangelical experiences and doctrine from the standpoint of psychology. His deep sympathy for this aspect of Christian religious life makes him eminently suitable to do full justice to the task before him. Keeping in mind the limitations of psychology, in tackling the problems of religious experience the author has taken help from the findings of the psycho-analytical school to explain the phenomena of conscience, guilt, sin, forgiveness, atonement, etc. He has made a strong plea for the need for psychological knowledge on the part of

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candidates for ministry or priesthood. It is difficult to agree with the author in all his statements but there is no doubt that Prof. McKenzie has been able to produce an eminently readable book and has made some defintie contributions to the psychology of religion.

G. Bose

NAZIS AND GERMANS : *By Harold Picton. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 1939. Pp. 144. Price 5s.*

This unpretentious little book is of great interest and value for two main reasons. In the first place, it contains a picturesque chronicle of experiences of an intelligent and cultured Englishman who lived for many years in Germany, sharing the life of the people and using his opportunities of observation to the full. Mr. Picton knows Germans as thoroughly as any living Englishman and is the author of *Early German Art and Its Origins*. He is frankly in sympathy, if not actually identified, with the Social Democratic Party in the post-War German Republic. He likes and understands the Germans, though he is aware of their failings, particularly their tendency to blind obedience and romantic vainglory, but he acknowledges that the Germans, in spite of obvious differences, are singularly like the British. The author's fundamental attitude to Germany is characterized by his own statement : "It is my love for the German people that makes me fiercely hate the vampires that destroy them." The main interest of the book, therefore, centres round the author's intimate understanding of the ordinary man and woman who dominate the scene in every sphere of German life—their heroism and sacrifice, their essential morality and good sense. The second outstanding merit of the book is that it clearly differentiates between the mass of the people and their Nazi oppressors, as suggested even in the title of the monograph.

He retells the story of the Nazi revolution, the cruelties of the anti-Semitic crusade, the persecution of the Churches and the unspeakable horrors of the Concentration Camps. He realizes the attraction for the young of the conception of leadership, discipline, solidarity and national service. He is fully aware that amongst the Fuehrer's humbler followers have been men and women of earnest idealism, most of them later—as the author shows by individual examples—completely disillusioned. Such idealism as the movement contained was quickly overlaid by that lust for power and the self-worship of the leaders. After living for a year and a half under the new dispensation the author left the country with grief and anger in his heart, but his contacts remained and in some ways were closer than they could have been in Germany.

The author's reactions to the Nazi philosophy are very much similar to those of a Socialist. But Mr. Picton's chronicle is not without its lesson for the future. His approach to the problem of European reconstruction has been summarized in his own words as follows : "We missed our opportunity after the last war. The key to the future was generosity. We threw it away."

The auhor has recorded his experiences in a flowing and pictorial style, and the reader is almost persuaded to feel like a spectator of the great drama which unfolds itself through the most arresting scenes of the Nazi revolution.

Monindramohan Moulik

SCIENCE AND POLITICS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD : *By Benjamin Farrington. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 243. Price 10s. 6d.*

This is a book about the obstacles to the spread of a scientific outlook in the ancient world. Of these obstacles the chief is characterized as Popular Superstition. The purpose of this study is to raise and answer the question how far popular superstition means superstition originated *by* the people or imposed *upon* the people.

The political implications of the spread of science are of intense current interest. Science can advance or retreat along two roads. There is first the advance that consists in the actual progress of knowledge and refinement of ideas, irrespective of the numbers of those who share in the advance. In the second place, there is the progress of the dissemination of scientific ideas among the general mass of people. In our modern world, where the practical applications of science have transformed and continue to transform society, the question of the dissemination of scientific knowledge among the people at large assumes a different aspect from that which it presented in antiquity. Pure science, in western democracies, may still to some extent be the preserve of an oligarchy, but without a wide dissemination of technical knowledge modern society is unworkable. The problem that presents itself to societies of oligarchical complexion is how to combine political ignorance with technical efficiency.

The same problem existed in an acute but slightly different form in ancient Greece and Rome. Science found its way barred not only by popular superstition but by a governmental technique of controlling society through organised superstition. The thought of many of the great writers of antiquity was profoundly affected by their attitude to this question.

We are indebted to Prof. Farrington for his original and serious contribution to the subject in an easy and charming style, applying a modern outlook to a classical study.

J. M. Datta

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND (1603-1640) : *By W. K. Jordan, Ph.D. Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 542. Price 21s. net.*

The Publishers observe : "In this work, Dr. Jordan extends his discussion of an important subject in a thorough analysis of one of the most critical periods in English history. No important element in the thought of the period has been neglected. The study is based upon a thorough grasp of contemporary materials and the subject is treated with objectivity and dispassion. The work is broadly conceived, and the roots of modern liberalism and tolerance are examined and established."

With these remarks we are prepared to agree in general. About the historical materials used and the accuracy of the facts cited, we make no demur. But we must add that there is a considerable load of raw scholarship in the book which would make it not quite easy and attractive reading for the lay public.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

BIKANER : *By Sarangadhar Das. Published by the All-India States Peoples' Conference, 138, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 135. Price annas eight.*

Our knowledge of the economic and political conditions of the people of the Indian States is extremely meagre. Yet such knowledge is vital to the framing of any sound scheme for the future development of this

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country. Mr. Das's brochure is, therefore, a welcome publication ; for it delineates, in sober language, the none-too-happy lot of the people of the Bikaner State.

Mr. Das begins with historical sketch of the origin of the State. And, in the light of the materials available, he finds little difficulty in establishing that the claim to sovereignty so solemnly made on behalf of the State is but a myth. Indeed, what is true of Bikaner is equally true of every other Indian State.

The author analyzes the economic and financial problems of the State. The economic backwardness of the masses is strikingly brought out against the background of Palace splendour. Politically, the State is primitive. The Maharaja is the absolute ruler. There is only a mockery of representative institutions. There hardly exists any freedom of person or of speech or of association.

Our Princes, and the Maharaja of Bikaner in particular, are very loud in their condemnation of Fascism and in their support of British Decomracy. Will they not realize the utter incompatibility between this profession of theirs and their own practice at home ?

A. B. RUDRA

THE BIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF INDIA : *By Dr. A. Nader. Published by the Vidya Mandir, New Delhi. Pp. 1-137. Price Rs. 3.*

There are nineteen chapters, and the essence of the argument of the volume is that, provided production and distribution are properly planned in India, the Indian population should be more a source of strength than of weakness. In the words of the author, "biological research is brought to bear upon the economic analysis of the population growth. The forgotten Verhulstian curve is brought again to the forefront to express the population trend under a new nomenclature—The Law of Dynamic Balance. The great increase of population is given its due place as a predominant factor in the Indian life. . . . . This book is meant to be, to all who have at heart the welfare of India's teeming millions, a guide into the field of fruitful research, especially to University students who have generously taken to welfare work." On page 131, Dr. Nader quotes Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji, the well-known Malthusian, supporting his own (Dr. Nader's) stand that, given greater numbers, production is bound to improve and thus lead to better economic condition of the country : "Not only the Rajputs, but also the Brahmans, the Kayasthas and other high castes who own good landed property but disdain to drive the plough, are going down in the face of the unequal economic competition of lower agricultural castes who are proving superior in land utilisation and whose very numbers will in future add to their economic and political advantage" (Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji). The author adds : "The message of the masses to the classes is 'Give us opportunity : we shall give you our service'." He concludes, rather theatrically : "When the day of balancing both sides of India's account, the production side and the consumption side, draws near—and may that day be not far off—what a dynamic force our race expansion will be in world economy." Dr. Nader expounds a viewpoint which has been deplorably (and perhaps deliberately) ignored, but one wishes that Dr. Nader had proceeded more statistically than sentimentally. Another basic consideration we Indian economists have to bear in mind is that our present economic position is so despondent and humiliating, that no purpose will be served by our claiming for ourselves a privilege of giving a message or a lead to the world at large. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Let us confine our attention, at any rate for the coming few decades, to our own problems rather than waste our small energies in haranguing about the "new world order."

S. KESHAVA IYENGAR

PICTURES FROM THE LIFE OF BUDDHA : SIX COLOUR PLATES : *By Nanda Lal Bose. Published by the Times of India, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.*

One of the greatest impediments to a critical understanding and accurate judgment of the Modern School of Indian Painting is the lack of accurate reproductions in colour of the works of this school. While tri-colour reproductions in half-tone are incapable of rendering the colour values, the textures, the quality of line, and the depth of the originals, the current popular reproductions by this process of modern Indian masters, usually given in our popular journals, are worse than useless as they do not convey even a fraction of the flavour of the originals. The works of Nanda Lal Bose, the greatest living master of modern India, (the Head of the Department of Art, Visva Bharati), has peculiarly suffered in reproductions. The *Times* of Bombay have with commendable enterprise published a set of carefully executed colour facsimiles of Bose's miniature Water Colour drawings illustrating the Life of the Buddha, the most significant incidents of the story being chosen for illustration. The Life of the Buddha, has been several times rendered by the old masters of India and of the Far East in stone sculpture and in frescoes on the walls of temples from time immemorial. And Bose has himself rendered some of the incidents before. But in this series he chooses quite an original manner of presentation and carries out his designs with a daring technique fluently used by the mature manner of a master. Many of his masterpieces have passed into the oblivion of private collection and the art-loving public, now steadily growing in India, rarely get opportunity to make real contact with his art. And our gratitude goes out to the publishers for bringing within the reach of all in cheap but accurate representations of some of the works of the greatest living Indian artist. It is hoped that other and significant examples of his works drawn from private collection would be honoured by similar quality of reproductions.

O. C. G.

THE ROMANCE OF TUBERCULOSIS : *By Amiya Jiban Mukerjee, with a foreword by W. G. Jones, B.Sc., M.D. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. Ld., Calcutta. Pp. 196. Rs. 2-8.*

This is a wonderful little book, fact and romance sandwiched into one. One wonders what romance there be in a dread disease like Tuberculosis. It is no longer an affliction exclusively, it has become a human and social problem, and human intellect looks at it from different angles. In the western world not only sana-toria are springing up in numbers for the rescue of patients, but the problem is thoroughly being tackled in modern literature, making the misfortune as light as can possibly be.

But in this province of Bengal, where nearly a lakh of men die each year from this terrible malady, there are only a few sanatoria and few people talk about it in literature,—and even if they talk, they do so uninteresting and create misconceptions in the public mind either by putting too much colour into it or too little. But here at last we find a book written by a Bengali youngman who has brought out the whole truth about the present-day Tuberculosis in its proper light. How

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self a victim of the disease, he understands what it is, and has tried in all earnestness and sincerity to make his readers understand what it is. Although a non-medical man, he has thoroughly studied the subject more as few medical men do, and has written this book in a simple and lucid style. He has taken great pains to collect facts and materials about this complex subject and has strained himself to write while in bedridden condition at a sanatorium at the risk of his life. He has taken all this risk so that, come what may to him, his fellow-sufferers might read all this and beware. He writes—"Come what may to me, let my countrymen understand, and develop a will-to-live by disturbing their placidity." The book has been aptly dedicated to the "Miss Olive Stilwells of this world," who devote their lives to make the last days of suffering humanity happy. This book should be read by all who are suffering from the disease, whose kith and kin are suffering, who take an interest in the problem and who feel for the suffering humanity. To read the book is to understand the disease, and to understand it is to dispel half of the mist of dread and uncertainty with which the truth is shrouded.

P. Bhattacharyya

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN CO-OPERATIVE PORTUGAL: *By Freppel Cota. Published by P. S. King & Son Ltd., London. Pp. 185. Price 8s. 6d.*

This book as the title indicates, provides a descriptive study of the new Economic order in Portugal since the Revolution of 1926, as planned and put into operation under the guidance of Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister, and affords an opportunity for examining the possibilities of co-operativism as against communism as an ideal form of economic organisation. The author deals carefully with every part of the Portuguese co-operative system and critically examines the efficiency thereof in the light of the Socio-Political circumstances of the country.

At a time when the attention of the whole world is directed towards the achievements and failures of various types of socio-economic order Mr. Freppel Cota's book should be of considerable interest to students of economics and to public men alike.

Nalinaksha Sanyal

HISTORIC ROOTS OF SOME MODERN CONFLICTS: *By T. R. Venkatrama Sastri. Published by the Kumbakonam Parliament, Kumbakonam. Pp. 29. Price annas four only.*

This is a lecture delivered by the author. It deals with contemporary Indian problems like the removal of untouchability from Hindu society, the relations between Christians and Muslims and between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The author shows courage and candour in handling these subjects. He is alive to the fact that in India "no one clamours for special treatment as the Christian does", and he tries to find out the reason for it. Possibly it is due to a sense of inferiority on the part of the Muslim or to his awareness that he was once the ruler of India. But, the author argues, "if the Muslims were the rulers once, the Christians are the rulers now and yet the Christians put forward no claim" (p. 30). True; but the Christians have the protection of their rights in their own hands and need not claim privileges from a third party. And it is the Christian themselves who favour and encourage the special claims of the Muslims. That is the root of the trouble.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

LECTURES ON EDUCATION: *By Sj. Mahendra Nath Dutt. Compiled and edited by Rabindra Nath Mitra, 3, Gourmohan Mukerjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

The publication of Sj. Dutt's lectures on Education is sure to be welcome by thoughtful readers and educationist of the country. Though most of the lectures were delivered as far back as in 1910 yet they have a kind of permanent value about them. The lectures deal with a wide range of topics on Education in a careful and systematic manner.

Sj. Dutt's is no biased or prejudiced mind, and his arguments and conclusions are almost always reasonable and thought-provoking. Even when one differs from Sj. Dutt on a particular question, one cannot fail to appreciate and admire the logical attitude, the wide outlook and experience, and the openness of his mind. We congratulate the editor of this neat small volume and the Mahendra Publishing Committee on their valuable publication.

Jogesh Chandra Bhattacharyya

HINDUSTHAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1941: *By S. C. Sarkar. Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., 14, College Square, Calcutta. Price Board bound Re. 1-12 and ordinary Re. 1-8.*

This handy volume has reached the ninth year of its issue. It gives us information on various topics, brought up-to-date, and required for our everyday work. Its utility has been enhanced as it contains chapters on some new subjects, such as, the War, International Who's Who, the Congress Government, War Controversy, etc. Publicists, lawyers, businessmen and students of public affairs will find the volume very much useful. It has kept up the high standard in this edition too and we can safely recommend it to the public.

B.

BENGALI

BAJE MEYE (A Drama in Three Acts): *By Sri Anath Gopal Sen. To be had of Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

It is a powerful Bengali rendering of Oscar Wildes' "A Woman of No Importance." It deals with the extremely artificial, stagnant life of the wealthy, ease-loving, comfortable, so-called aristocratic society, who hardly care for morality or humanity as such, who, in spite of their clubs and parties, are extremely unsocial in their outlook, and whose fond attempt to keep up an external glare merely deprives them of their essential human charm. The translator has carefully adapted the drama to a Bengali setting, but except in some local and personal names, he has been faithful in translation. The dialogues are brilliant and engaging and the drama evokes self-criticism.

D. N. Mookerjea

HINDI

YOGAVANI or SIDDHYOGOPADESH: *Translated by R. B. Panda Baijnath. Published by Siddhayogasram, Choti Gaibi, Benares. Pp. 211. Price Re. 1.*

This is a Hindi translation duly approved and authorised, of the *Yogavani*, in Bengali, of Sri Swami Narayantirtha. The book is in the form of a dialogue between an aspirant after perfection and one who has attained to perfection. The illumined Teacher instructs the neophyte in the threefold technique of acquiring spiritual power and perception, the pivot of which is

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the arousing of the *Kundalini*—the seat of dormant divinity in man. The various stages in the process of this Self-fulfilment are explained step by step, authenticated from the personal practice and experience of the Preceptor and duly documented with appropriate excerpts from the scriptures. The ritual of initiation into the mystery of the Sacred Word is based on the implicit undoubting faith of the aspirant in his Teacher's capacity to transmit to him psychic power; in other words to make of him a suitable vehicle for the outpouring of the elemental energy of the universe.

The translator has done full justice to the job and, by placing the precious truths garnered by a master within their easy reach, has earned the gratitude of all sincere seekers of Power that makes for Perfection.

BHAJAN-SANGRAHA—DHARMAMRIT : *Edited by Bechardas Jivraj Pandit. Published by Golecha Prakashan Mandir, Khichan, Jodhpur. Pp. 224. Price annas twelve only.*

This is a collection of one hundred and one songs, composed in Hindi and Gujarati by some of the saints of medieval and modern India who belonged, judged by externals, to the faiths of Jainism and Hinduism, but who, as a result of their courageous and catholic search of the Reality, touched the heights of truth which are above all the woods and valleys of sectarianism. Thus, in their songs, one finds the essence of religion, which unites people in bonds of brotherhood. In addition to the text, there are short,—alas! very short,—biographical sketches of the singers and a glossary, in which the meanings of the difficult words are given in their various evolutionary stages. To enable the reader to sing the songs in their proper tunes, if he is so inclined, the names of the latter are also stated. Had the editor, who has shown such scholarship in the philological field, explained the songs, too, in a running style, instead of only explaining isolated words, the general reader would have benefited still more from the *Bhajan-sanghra*. The book can be used with advantage, for the purposes of promoting community singing with an eye to bringing home to the people their openness with one another in their pilgrimage to the external shrine of the good, the true and the beautiful.

G. M.

MARATHI

SAMUDRIK TILAK OR SELF-INSTRUCTOR IN PALMISTRY : *By Jyotish Ratna Pandit Raghunath Shastri Patwardhan. Publisher Jyotirbhusan Office, 140, Shukrawar Peth, Shinde Ali, Poona. Profusely illustrated. Pp. 725. Price Rs. 16.*

The author, the well-known Pandit Raghunathji has published this voluminous book in Marathi as a course of training with many illustrations containing most important information of both the Indian and the European systems of Palmistry. The book proper starts with the text of Varaha Samhita with translation of chapters on Purusha and Stree Lakshanams, Anga Vidya, etc. The rare Sanskrit works such as Samudrik Tilak, Rekha Sanket, Hasta Sanjivani and the like have been included with their translation. All the chapters are worthy of mention and invaluable to the students of Palmistry. Hints for making the Janma Kundalies of persons ignorant of birth dates from the observations of the face, etc. are really very good. This book is recommended to be widely read to raise the science of Palmistry from the mire it has sunk in the hands of the so-called 'Fortune-Tellers.'

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

TELUGU

RYTUBIDDA : *By Mr. N. Venkataratnam. Published by the Saraswati Power Press, Rajahmundry. Pp. iv+161. Price annas eight.*

MODERN SOCIAL REFORM : *By Mr. C. R. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.Ed., Teacher, L. M. High School, Gooty. Pp. 136. Price annas eight.*

The above two books may be placed in one category. They aim at social reconstruction, the former containing short stories of great merit, and the latter is a symposium of discourses on a variety of topics such as Untouchability, Orthodoxy, Communal Amity, Rural Economy and Prostitution. The authors rightly believe that social reconstruction and national regeneration must go side by side. One without the other, leads only to a one-sided development which takes us nowhere.

Mr. Venkatratnam's stories have the creative urge and cultural harmony and will certainly appeal to the reader's imagination.

The second book possesses a distinct educational value. The table-talks are analytical, precise and eloquent. But the verses sprinkled so profusely throughout the book, instead of giving the discourses a dramatic touch, make the readers yawn.

To the publishers, Messrs. Nammalwars, we owe a deep debt of gratitude for the meritorious services they are rendering to Telugu literature.

A. K. ROW

TAMIL

AKALIKAI VENBA : *By Rao Sahib V. P. Subramania Mudaliar, Retired Dy. Superintendant, C. V. D. Madras. Published by the Southern India Saiva Siddanta Publishing Company, Ltd., Tinnevelly. 3rd Edition. 1938. Pp. xxviii+132. Price annas ten (wrapper) and Re. 1 (calico).*

This is a famous work of the veteran scholar in his inimitable, simple, lucid and elegant style. His knowledge of English literature and powers of imagination and expression in his mother-tongue have immensely helped him to make this a first class work of beauty. It is only fitting though late that he should have, at least in his 85th year, been honoured with the title of the Great Tamil Poet by the Madras Presidency Tamil Sangam.

The book richly deserves study by one and all, young and old and adoption as model for future renderings into verse of the classical stories of the country.

MADHAVAN

GUJARATI

TEJ CHHAYA : *By Mrs. Jayaman Gauri Pathakji. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1940. Pp. 84. Thick paper cover. Price Re. 1-4.*

Mrs. Pathakji's verses of which this book is a collection, are of a tolerably high order, and betray a superior power of thinking. The short poems, sixty-nine in number, display feeling and pathos, which are touching. The verses on "A Beggar Woman," who has passed through bitter experience of the world, a fall from widowhood to prostitution are not only moving, but reflect the

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regrettable state of a society, where such a fall is possible, may inevitable in certain cases.

RASHMI KALAP—PART I: *By Rao Bahadur P. C. Diwanji, M.A., LL.M. Printed at the Khadayta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Pp. 390. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Rao Bahadur Diwanji has from the very first had leanings more towards metaphysics and philosophy than towards pure literature, but all the same he has been able to put in creditable work on literary subjects too. This collection of his contributions to the literature of Gujarat consisting of twenty papers, is a repesentative one, and contains valuable result of researches in old Gujarati Literature. Old Gujarati literature contained hardly any prose writings: that was the opinion held till recently. If there were any, they were of a non-literary character. Rao Bahadur Diwanji by his paper on Prithwi Chandra Charitra has brought to light the fact that even in Samvat year 1478, biographical works were being written in prose. The present collection is concerned with his literary work. He promises two more collections on metaphysical and allied subjects.

(1) MAHAVIRJIVAN, (2) SHRIMAD VIJAYANANDSURI'S VACHANAMRITO: *By Mavji Damji Shah. Printed at the Mahavir Printing Press, Bombay. 1940. Pp. 16. Paper cover. Each Price annas two.*

The first pamphlet contains the Life in verse of Mahavir Swami and the second selections from the writings of Vijayanand Suri, which are useful from a moral as well as domestic point of view.

KAVYA KATA: *By Mohanlal P. Dave, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1939. Pp. 212. Price Re. 1-8.*

Contributions to the "Vasant" about twenty years ago, seven in number, have been reprinted in this volume. The art of poetry, subjective and objective lyrics, poems on beauties of Nature, Kala (art) and poet and painter are the titles of the writings and the writings themselves are based on works of Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin, Tolstoy, Sydney Colvin and Lessing. They are therefore naturally bound to be both cultured and thoughtful and would therefore appeal to such people only and not to the masses.

SADHYA RE MARGE: *By Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia, B.A., LL.B. Printed at the Jyoti Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1939. Cloth Bound. Pp. 324. Price annas eight.*

Contributions to a monthly called *Jain Dharma Prakash* on various subjects are collected in this book. Mr. Kapadia's practised pen and observant eye have made the treatment of the several subjects (24 in number) taken up by him interesting. Some of them like "Unusual Experiences" are entertaining too.

INDRADHANU: *By Sundarji G. Betal. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1939. Illustrated thick card board cover. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 2.*

A collection of 102 poems, long and short, mostly short, this book gives a very good idea of the style in poetry writing followed by the rising young poets of Gujarat. Mr. Betal sat at the feet of the late Professor N. B. Divatia and was one of his favourite pupil. The inspiration that he derived from close contact with him is duly acknowledged, in fact. Three poems have been devoted to his late Professor and his family members. A short but able commentary by Prof. B. B. Vyas explains the genesis of each poem and its bearings. Some of the poems are really pathetic and also philosophic, for instance, the one in which he laments the death of his one year old child and the consolation he derives from a philosophical contemplation of the sad event. The poems contain a very good indication of still better work in future.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Volunteer Training. By A. B. Hedao. Foreword by Dr. Sir M. V. Joshi, K.C.I.E., LL.D. Pp. 43. Second Edition. Illustrated. Price six annas. Contains notes and instructions on training, drill, firing, etc.

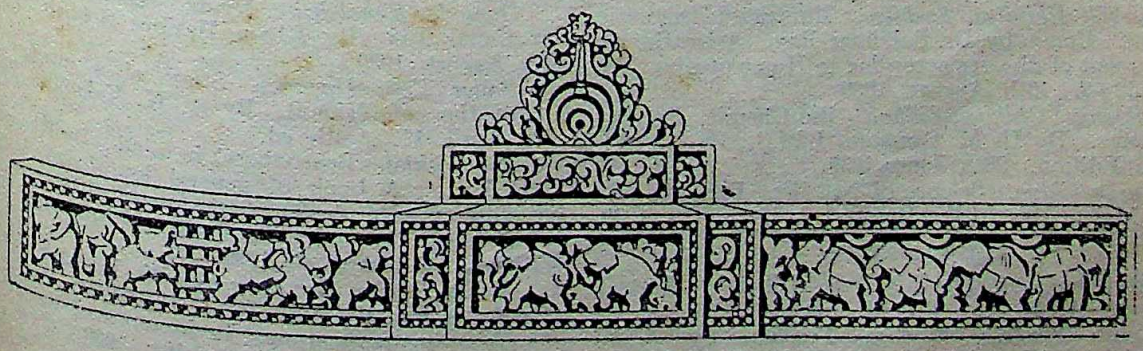
A Glossary of the Parts and Organs of the Human Body. By Dinshah Dadabhai Dordi. Navasari. Pp. vi+50+19. Contains the names of various bones, muscles, organs and other physiological terms in English and their Gujarati synonyms.

Topics of the Day. By S. S. Ayangar. Trivandrum. Pp. 35+2 maps. Recounts the events that led to the present war.

The Problem of Crime. By G. S. Mongia, Additional District and Sessions Judge. Pp. 54. Reprint of a speech delivered by the author on the subject.

Progressive Raigarh. Published under State Authority from Reforms Office, Raigarh State. Pp. 21. Describes the various beneficial measures adopted by the Raigarh State within the last eight years.

War—And After. By C. Jinarajadasa. Published by the Indian Bookshop, The Theosophical Society, Benares.



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RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

IV

Language

Sahitye Viplav. Revolution in Literature. By Biren Das. Pp. 50. 28th August, 1939.

Girischandra (the celebrated dramatist, actor and founder of the Bengali stage). By Debendranath Basu. Pp. 103. 5th August, 1939.

Bangiya Sabdakosh. Bengali Lexicon. Vol. III. Part 14 (No. 58). By Haricharan Banerji. 6th July, 1939.

——— Part 14 (No. 59). 12th August, 1939.

——— Part 16 (No. 60). 5th September, 1939.

Rabindra-Kavyapravaha. The Flow of Rabindranath's Poems. By Pramathanath Bisi. Pp. 19+270. 25th July, 1939.

Banglabhasha Parichay. An account of the Bengali language. By Rabindranath Tagore. A philological study of the Bengali language. Pp. 6+180. 30th May, 1939.

Bangala Sahityer Katha. Topics about Bengali Literature. By Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. A brief chronological history of Bengali literature. Pp. 10+183. 18th August, 1939.

Medicine

Manaver Param Satru. Man's greatest enemy. By Khan Bahadur Ahchhan Ulla, M.A., I.E.S. Deals with Tuberculosis and its treatment. Pp. 11+68. 30th June, 1939.

Beriberi va Epidemik Dropsi. Beriberi or Epidemic Dropsy. Ed. Mahes Chandra Bhattacharyya & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 1+58. 10th August, 1939.

Ayurved Vyavahar-Vijnan Va Vyavahar-Ayurved. Medical Jurisprudence. By Debaprasad Sanyal, L.M.S. Pp. 16+627. 5th September, 1939.

Homiopyathik Vaishajya-Vidhan. A Homœopathic Clinical Materia Medica in Bengali. By Hariprasad Chakravartti. Pp. 6+3+872. 2nd April, 1939. 4th ed.

Homiopyathik Chikitsa Parichalak. A Guide to Homœopathic treatment. Trans. by Dr. G. Raye. Pp. 2+622. 17th July, 1939.

Griha-Chikitsa. Domestic Treatment. By Mathuramohan Mukherji, Chakravarti, B.A. Pp. 2+6+128. 23rd March, 1939. 16th ed.

Homiopyathik Pryaktisanars Gaid. Homœopathic Practitioner's Guide. Part III. Pp. 6+705—1056. 20th June, 1939.

Parivarik Chikitsa, Sachitra. Illustrated Domestic treatment. Comp. by Dr. Sukumar Ray. A treatise on the treatment of diseases according to Homœopathy. Pp. 2+17+350+2. 16th August, 1939.

Baiokemik Chikitsa-Vidhan. Bio-Chemic Practice of Medicine. By U. M. Samanta, L.M.S. Pp. 3+12+535. 7th Edition. 28th June, 1939.

Susrusha Vidya. Science of Nursing. Part III. By Sundari Mohan Das, M.B. Pp. 2+117. 17th June, 1939.

Miscellaneous

Talkie Rahasya. The Mystery of Talkie. Parts I and II. By Abbas Ali. Pp. 14.

Adhunik Sikshak. Modern Teacher. By Abdul Hakim, M.A. (Cantab.). Pp. 14+352. 25th March, 1939.

Jnaner Alo. Light of knowledge. By Abdur Rahman. Pp. 5+173. 15th July, 1939.

Ratna-Mandir. The temple of gem. By Abinas Chandra Datta. Pp. 84. 10th September, 1939.

Nagnatar Itihas. History of Nudity. By Abinas Chandra Ghoshal. Pp. 4+12+59+2+16. 12th August, 1939.

Sadharan Brahma Samaj O Amader Karttavya. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and our duty. By Abinas Chandra Lahiri. Pp. 13. 8th July, 1939.

Amader Brahmo-Samaj. Pp. 16. 21st August, 1939.

Vyayam Siksha Sopan. Stepping stones to the teaching of physical exercise. By B. Andrew, C.S.C. Pp. 20. 7th June, 1939.

Guru-Maharaj Yadunather Alaukik Tapoval, Part II. Supra-mundane spiritual power of Jadunath, the revered Preceptor. By Asutosh Dam, B.A., B.L. Pp. 16. 17th August, 1939.

Lakshmisri. Prosperity. By Srimati Banalata Devi. Pp. 1+10+232. 2nd July, 1939. 6th ed.

Krishak-Bandhu Arthat Pat-chash Kamaibar Upades. Cultivators' friend or advising restriction of the cultivation of jute. By Bisweswar Chowdhuri. Pp. 12. 12th May, 1939. 3rd ed.

Ravi-Rasmi. The rays of Rabi (the sun, bear reference to the poet Rabindranath Tagore). Part II (the concluding portion). By Charuchandra Banerji, M.A. Pp. 14+382. 1st July, 1938.

Vidhava Vivaher Andolan. Movement for widow remarriage. By Dinabandhu Vedasastri. Pp. 32. 12th September, 1939.

Sujatar Mamlar Ray. Judgment in Sujata's Case. By Durvasa. Pp. 14. 11th July, 1939.

Prajar Vyatha O Tahar Katha. Suffering of the ryot and his story. By Faej Uddin Ahmad. Pp. 7. 23rd February, 1939.

Iuroper Sera Sahityik. Distinguished Litterateurs of Europe. By Gajendra Kumar Mitra. Pp. 146. 14th June, 1939.

Khadya-Parichay. Information about food. By Goshthabihari Das, B.Sc. (Calcutta), M.D. (Huron). Pp. 4+86+1. 19th August, 1939.

Haridvare Kumbhayog O Sadhu Mahasammilani. The auspicious occasion of "Kumbha" at Hardwar and the great congregation of the "Sadhus." Pp. 4+107. 11th July, 1939. 3rd ed.

Damodar Kenal Karer Itihas. History of the Damodar Canal Tax. By Khaja Hasibus Sobhan. Pp. 25. 27th August, 1939.

Bandar Vadi Upanyas. Story of a monkey who played the complainant. By A. K. Kalambi. Pp. 12. 12th April, 1939. 4th ed.

Jene Rakho. Bear (these) in mind. By Khagendranath Mitra. A book of general knowledge, intended for children. Pp. 1+90. 31st August, 1939.

Krishak-Andolan. The Peasant Movement. Pp. 5+1+7-85. 5th August, 1939.

Krishi Rindan Samavay Samitir Vyanker Upavidhi (*Bai-La*). Pp. 10. 15th May, 1939.

Kshetranath Smarane. In Memory of Kshetranath. Pp. 16+24+24+8. 2nd September, 1939.

Sambandhanirnay. Ascertainment of relations.

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First Appendix—First Part. By Lalmohan Vidyanidhi. Pp. 6+20+272. 19th June, 1939. 4th ed.

Sahaj Upaye Suryya-Sadhana O Pranayam Siksha (Rog Arogya Pranali Saha). Instruction in sun practice and breath regulation by simple means (with methods of healing). By Mani Dhar. Pp. 2+50. 8th August, 1939. 3rd ed.

Ekacharer Pantha Va Brahmaner Nikat Prasna. The way to community of usages or questions to Brahmans. Part I. By Mohammad Emdad Ali. Pp. 3+34. 5th April, 1939. 3rd ed.

Mulya, Dar O Munapha. Value, Price and Profit. A Bengali translation of a book entitled "Value, Price and Profit" said to be edited by Miss Eleanor Marx Evelin, daughter of Karl Marx. Trans. by Brajabihari Barman. Pp. 2+1+111. 2nd September, 1939.

Gan O Eslam. Music and Islam. By Qazi Raisuddin Ahmad, B.A. and Faize Khundkar Abdur Rahman. Pp. 2+2+147. 28th March, 1939.

Laghu-Guru. Light and Heavy. By Rajsekhar Basu. Pp. 1+114. 7th July, 1939.

Marx Pravesika. Introduction to Marx. By Revati Barman. Pp. 1+72. 24th January, 1939.

Samajtantrer Arthaniti. Economy of Socialism. By Revati Barman. Pp. 52. 16th December, 1939.

Rikta. The woman reduced to destitution. Ed. by Phanindra Pal. 19th August, 1939.

Samaje Nari-Samasya. Problem of women in society. Ed. by Haridas Majumdar. Pp. 3+42. 16th August, 1939.

Jatak Kalpataru. Vaisakh Sakha. The Desire-fulfilling tree for the newly born babe. An astrological book foretelling the future life of a newly born child who may be born on any day of the month of Baisakh (April-May). By Santosh Kumar Mukherji. Pp. 6+158. 4th August, 1939.

Amar Katha. My Story. By Srischandra Basu. Pp. 1+185. 28th August, 1939.

Jiv-Jagater Ajab Katha. Wonderful stories about the animal kingdom. For children. By Subinay Ray Chaudhuri. Pp. 1+108. 20th August, 1939.

Sridham-Mayapur-Navadvip. The holy place, Mayapur in Navadwip. By Sundarananda Vidyavinod, B.A. Pp. 24. 6th March, 1939.

Adarsa Chhatra-Jivan Va Brahmacharir Sadachar. Ideal student-life or the right conduct of a Brahmachari (a student). By Swami Swarupananda Paramahansa. Pp. 73. 10th August, 1939.

Sachitra Varshik Sri Sri Navadwip-Panjika. Sri Chaitanyavda—453. Illustrated annual Navadvip Almanac. The era of Chaitanya—453. Pp. 4+132. 6th March, 1939.

Vividha Prabandha. Parts I and II. A collection of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's essays on various topics. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat edn. Ed. by Brajendra Nath Banerjee and Sajani Kanta Das. Pp. 2+4+2+410. 14th August, 1939.

Philosophy

Maner Pathe. In Mind's Path. By Krishnaprasanna Bhattacharyya, M.A. An exposition of the origin and development of Psycho-analysis. Pp. 134. 31st August, 1939. 2nd ed.

Poetry

Kana. Particles. By Amiyabala Devi. Pp. 2+28. 12th Jyaistha, 1346 sal. 2nd ed.

Pravartika. The promptress. By Gaurgopal Vidyavinod. Pp. 2+20. 25th June, 1939.

Abhimanyu-Vadh Kavya. The poem relating to the killing of Abhimanyu. By Kanaklata Devi. Pp. 2+88. 17th August, 1939.

Natun Khata. The New Book. By Kirandhan Chatterji. Pp. 2+1+109. 18th July, 1939. 2nd ed.

Yatri. The Traveller. By Nalinimohan Chatterji. Pp. 88. 5th August, 1939.

Akas-Pradip. A light suspended from the top of a long pole standing erect. By Rabindranath Tagore. Pp. 1+2+70. 4th May,1939.

Balaka. The Crane. By Rabindranath Tagore. Pp. 2+105. 10th May, 1939.

Mahuya. Name of a tree. By Rabindranath Tagore. Pp. 5+4+1+2+175+4. 4th May, 1939. 2nd ed.

Katha O Sur. Word and Tune. By Sudhindra Nath Mitra. Pp. 1+54+1. 8th August, 1939.

1345-er Sreshtha Kavita. Best Poems of 1345. Compiled by Ramapati Basu. Pp. 5+41. 17th August, 1939.

Politics

Kamyunijm. Communism. By Amulya Chandra Adhikari. Pp. 5+70. 19th May, 1939.

Sreni Sangram. Class-war. By Amulya Chandra Adhikari. Pp. 63.

Bharate Ingrej Sasan. British rule in India. A Bengali translation of an article of Karl Marx published in the *New York Tribune* during 1853, prefaced with a Bengali translation of a speech delivered by Fredrich Engels at a memorial meeting at the grave of Marx. Trans. by Hirendra Mukherjee. Pp. 22. 24th January, 1939.

Congresser Katha. Congress Topics. Pp. 7. 12th August, 1939.

Nutan Yuger Nutan Manush. New Men of the New Age. By Nripendrakrishna Chatterji. Pp. 1+150. 12th June, 1939. 2nd ed.

Rajniti. Politics. A Bengali translation of a book entitled "Prince" by Nicolo Machiavelly. Trans. by Manoranjan Gupta. Pp. 15+180. 3rd July, 1939.

Desapriya Yatindramohan. Jatindramohan, the country's beloved. By Satis Chandra Guha Devavarma Sastri. Pp. 32. 22nd July, 1939.

Samajtantrik Rashtra. Socialistic State. By Sudhansu Adhikari. Pp. 87. 28th March, 1939.

Religion

Nabi-Katha. Stories of Prophets. By Abdul Wahab Siddiki. For children. Pp. 2+64. 28th June, 1939.

Sri Radhar Stutihar. Garland of hymns about Radha. By Srimati Abhaya. Pp. 116. 1st July, 1939.

Acharyyer Prarthana. The Preceptor's prayers. Part I. A collection of the sermons delivered by the well-known Brahmo leader Brahmananda Kesabchandra Sen during the years 1857-1879 A.D. Pp. 5+16+400. 23rd August, 1939.

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CRISIS OF CIVILIZATION

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[The only authorized translation of the Poet's Bengali address, entitled "Sabhyatar Sankat," read on the occasion of his recent birthday celebration at Santiniketan, revised by himself.]

Today I complete eighty years of my life. As I look back on the vast stretch of years that lie behind me and see in clear perspective the history of my early development, I am struck by the change that has taken place both in my own attitude and in the psychology of my countrymen—a change that carries within it a cause of profound tragedy.

Our direct contact with the larger world of man was linked up with the contemporary history of the English people whom we came to know in those earlier days. It was mainly through their mighty literature that we formed our ideas with regard to these newcomers to our Indian shores. In those days the type of learning that was served out to us was neither beautiful nor diverse, nor was the spirit of scientific enquiry very much in evidence. Thus their scope being strictly limited, the educated of those days had recourse to English language and literature. Their days and nights were elocution with the stately declamations of Burke, with Macaulay's long-rolling sentences; discussions centred upon Shakespeare's drama and Byron's poetry and above all upon the large-hearted liberalism of the nineteenth century English politics.

At the time though tentative attempts were being made to gain our national independence, in heart we had not lost faith in the generosity of the English race. This belief was so firmly rooted in the sentiments of our leaders as to lead them to hope that the victor would of his own grace pave the path of freedom for the vanquished. This belief was based upon the fact that England at the time provided a shelter to all those who had to flee from persecution in their own country. Political martyrs who had suffered for the honour of their people were welcomed unreserved welcome at the hands of the English. I had been impressed by this presence of liberal humanity in the character of the English and thus I was led to set them on the pedestal of my highest respect. This generosity in their national character had not yet been marred by Imperialist pride. About this time, I was as a boy in England, I had the opportunity of listening to the speeches of John Bright, both inside and outside Parliament. The large-hearted, radical liberalism of those speeches, overflowing all narrow national bounds, had made so deep an impression on my mind that something of it lingers even today, even in these days of graceless disillusionment.

Certainly that spirit of abject dependence upon the charity of our rulers was no matter for pride. What was remarkable, however, was the wholehearted way in which we gave our recognition to human greatness even when it revealed itself in the foreigner. The best and noblest gifts of humanity cannot be the monopoly of a particular race or country ; its scope may not be limited nor may it be regarded as the miser's hoard buried underground. That is why English literature which nourished our minds in the past, does even now convey its deep resonance to the recesses of our heart.

It is difficult to find a suitable Bengali equivalent for the English word 'Civilization'. That phase of civilization with which we were familiar in this country has been called by Manu, *"Sad-āchār"* (lit. proper conduct), that is the conduct prescribed by the tradition of the race. Narrow in themselves these time-honoured social conventions originated and held good in a circumscribed geographical area, in that strip of land, *Brahmāvarta* by name, bound on either side by the rivers *Saraswati* and *Drisadvati*. That is how a pharisaic formalism gradually got the upper hand of free thought and the ideal of 'proper conduct' which Manu found established in *Brahmāvarta* steadily degenerated into socialized tyranny.

During my boyhood days the attitude of the cultured and educated section of Bengal, nurtured on English learning, was charged with a feeling of revolt against these rigid regulations of society. A perusal of what Rajnarain Bose has written describing the ways of the educated gentry of those days will amply bear out what I have said just now. In place of these set codes of conduct we accepted the ideal of "civilization" as represented by the English term.

In our own family this change of spirit was welcomed for the sake of its sheer rational and moral force and its influence was felt in every sphere of our life. Born in that atmosphere, which was moreover coloured by our intuitive

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bias for literature, I had naturally set the English on the throne of my heart. Thus passed the first chapters of my life. Then came the parting of ways, accompanied with a painful feeling of disillusion, when I began increasingly to discover how easily those who accepted the highest truths of civilization disowned them with impunity whenever questions of national self-interest were involved.

There came a time when perforce I had to snatch myself away from the mere appreciation of literature. As I emerged into the stark light of bare facts, the sight of the dire poverty of the Indian masses rent my heart. Rudely shaken out of my dreams, I began to realise that perhaps in no other modern state had there been such hopeless dearth of the most elementary needs of existence. And yet it was this country whose resources had fed for so long the wealth and magnificence of the British people. While I was lost in the contemplation of the great world of civilization, I could never have remotely imagined that the great ideals of humanity would end in such ruthless travesty. But today stares me in the face a glaring example of it in the utter and contemptuous indifference of a so-called civilized race to the well-being of crores of Indian people.

That mastery over the machine, by which the British have consolidated their sovereignty over their vast empire, has been kept a sealed book, to which due access has been denied to this helpless country. And all the time before our very eyes Japan has been transforming herself into a mighty and prosperous nation. I have seen with my own eyes the admirable use to which Japan has put in her own country the fruits of this progress. I have also been privileged to witness, while in Moscow, the unsparing energy with which Russia has tried to fight disease and illiteracy, and has succeeded in steadily liquidating ignorance and poverty, wiping off the humiliation from the face of a vast continent. Her civilization is free from all invidious distinction between one class and another, between one sect and another. The rapid and astounding progress achieved by her made me happy and jealous at the same time. One aspect of the Soviet administration which particularly pleased me was that it provided no scope for unseemly conflict of religious difference nor set one community against another by unbalanced distribution of political favours. That I consider a truly civilized administration which impartially serves the common interests of the people.

While other imperialist powers sacrifice the welfare of the subject races to their own national greed, in the U. S. S. R. I found a genuine attempt being made to harmonise the interests of the various nationalities that are scattered over its vast area. I saw peoples and tribes who only the other day were nomadic savages being encouraged, and indeed trained, to freely avail themselves of the benefits of civilization. Enormous sums are being spent on their education to expedite the process. When I see elsewhere some two hundred nationalities—which only a few years ago were at vastly different stages of development—marching ahead in peaceful progress and amity, and when I look about my own country and see a very highly evolved and intellectual people drifting into the disorder of barbarism, I cannot help contrasting the two systems of governments, one based on co-operation, the other on exploitation, which have made such contrary conditions possible.

I have also seen Iran, newly awakened to a sense of national self-sufficiency attempting to fulfil her own destiny, freed from the deadly grinding stones of the two European powers. During my recent visit to that country I discovered to my delight that Zoroastrians who once suffered from fanatical hatred of the major community and whose rights had been curtailed by the ruling power, were now free from this age-long repression, and that civilized life had begun its career over the happy land. It is significant that Iran's good fortune dates from the day when she finally disentangled herself from the meshes of European diplomacy. With all my heart I wish Iran well.

Turning to the neighbouring kingdom of Afghanistan I find that though there is much room for improvement in the field of education and social development, yet she is fortunate in that she can look forward to unending progress; for, none of the European powers, boastful of their civilization, has yet succeeded in overwhelming and crushing her possibilities.

Thus while these other countries were marching ahead, India, smothered under the dead weight of British administration, lay stagnant in her utter helplessness. Another great and ancient civilization for whose recent tragic history the British cannot disclaim responsibility is China. To serve their own national profit the British first doped her people with opium and then appropriated a portion of her territory. As the world was about to forget the memory of this outrage, we were painfully surprised by another event. While Japan was quietly devouring North China, her act of wanton aggresssion was ignored as a minor incident by the veterans of British diplomacy.

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We have also witnessed from this distance how actively the British statesmen acquiesced in the destruction of the Spanish Republic.

On the other hand, we also noted with admiration how a band of valiant Englishmen laid down their lives for Spain. Even though the English had not aroused themselves sufficiently to their sense of responsibility towards China in the Far East, in their own immediate neighbourhood they did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves to the cause of freedom. Such acts of heroism reminded me over again of the true English spirit to which in those early days I had given my full faith, and made me wonder how imperialist greed could bring about so ugly a transformation in the character of so great a race.

Such is the tragic tale of the gradual loss of my faith in the claims of the European nations to Civilization. In India our misfortune of being governed by a foreign race is daily driven home to us not only in the callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people, but in an even unhappier form in the way the people have been divided among themselves. The pity of it is that the blame is laid at the door of our own society. So frightful a culmination of the history of our people could never have been possible, but for the encouragement it has received from secret influences emanating from high places.

One cannot believe that Indians are in any way inferior to the Japanese in intellectual capacity. The most effective difference between these two eastern peoples is that whereas India lies at the mercy of the British, Japan has been spared the shadow of alien domination. We know what we have been deprived of. That which was truly best in their own civilization, the upholding of the dignity of human relationship, has no place in the British administration of this country. If in its place they have established, with baton in hand, a reign of "law and order," in other words a policeman's rule, such mockery of civilization can claim no respect from us. It is the mission of civilization to bring unity among people and establish peace and harmony. But in unfortunate India the social fabric is being rent into shreds by unruly outbursts of hooliganism daily growing in intensity, right under the very aegis of "law and order." In India so long as no personal injury is inflicted upon any member of the ruling race this barbarism seems to be assured of perpetuity, making us ashamed to live under such an administration.

And yet my good fortune has often brought me into close contact with really large-hearted Englishmen. Without the slightest hesitation I may say that the nobility of their character was without parallel—in no country or community have I come across such greatness of soul. Such examples would not allow me wholly to lose faith in the race which produced them. I had the rare blessing of having Andrews—a real Englishman, a real Christian and a true man—for a very close friend. Today in the perspective of death his unselfish and courageous magnanimity shines all the brighter. The whole of India remains indebted to him for innumerable acts of love and devotion. But personally speaking, I am especially beholden to him because he helped me to retain in my old age that feeling of respect for the English race with which in the past I was inspired by their literature and which I was about to lose completely. I count such Englishmen as Andrews not only as my personal and intimate friends but as friends of the whole human race. To have known them has been to me a treasured privilege. It is my belief that such Englishmen will save British honour from shipwreck. At any rate if I had not known them, my despair at the prospect of western civilization would be unrelieved.

In the meanwhile the demon of barbarity has given up all pretence and has emerged with unconcealed fangs, ready to tear up humanity in an orgy of devastation. From one end of the world to the other the poisonous fumes of hatred darken the atmosphere. The spirit of violence which perhaps lay dormant in the psychology of the West. has at last roused itself and desecrates the spirit of Man.

The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind them! I had at one time believed that the springs of civilization would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today when I am about to quit the world that faith has gone bankrupt altogether.

As I look around I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises. A day will come when

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the unvanquished man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage.

Today we witness the perils which attend on the insolence of might; one day the full truth of what the sages have proclaimed shall be borne out :

"By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root."

"THE GREAT ONE COMES"

The Great One comes,
sending shivers across the dust of the Earth.

In the heavens sounds the trumpet,
in the world of man the drums of victory are beaten,
the hour has arrived for the Great Birth.

To-day the gates of night's fortress
crumble into dust—
On the crest of awakening dawn
assurance of new life
proclaims "Fear Not."
The great sky resounds with paeans of victory
to the Coming of Man.

[Translation by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty of a new song by Rabindranath Tagore, sung in the Mandir at Santiniketan on the Bengali New Year's Day, revised by the Poet]

THE AIM AND TECHNIQUE OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

By SAROJENDRANATH ROY, M.SC.

One of the most important and urgent problems of the day which deserves the earliest attention of the country, is the 'right choice of vocation'. Parents or guardians, when they have to face the problem of selecting the proper vocation for their youngsters, are usually found to be at a loss and to adopt a policy of drift. Question of suitability of the boy does not occur to their mind at all, and even if it does, the tacit assumption about the immense capacity of human beings to adapt themselves to their surroundings promptly suppresses that question. Individual differences exist and there is no divergence of opinion about this. This difference draws pointed attention to the fact that everyone is not suitable for all vocations. Every vocation demands certain physical as also specific psychological attributes in the nature of talents and temperaments from those who enter it, and only those individuals who satisfy these requirements can be successful in it.

This therefore necessitates the study of the individual in all aspects, physical, psychological and others, before any choice is made for a particular vocation. Haphazard and whimsical choice resulting ultimately in most of the cases in utter dissatisfaction and loss of human energy, should be replaced by a rigid scientific procedure. It is only thus that proper justice can be done to an individual or more broadly to the society or country to which he belongs. I have in this short paper tried to show some of the most important factors that should be considered—and there are ways now of considering them scientifically before a boy chooses a particular vocation.

As already stated, occupations differ among themselves in respect of their requirements, such as, degree of intelligence, aptitudes, physique and other factors of emotional and temperamental origin. Let me consider first of all the psychological factors and indicate some of the modern ways of assessing them.

One such factor which is very important is intelligence and for purposes of vocational guidance, it is absolutely necessary to measure its amount possessed by an individual. Because an individual should not enter in an occupation which demands a degree of intelligence greater than he possesses, or one in which his intelli-

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gence will not be fully utilised. In the former case, the individual would suffer from undue strain, whereas in the latter worries and boredom would be the ultimate result. Besides this 'general' factor of intelligence which is required in all occupations in varying degrees, there are 'group' factors of other abilities common to a number of different occupations, and there are also specific factors peculiar to each of them. After measuring intelligence these specific abilities such as, mechanical ability, constructional ability, manual ability, scientific ability, linguistic ability, etc., etc., are to be studied by administration of tests. In case of some abilities however mere administration of tests is not found to be sufficient. For example, in the case of scholastic ability which involves attainment in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetical rules and problems, etc., in addition to testing a report from the teacher of the school, his personal assessment about the candidate's proficiency regarding the said points, and also the results of the individual on the different subjects of the school examination, should be obtained. The final judgment of the scholastic ability is to be based on the comparative study of the results obtained by application of tests and the information supplied by the teacher and examination results. After the completion of measurements of intelligence and special abilities other psychological qualities like memory, attention, reaction time, etc., are then to be subjected to test. In this connection I should like to mention that the behaviour of the boy under the test conditions is to be carefully noted and the result of the observation entered in a form, previously prepared for this purpose.

Equally important as the ones just mentioned are the temperamental qualities of the individual. An individual even though equipped with necessary intelligence and specific abilities should be dissuaded from entering a particular vocation or group of vocations, if it is found that he lacks the quality of temperament demanded by the said vocation or vocations. It is quite comprehensible what the condition of a man non-co-operative by nature will be, if he is led into activities which require a high degree of co-operativeness, or when a man temperamentally assertive, is put into an activity, where just like a machine he is to carry out only the orders of others. No satisfactory method of assessing temparament had been in existence so long but lately carefully planned and improved methods are gradually coming into existence. In one of these methods the subject is asked to assess his own temperamental qualities. A list of a few pairs of opposite words, such as 'co-operative—not co-operative', 'social—unsocial', and so on is constructed. The opposite temperamental qualities as indicated by the pairs of words are chosen in such a way as to cover more or less the general level of human personality. These pairs are arranged in order and the boy is asked to underline the word in each pair which gives according to him, the true description of his temperamental qualities. This is the method which is followed by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology at London. Though apparently simple, the method has been found to be very trustworthy, as in many cases the results obtained by this procedure resemble closely the ones, arrived at by the interpretation of test behaviours and information about the boy from his parents and teachers. Admitting however that the subjective estimate of the boy plays a very important role in the estimation of his temperament, a fact confirmed by statistical evidence, the materials obtained by this method should not be considered to be the only deciding factor.

No less important is the study of unconscious processes and tendencies of the individual. The unconscious part of the mind is the groundwork upon which grow the interests, motives, ambitions, aversions, etc. The latter ones have been found in many cases to be very intimately related to vocational success and so they should not be lost sight of. The temperament of an individual also bears a close connection with the unconscious part of the mind. But in spite of this, the investigation of the unconscious was not receiving due attention and its importance in vocational guidance was not adequately recognised. Only recently some vocational psychologists have begun to realise the intimate relation existing between an individual's unconscious and his success in a vocation. To explore the unconscious is of course a very difficult and laborious process, but I think that a well thoughtout scheme and properly planned questionnaire will prove to be very useful for this part of the study. In framing the questionnaire one should be very cautious, because if the object of putting particular questions is easily realised by the subject, they will be left either unanswered or wrongly answered. So far about the objective assessment of the psychological qualities of the individual.

I will now mention a few other points which should also be taken account of.

The individual should be subjected to a thorough physical examination. This is necessary because there are occupations which demand a high degree of physical fitness. Individuals possessing other suitable mental

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equipments but lacking in physical qualities, should not be advised to choose such vocation. In this connection a complete history regarding the physical health of the individual is to be taken.

Next to this, interviews of short durations should be arranged between the psychologist on the one hand and parents, teacher and the boy on the other. I will now deal with each of these interviews, their nature and the help which these will contribute to the psychologist. But one thing to be remembered is that at the time of interview confidence of the interviewed is to be ensured as regards the privacy of the informations which will be furnished by him.

Interview with the Parents

From the parents, information as regards home condition of the boy is to be obtained. The object of this is to have a picture of the boy's past and present environment, in so far as it has influenced his development to the present and will do so in his future. In this connection medical history of the family, size of the family, position of the boy in relation to birth order, occupations held by family members, character of neighbourhood, financial and social condition of family, need of immediate employment, parents' vocational plans for the boy, etc., are to be taken account of. Parents' estimates about the boy's abilities, temperament and character, and information regarding the latter's behaviour or attitude towards the members of the family, comprising brothers, sisters, parents and other relations, are to be noted down. Further information about the boy such as his leisure activities, hobbies, nature of playthings or playmates, his expressed interest or likeness if any and so on should be gathered.

Interview with the Teacher

From the teacher, information about the boy as regards his interest for kind of studies, academic proficiency, scholarships, extra-curricular activities like participation in debating and games, his behaviour towards classmates and natural attitude towards teachers, etc., are to be obtained. The teacher's vocational plans about the boy and his reasons for that may be of considerable importance to the psychologist. But unfortunately in our country, in the existing system of school administration, it is usually found that the teachers are not in a position to give reliable information on the above mentioned points. The poor scale of pay of the average school-master, creates in him a state of utter disatisfaction which tends to make him inert and spiritless. One of the inevitable effects of this is that he cannot pay proper attention to each boy in the school. Even when teacher's reports are obtainable they must be subjected to a careful scrutiny before they are finally accepted. The reason being that the attitude of the boy, in scholastic proficiency and other activities in school, may produce a bias in the mind of the teacher either for or against, and this may considerably influence the teacher and prevent him from giving an impartial opinion about the boy. In spite of all these short-comings, a trained psychologist can gather much useful information from an interview with the teacher.

The information as regards the personality traits of the boy which are obtained from interview with the parents and teachers, as also by previous tests and test behaviours, vary as to the degree of their reliability. In order to minimise this variation the information should be supplemented by an interview of the psychologist with the boy himself.

Interview with the Candidate

Questions carefully planned and depicting different life situations, should be put to the boy, and the answers are to be entered in a tabular form specially made for this purpose. The boy's vocational ambition, his interests, his likenesses and aversions, his hobbies, etc., shall be the points upon which the questions are to be based. The interview should be a standardized one and as objective as possible, so that the idiosyncrasies of the interviewer himself may not play any serious part.

When all the information are thus gathered by following the different procedures mentioned above, the adviser is in a position to guide the boy in his choice of a particular career or careers. So far the vocational adviser is concerned, he must possess as a necessity some equipments. Only the capacity to administer tests is not sufficient. He must know and be well acquainted with the informations about the varied occupations that are existing in the country, as also the qualifications and requirements, which are necessary for entering and achieving success in them. For this, he should have recourse to the help and co-operation of the successful men in different professions, and the employers in different establishments. This will enable him to prepare a chart of the qualities in the nature of talents and temperaments required in different occupations. This is the main tool which will be utilized by the vocational psychologist in his advice to the boy as regards choice of vocation. But it must not

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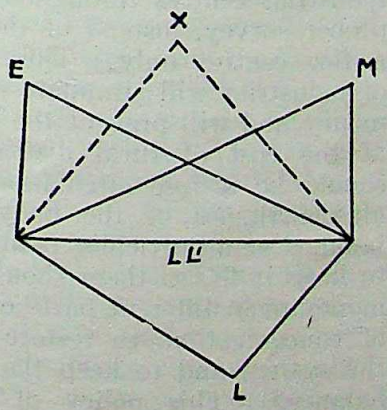
be assumed that the advice is to be solely based upon the scores in different psychological tests, aiming at finding out the degree of different qualities present in the boy, and comparing with the degree of the qualities earmarked for different avocations. Informations from the interview, as also the economical and other situations of the country, shall have to be considered properly before an advice is given.

An important question in connection with vocational guidance is at what stage should the choice be made, or in other words when the advice for choice is to be given ? Should it be given at the pre-school stage or at the post-school stage ? There is a regular controversy about this point. Some are of opinion that the proper time for vocational guidance is when the boy finishes his school career. There are others who hold the view of giving it in the pre-school stage. Still there are some who make age factor the proper basis for resorting to vocational advice. Even among those who accept the view of making the age factor a basis, there is difference of opinion regarding the proper age at which guidance is to be given, some advocating twelve years, a few fourteen years and others sixteen years. It should be remembered that vocational guidance is not merely giving advice in the choice of career. It also comprises, 'preparing for it, entering it and progressive in it.' We find in our country that the educational system the University provides, is a process of gradual divergence and then a gradual convergence, just like the annexed figure. At the lowest limit L, the educational system is very elementary involving the three R's only, and then it proceeds covering on its way gradually all possible subjects under the university curriculum until it reaches the level LL', where all the subjects are taught. This is the pre-matric stage, and at this time the boy takes up optional subjects, which have been found to have a close connection with the ultimate choice of and success in a career. From this point we find specialisation to be gradually setting in. Someone taking up Engineering, some Medicine and others pursuing different courses of study represented by E, M, and X respectively in the figure. It is thus seen that specialisation begins just from the level LL'. I think this stage to be the proper time when a boy should have recourse to the advice of a vocational psychologist.



Vocational psychology is an enormously important branch of study because proper vocational selection and guidance are intimately related to the country's all-round welfare influencing as they do the individual happiness, upkeep of social structure, betterment of economical situation, efficiency of output in industrial organisation and so on. Its importance has been duly recognised by the Western countries. In England, the National Institute of Industrial Psychology under the worthy directorship of Dr. C. S. Myers, has been functioning since the last two decades, and besides giving vocational guidance to the British boys, is helping the industrialists in various other ways. The Institute claims that its guidance has met with success in more than 80% of cases. It is the vigorous and extensive researches carried on by the workers of the Institute and the facts collected and experience gained by them, that have made the position of the Institute so stable. But what I would like to emphasise in this connection is that it would have been not possible for the Institute to attain such a position if the public did not whole-heartedly co-operate with it.

In India so far I can say, Vocational Guidance in a thoroughly scientific way has nowhere been attempted as yet. It is a pleasure to note that the Calcutta University has of late under the initiation of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor, made plans both for teaching and for undertaking research works in vocational psychology and for this a Section of Applied Psychology has been added to the existing Department of Psychology. The work of the Section is progressing steadily under the direction of Prof. G. Bose, Head of the Department of Psychology, and the active co-operation of Mr. M. N. Banerji and other members of the staff of the Department. But let it be remembered that the progress will not be maintained if the co-operation of the public bodies are not extended to it. So before I close I appeal not only to all educational institutions but also to the members of the different professions, to the industrial organisations, Corporations, Government and other employment bureaus to lend their co-operative hands to the Department so that this newly started Section of our University meet with success and contribute to the national progress of our country.

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INDUSTRIAL BANKS

By K. N. DALAL,

Managing Director, Nath Bank Ltd.

The present age is the age of science. The main functions of science lie in the conquests of nature and the utilization of her forces for advancing the cause of civilization. Scientific industrialization is another name for modern civilization. The simplicities of past age had to give place to the complexities of modern times and the primitive methods of production had to be replaced by the roundabout process of production of the present age. It is an admitted fact that there are manifold evils of modern industrialization, to mitigate which eminent thinkers of India recommend the revival of cottage industries. Still India cannot keep out of the influence of modern industrial movement, as she constitutes a component unit of the international organism. As a matter of course, she cannot remain isolated from the general current of industrialization, which sweeps all over the world, and stick to her old rudimentary processes of production, if she is to maintain her existence at all in the welter of this competition for industrialization. By necessity India has got to be industrialized. She is pre-eminently an agricultural country. More than 90% of the population live directly or indirectly on agriculture and agricultural occupation. As a result, there is felt an increasing pressure on land due to the multiplication of population every year, with no other suitable outlet for absorbing the growing population. To reduce this pressure on land and to absorb the surplus population, India is in need of industrialization. Time is ripe for the diversification of her activities and the diversion of wealth into nation-building services and the creation of key industries in India. These industrial possibilities have been favourably discussed by the Roger mission. And Sir Alexander Roger has rightly observed: Industrialise India and in it lies the key of her future.

It will be pertinent to stress that there should be a reorientation of views about the desirability of localization of industries at few centres only. In India principal industries centre round important cities like Calcutta, Bombay and a few other places only, while the interior of the country, which has untapped possibilities for new industries, is neglected. Modern industrialization contain within itself the seeds of maldistribution of wealth and naturally leads to the division of society into two sections—capitalists and labourers. This maldistribution becomes all the more acute and social division glaring, when these industries cluster round cities only, to the neglect of the interior. Money begins to flow into cities while the mofussil areas are starved of funds. As a result, money loses free circulation and its movements are confined within the four walls of the cities. This situation can be envisaged by the present state of the money-markets in Calcutta and Bombay. These two centres are suffering from a plethora of funds, call-money being quoted at ½% and ¼% respectively, while the mofussil areas record little monetary transactions. Money there cannot be had even at a high rate of interest. Jute is the only source through which money flows into the interior. But this flow is pure and simple seasonal and spends itself up in course of a few months and remains disgorged for the rest of the year. Thus cities are being pampered at the cost of the mofussil areas. And the inevitable result is—wealth accumulates in the city and men decay in the mofussil. To check this evil, it will be wise to encourage distribution of industrial centres throughout the interior, after proper survey, instead of their concentration at a few centres only. This "dispersal" policy of industries will stimulate a free circulation of money and will prevent the overgrowth of cities at the cost of rural districts. Just as there should be a free circulation of blood through all the tissues of the body, instead of being jammed at a particular point or points, in order to keep it fit, so there should be a free flow of money over different parts of a country, instead of concentration, to restore the equilibrium of the system and to keep the monetary economy balanced. This policy of decentralization of industries over different parts, where there are hidden potentialities, will be able to attract surplus funds from the city-areas to mofussil districts and thus ensure an even distribution of money by fostering a steady growth of industries minus its baneful results and establish new equilibrium. Thereby the least discussed problem of rural unemployment will be solved to some extent and this may, in times to come, lead to

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the growth of some subsidiary industries in the rural areas, providing employment for many.

Let us now come to the financial aspects of industrialization. In the industrial economy of a country, this problem of finance bulks large and in its solution lies the key to industrlalization. At present when there is a clamant assertion of the pleas for industrialization from all quarters, this problem of finance too deserves an immediate and serious consideration. Industries require capital for two purposes, (1) capital for block, that is, to finance fixed assets and (2) working capital, *i.e.*, to finance floating assets. Block capital is needed for land, buildings, plant, machinery and other appliances of production. Capital sunk in these fixed assets is of the nature of "permanent investment." Even the established industries require block capital for extensions and replacements. Working capital is needed for

"the purchase and working up of raw materials into finished products, for stores, expenses incidental to the marketing of products, for financing outstandings in respect of goods supplied and for providing the necessary funds for meeting day-to-day requirements." (Central Banking Enquiry Committee).

The relative proportion between block and working capital varies according to the nature of industries and their size. In the case of a tea garden of the minimum size, the initial capital required is estimated by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee to be Rs. 7½ lakhs. There is a long interval between the opening up of the tea garden and the yield of tea. And this requires a steady flow of large fixed capital for purchasing plant and machinery, constructing buildings and acquiring land. And the garden is to be worked for a minimum period of 5 to 6 years before actual production is raised. Similar is the case of coal-mining industry. The capital requirement of an average cement works in India with an annual capacity of 60·000 tons is estimated at Rs. 48 lakhs and its working capital at Rs. 9 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs. About 60 to 70% of the total capital-costs of a cement factory are earmarked for the purchase of machinery and plant. Similarly in a paper mill in India more than 50% of its costs represent the cost of machinery and plant. It has been estimated by the Tariff Board that the fixed capital required for starting a medium-size sugar industry comes upto Rs. 13½ lakhs and the working capital to Rs. 3 lakhs. Out of a total capital of Rs. 30 lakhs, for a match factory, 23 lakhs have been estimated by the Tariff Board for block and only Rs. 7 lakhs for working expenses. In a jute concern, the fixed capital investment is double the requirements of working capital. The immensity of the block capital required for Steel Industry and Pig Iron Industry can be better realised than described. This brings into sharp relief the magnitude of the problem of long-term finance for raising block capital and its importance bearing upon the industrial development of India. As Indian capital is proverbially shy and investors are few, nervous and suspicious, capital is derived from two sources, as observed by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in their evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission, namely, *European in India and the United Kingdom.* Capital for the industries like tea, coal, inland transport enterprises, is mostly supplied by the European Managing Agents and European Shareholders. Most of the Indian-managed industries are under-capitalized and the "defects of under-capitalization are revealed in the case of the smaller enterprises of the major industries, and the smaller or medium-sized business generally." An example may be cited of the Indian section of the tea industry which suffers from chronic under-capitalization. It has been observed by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee that a tea estate requires about 15 lakhs of capital, but is unable to raise more than 10 lakhs whether owned-capital or from the public, and for the rest has to borrow at high rates of interest. Similar misfortune befalls most of the newly started industries like match factories, soap factories, etc. Cotton mills of Bengal too are suffering from lack of adequate finance. It has been estimated that the Banks are supplying one-tenth of the financial requirements of the cotton mills in Bombay. The Managing Agents have financed about 59% of their total requirements. Mortgage debentures and bonds could raise only 7·1% of the requisite capital. In recent years, due to political and economic uncertainties of the world, the advances of banks to industries, as revealed in Bombay, have declined. So some other machinery should be evolved to supply long-term finance for industries.

From the above discussion it appears that the problem of finance for block capital looms large. In para 292 of their Report the Industrial Commission recommended the appointment, at the earliest possible date of an expert Committee to examine the possibilities of establishment of Industrial Banks in India. But this important recommendation was left unrecognized till it was taken up for consideration by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee after long twelve years. Again more than ten years have elapsed but the recommendations of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee for Industrial Banks have not been

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given any formal shape by the Central Government as yet. While the people are keen on industrializing India, they should give their first consideration to the financial implications of these big enterprises. They should think about setting up Industrial Banks to provide long-term finance in order to give effective meaning to industrialization. Otherwise the popular demand for industrialization will turn out to be a one-eyed policy with no enduring results.

Almost all the countries of the West have established separate institutions to meet the long-term needs of the industries. In England, where the joint-stock banks always fight shy of industrial finance, a new organization named Credit for Industry, Ltd., was floated in 1934. The company specialize in supplying block capital and working capital for small and medium-sized industries. The Bank of England held a certain percentage of shares of the said company and have a controlling interest in it. The period of loan varies from 2 years to 20 years. Japan founded her Industrial Bank in 1902, Finland her Industrial Mortgage Bank in 1924 with a share-capital of 50 million Finnish marks. Like them, the National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute, Ltd. was established in 1928 for granting long-term amortisation loans to the industries of Hungary. Similarly the Provincial Mortgage Bank of Saxony, Ltd. was brought into being by the Government. The National Economic Bank of Poland is also an example in point, which was created for supplying long-term credits for industries. This bank is gradually reducing its commitments in associated industrial undertakings since 1928 and left the function to be fulfilled by the private banks. It is known by all that Germany is the ancestral home of Industrial Banks with special characteristics of their own, which were borrowed more or less by other countries.

Permanent institutions on the above model should in no time be set up in India to accelerate the progress of industrialization. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended the establishment of a Provincial Industrial Corporation, with branches, if necessary, and working capital, initially or permanently supplied by the Provincial Government. As the Government is preoccupied with other major issues, it has not yet become possible for it to take any step in this direction. But the need of the moment is a speedy industrialization, which can for no reason be deferred till assistance from the Government is available. The business magnates of India should start Industrial Banks, independent of Government help, for the time being. If various industries could have been floated on private initiative, where funds could be raised by issuing shares and debentures, there is no plausible reason why the Industrial Banks could not be brought into being in the same way, provided the business community is serious about their necessity and usefulness. Here we subscribe to the view of the Macmillan Committee that such an institution should have an independent existence and rely upon its *profit-making capacity as a private institution.*

These Industrial Banks should raise capital by issuing shares and debentures. They may secure additional resources by accepting long-term deposits from the public. These Banks should be managed by a Board consisting of bankers, industrialists and businessmen. And the Board should be assisted by a body of experts in industrial technique and production. A banker must never forget, says Dr. Goldschmidt, that he cannot and must not be an industrialist. He should simply be an adviser in matters of finance and the industrial problems must be solved by the industrialists, who should be responsible for the successful management of the company and the progress of its business. To guide policy about finance, the bank may have its representative in the Board of the Industrial Company, as prevalent in Germany. And this sort of co-operation between finance and industry, which was so long missing in the industrial policy of India, may help towards promoting the profit-yielding capacity of industry, on whose success depends finally the success of institutions devoted to the interests of industry.

The joint-stock banks and the Insurance companies may invest a certain portion of their resources in the shares and debentures of the proposed Industrial Bank. This move will help towards the end of making the shares and bonds and debentures of the Industrial Banks, marketable and available to the investing public. The functions of the proposed Industrial Banks, as described brilliantly by the Macmillan Committee, may be as follows :—Acting as financial advisers to existing industrial concerns; advising in particular as to the provision of permanent capital, its amounts and types; securing the underwriting of and issuing the company's securities to the public and, if necessary, assisting previously in arranging for the provision of temporary finance in anticipation of an issue; assisting in financing long-term contract at home or new developments of an existing company, or founding companies for entirely new enterprises; acting as intermediaries and financial advisers in the case of mergers or in the case of negotiations with corresponding groups;

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and generally being free to carry out all types of financing business. It must be remembered once more that these banks cannot solve industrial problems, which must be solved by industry itself, if the industrial enterprise is to be fruitful in the end.

MAY 3rd, 1791-1941 IN POLAND

By Prof. Dr. MARYLA FALK,
Hony. Secretary, Indo-Polish Association, Calcutta

On May 3, 1791, the first liberal Constitution in Europe was voted by the Polish Parliament. This transformation of the polyarchic structure of the old Republic into that of a virtually democratic State was made law through a peaceful reform, the enlightened gentry voluntarily abrogating their privileges for the common welfare, whose bloodless character strongly contrasted with the forthcoming events in France.

But this date did not usher in an era of peace and prosperity for Poland. On the contrary, it may be said to have ushered in the decisive phase of the greatest national calamity. Why then, of all memorable dates, has the 3rd May ever since been celebrated as the Polish National Day, during the period of bondage as well as in restored Poland ?

Never had any Parliament been confronted with a graver alternative. Poland had not yet recovered from the wounds of the first partition, and the menace of the second was looming on the horizon. The Republic, practically defenceless, was surrounded by autocratic Powers, whose territorial appetites were surpassed only by the fear lest " the plague of Polish freedom" should spread to the populations of their lands. Only a temporising policy of internal accomodation, of acquiescence in autocratic and feudal methods could avert the impending danger and gain the necessary time for the organization of a defensive army. But the country called for social reform. The keen patriotic consciousness urging in the lower classes vindicated their rights to an equal share in the national government. A new dawn was dispersing the shadows of social injustice cast by foreign influence over the country of Piast, the peasant King. With exultant expectation the people had been listening to the message of that year's Resurrection bells.

Poland chose the dangerous way of freedom. The external reactions were not long in coming. Prussia, breaking her pledge of non-aggression and alliance, invaded Poland from the west, while Russia invaded her from the east. Claiming that " introduction of order "—namely of their order of autocracy—was the motive of this rape by treason and violence, they agreed upon the second partition.

The striking analogy with recent slogans renders any comment superfluous. This time, and for the first time in European history, a volunteer army of peasants rose in the defence of the national territory : those humblest—in whose favour the Manifesto of Polanies, a logical sequel of the Constitution, had realized the last word of the reform—opposed the invader with their labouring tools : the scythes of the free against the guns of the tyrants. Under the leadership of Kosciuszko, already a famous hero of the American war of Independence, they won a resounding victory, but were finally overwhelmed by incommensurately superior odds. Poland stood alone, though her cause was that of the future world of free peoples. The third partition sealed the fate of the Republic for several generations.

But the call of the 3rd May never subsided in the hearts of these generations of Poles. The spiritual descendants of Kosciuszko carried on the struggle on all the battlefields of freedom during the following 120 years, conscious of the unity of their patriotic endeavour and their universal mission : conscious of the fact that the cause of Freedom was the cause of Poland.

Under the watchword of the 3rd May Poland fought on for the future of the free.

The early youth of our generation has reaped the fruit of this centenary effort. While a democratic Europe was arising from the battlefields of the last War, it fell to our share to celebrate the 3rd May on the soil of the independent Republic. Poland had resurrected in a world of the free.

But the next decade already brought the revival of the autocratic spirit in the neighbouring States and of the traditional danger. As

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the third half-century of the Polish May-era was drawing to its close, Poland was once more confronted with the fateful alternative: acquiescence in the social and political methods enforced by the then strongest armed force in the world, or a seemingly hopeless struggle.

Poland followed the call of the 3rd May. She chose the dangerous way of freedom.

The ineluctable fate has overtaken her territory, the events connected with the 3rd May 1791 have reproduced themselves with a significant analogy. But the world has changed in these three half-centuries, Poland no longer stood alone for the cause of freedom. Founded on a firm democratic structure of the State, her new army of volunteers—largely labourers—carriers on the struggle from bases on allied soil, under a national leader who, like his glorious precursor 150 years ago, has rallied all the parties in identifying the national cause with that of universal democracy. A struggle marked by feats evoking those of the first popular army of the world, the army of Kosciuszko, and whose watchword echoes the idea of the 3rd May. But it seems that we are now called to witness the conclusion of the cycle opened three half-centuries ago, as the track of this army is traced the opposite way: from the battlefields for universal freedom to the battle for their own soil.

Their advent is prepared by the silent, relentless resistance of those at home, who know of each of their steps; still shrouded in the night of the most fearful oppression that martyr country has ever experienced, they watch the distant approach of the dawn. They have grasped the wordless message of this year's Resurrection bells. They know that the 3rd May is going to fulfil its promise. They know:

Poland is fighting for the future of the free.

A SONG

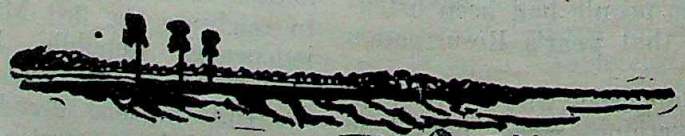
All hail, Machine, we worship thee,
We bow to thee, we honour thee,
Machine, O Lord Machine.
Thy flames and thunders rend the sky
And all thy rumbling wheels reply
In swift and sonorous majesty;
We bow to thee, Machine.

In one defiant onrush hurled
Thy conquering fires sweep the world,
Machine, O Lord Machine.
Thy power melts the stubborn ore,
Shatters the old rock's living core,
And moves still things unmoved before—
All hail, all hail, Machine.

A vulture thou, whose talons tear
The bowels of earth, and lay them bare,
Machine, O Lord Machine.
Thou art a cloud, beneath whose lee
Sinister tempests scud and flee
To darken earth and air and sea.
All hail, Machine, Machine.

Thou grim magician, binding still
The very elements to thy will,
All hail to thee, Machine.
Thou hast the captive world in fee,
And we thy servants worship thee,
We bow to thee, we honour thee,
O Lord, O Lord Machine.

From RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S *Mukta-Dhara*
[*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*]



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Civilisation and Progress

Rabindranath Tagore prefaces his article, originally delivered as a lecture in China during the Poet's tour in 1924, in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, on civilisation and progress, with the following remarks :

A Chinese author writes : "The terrible tragic aspect of the situation in China is that, while the Chinese nation is called upon to throw away its own civilisation and adopt the civilisation of modern Europe, there is not one single educated man in the whole Empire who has the remotest idea of what this modern European civilisation really is."

The word "civilisation" being a European word, we have hardly yet taken the trouble to find out its real meaning. For over a century we have accepted it, as we may accept a gift horse, with perfect trust, never caring to count its teeth. Only very lately we have begun to wonder if we realise in its truth what the western people mean when they speak of civilisation. We ask ourselves, "Has it the same meaning as some word in our own language which denotes for us the idea of human perfection ?"

Civilisation cannot merely be a growing totality of happenings that by chance have assumed a particular shape and tendency which we consider to be excellent. It must be the expression of some guiding moral force which we have evolved in our society for the object of attaining perfection. The word *perfection* has a simple and definite meaning when applied to an inanimate thing, or evern to a creature whose life has principally a biological significance. But man being complex and always on the path of transcending himself, the meaning of the word *perfection* as applied to him, cannot be crystallised into an inflexible idea. This has made it possible for different races to have different shades of definition for this term.

The Sanskrit word *dharma* is the nearest synonym in our own language, that occurs to me, for the word civilisation. In fact, we have no other word except perhaps some newly-coined one, lifeless and devoid of atmosphere. The specific meaning of *dharma* is the principle which holds us firm together and leads us to our welfare. The meaning of this word is the essential quality of a thing.

Dharma for man is the best expression of what he is in truth. He may reject *dharma* and may choose to be an animal or a machine and thereby may not injure himself, may even gain strength and wealth from the external and material point of view; yet this will be worse than death for him as a man. It has been said in our scriptures : *Through a-dharma (the negative of dharma) man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root.*

One who is merely a comfortable money-making machine does not carry in himself the perfect manifestation of man. He is like a gaudily embroidered purse which is empty. He raises a rich altar in his life to the blind and deaf image of a yawning negation and all the costly sacrifices continually offered to it are poured into the mouth of an ever hungry abyss. And, according to our scriptures, even while he swells and shouts and violently gesticulates, he perishes.

The same idea has been expressed by the great Chinese sage, Lao-tze, in a different manner, when he says : *One who may die, but will not perish, has life everlasting.* In this he also suggests that when a man reveals his truth he lives, and that truth itself is *dharma*. Civilisation, according to this ideal, should be the expression of man's *dharma* in his corporate life.

We have for over a century been dragged by the prosperous West behind its chariot, choked by the dust, deafened by the noise, humbled by our own helplessness, and overwhelmed by the speed. We agreed to acknowledge that this chariot-drive was progress, and that progress was civilisation. If we ever ventured to ask, "Progress towards what, and progress for whom ?" —it was considered to be peculiarly and ridiculously oriental to entertain such doubts about the absoluteness of progress. Of late, a voice has come to us bidding us to take count not only of the scientific perfection of the chariot but of the depth of the ditches lying across its path.

C. F. Andrews, The Poet

Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Indian P. E. N.*

Many people knew Mr. C. F. Andrews—the first anniversary of whose "passing on" falls on 5th April, 1941—as a holy man and as a humanitarian. Very few are aware, however, of the fact that he was also a poet. And naturally so. For, was his own life not a poem in itself ?

Nearly three decades ago, Mr. Andrews contributed a number of poems to *The Modern Review, The Nation* and *The Hindustan Review*. Later on, these were collected and published in book form under the title of *The Motherland and Other Poems*. After its publication, he contributed more poems occasionally to various periodicals.

Mr. Andrew's love for Christ, for the country of his adoption—India—for Rabindranath Tagore and his Santiniketan, for the Mother and for the Poor, find an echo again and again in his poems; as will be evident from the following excerpts, selected at random. Says India to the leaders of the people :

It is I your mother call you, by the snows and the forests,
By the silence of my deserts, by the toiling of my plains,
By my cities, seas and rivers; live and die for me,
Your Mother,
O ye leaders of the people.

Referring to Sister Nivedita he sings :

"Who loveth much,"—the Master gave the meed,

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Not by the rule of indolent belief.
Not by professing sympathy with grief
Without the act. Nay! by the living deed
He fixed for man love's everlasting creed
As the one narrow path to blessedness—
To help the hungering stranger in distress,
The sick, the prisoner,—so runs the rede.

Apropos of Nicholson's statue in Delhi:

Great Warrior, ever brave as thou wast kind,
Thy sword was drawn to bring back gentle peace,
Not to wreak endless vengeance . . . . . .
Thou did'st never oppress
The fallen. We, the ultimate triumph won,
Crush India in her hour of mute distress,
Banish her children, stifle every sigh
That yearns for freedom.

In "On Reading *Gitanjali*" he says about the Poet:

Silent within the temple of the soul
I worshipped, and beheld life's vision whole;
No false mirage seen in ascetic mood
But, as when first God made it, very good;
Each door of sense unbarred, and open all
To greet His advent and obey His call.

Of the "Palms at Santiniketan" he sings:

Tossed to and fro I had sorely striven,
Seeking, and finding no release,
Here, by the palm-trees, came God-given
Utter ineffable boundless peace.

In his poem "Death the Revealer," he sings:

And I can wait the dawning of the day,
The daystar on my night already gleaming,
The shadow and the veil shall pass away
Death shall make true my dreaming.

Is there not a ring of realization in his poems, apart from the felicity of the simple phrase and the fragrance of deep feeling, instead of only the intellectual word-weaving which often passes under the name of poetry? Verily, Mr. Andrews was both a dreamer of spirit-dreams and a maker of music, as he was also a doer of selfless deeds.

India Will Be Free

"Our responsibility in India is to satisfy the Indian people, and over twenty years of constant agitation make it evident that nothing short of full self-government will satisfy them."—Writes Harold Laski in *The Tribune* of London. The following is an extract from Laski's article as reproduced in *The Reader's Digest*:

There is, no case against such a policy save that of imperialism in its most naked form. We are fighting against a German-Italian attempt to impose imperialism of the kind we practice in India upon Europe. All its ingredients are there. The Viceroy is our gauleiter; we have the puppet Government; we keep all the vital powers and posts in our own hands; we have an armoury of repressive legislation to prevent any effort at national self-determination we happen to dislike; we exploit all the divisions in the Indian community for our own advantage: we offer, in response to agitation, a shadow of real power while we keep the substance in our hands. This is how Germany governs Denmark and Slovakia. This is what we are fighting against in Europe.

There is a special responsibility on the Labour movement in this matter. Year after year your conferences have pledged themselves to self-government for India. Are we to sit silent while a policy is pursued which is going to lead directly to disaster? There are minority difficutlies undeniably; they are no greater than minority difficulties elsewhere, and, given goodwill, they can be surmounted. But they will not be surmounted if the pivot on which our policy turns is an attitude which assumes, as the Amery offer assumes, an outlook which is not substantially different from that which produced the Act, now commonly admitted to be futile and ineffective of 1935.

It really is significant that no important Indian can be found to support our policy except those who are important merely because we have elevated them. It really is significant that no amount of repression can destroy the persistent Indian demand to realise that opportunity which, in noble speeches, Mr. Churchill avers to be the central purpose of the British Government.

I want the Labour Movement of Great Britain to realise that every argument used against their claim to full partnership is that which the vested interests of this country use against the claims of Labour to rule. I want it to realise that we are associated with a policy which our enemies can represent to our grave disadvantage all over the world, which is a denial of everything for which our movement stands.

It is an impossible position. The leaders of the Labour Party ought to tell Mr. Churchill that it is an impossible position. And the Labour Movement ought to tell its leaders that this duty is so imperative as to be a vital test of their Socialist faith. India will get her freedom whether with our consent, or without it. The Labour Movement will betray its soul if it does not insist upon the choice of consent while there is still time.

Silpa-Bhavana

Silpa-Bhavana is the youngest of the institutions of Visva-Bharati, having been created an independent department with a managing board of its own in 1937 only. Writes Rathindranath Tagore in *Visva-Bharati News*:

Previously it formed a part of Sriniketan which it still does geographically and in various other more intimate ways.

Attempts at artistic crafts actually began at Santiniketan in the year 1922. We had just returned from a tour in Europe and America during which my wife had managed to get training in a few handicrafts, especially book-binding and pottery. About this time a huge tin-shed for workshops had been erected at Santiniketan from the gift made by a Bombay friend but the authorities were at a loss to find some use for it. My wife, along with Andree Karpeles, seized a portion of this empty shed where they started making things with their own hands. A lacquer craftsman from Ilambazar was soon ferreted out from his village and added to this meagre staff of workers.

After struggling for a few years the workshop was removed to Sriniketan as the soil of Santiniketan did not prove congenial for handicrafts to flourish there. A notable contribution of this period was the improvement in the technique of lacquering. At Sriniketan the work was taken up successively by V. Masoji, P. Hariharan and Indusudha Ghosh in a small room on the groundfloor of the main building now given over to the Maternity Centre. Artistic bookbinding, Calico printing. Lacquer and Batik work continued to be the occupation of the handful of craftsmen employed.

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With the introduction of spinning and weaving the need for more space compelled migration to larger quarters.

This time the help received from the Bengal Government Industry Department through Mr. Weston enabled us to put a roof over the ruins of the old railway workshop building and give it the grandiose name of the *Hall of Industries*.

At this stage an incident helped to expand the activities of this newly established department. During a later visit to Europe (in 1930) my wife and myself got ourselves interested in leather work and on our return to the asrama many students used to come to us to learn this interesting work. Making of fancy articles from leather became the fashion. We took advantage of this and opened a regular workshop for leather goods under Santosh Kumar Bhanja Choudhury. Formerly every bit of leather goods (except shoes, suitcases etc.) sold in India used to be imported from abroad. As a result of our efforts in training a large number of young men and women this industry has spread throughaut India.

In the Silpa-Bhavana itself, about Rs. 16,000/- worth of leather goods annually, are being produced.

The Hall of Industries opened with Weaving, Calico printing, Durry making, Batik, Leatherwork, Lacquer work, Bookbinding, and Carpentry sections. Manindra Sen, in charge of the Weaving section, was sent to Japan to get further training with special reference to the organisation of small-scale cotton mills. He brought back with him 10 power looms and a complete set of accessory machines to feed this small number of looms.

We have sometimes been severely criticised for going in for this sort of factory method of production. But our object in installing a few power looms was certainly not to start the nucleus of a cotton mill at Sriniketan.

The installation of a few power looms was an experiment to find out what could be called the smallest economic unit in a cotton mill.

The Japanese machines were not only suitable for this purpose but were also extremely cheap.

The Carpentry workshop has developed rapidly and is a very active section under the leadership of Santosh Kumar Roy. All the woodwork required for the construction of new buildings by the Visva-Bharati and every piece of furniture required by our various departments are now supplied by the Silpa-Bhavana. Besides these, there are enough orders from outside to keep about 45 carpenters and apprentices busy.

We started these enterprises on a modest scale. There were no trained workers to be had.

The first few years were therefore mainly devoted to giving technical education. But the pressure of demand for our goods obliged us to extend the factory needs and expand the business rapidly since 1938.

At the same time new experiments were started in paper making and pottery. During one of our journeys in Europe we had picked up a portable furnace from Germany and my wife had been trying for some time to devise new forms in pottery and testing different clays and glazes at her leisure moments at home. A few successful results tempted her to hand over the whole equipment to Silpa-Bhavana. Since then Santosh Bhanja Chowdhury after years' efforts spent in further

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Sir Shah Mahammad Sulaiman

Sir Shah Mahammad Sulaiman died prematurely at the early age of 56 in full possession of mental and physical vigour. *Science and Culture* gives a short life-sketch of this great scholar and jurist.

Sir Shah Sulaiman came of an old family of Muslim scholars who had been settled for over 500 years in Jaunpur.

Sir Shah Sulaiman's family had produced a long line of Persian and Arabian scholars. The most prominent amongst his ancestors was Mollah Mahmud who in the time of Emperor Shahjahan had acquired a great celebrity as the foremost exponent of the Muslim scholarship in the sciences of astronomy, physics and chemistry. He was sent by Emperor Shahjahan to Central Asia to study the organisation of the Great Observatory at Somarkand built by Ulugh Beg, grandson of the famous Tamerlane, but unlike him a mild ruler and accomplished scholar. This Observatory, it may be mentioned, was the best of its kind in the world in the 15th century. Mollah Mahmud submitted full plans for the construction and maintenance of an Observatory in India, but this was not given effect to, because the funds reserved for this purpose had to be diverted to other purposes. The Observatory came nearly 100 years later through the initiative of Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh of Jaipur, who was commissioned by the Emperor Muhammad Shah to carry out this task.

Dr. Sulaiman's father was a pleader at Jaunpur and he early distinguished himself in his studies, particularly in the mathematical and physical sciences. Late Professor Ganesh Prosad was one of his teachers and from him he imbibed his taste for mathematics. He stood first in B.Sc. examination from Allahabad University and received a State scholarship for studying abroad. At Cambridge, he took his degree in mathematical tripos and missed his wranglership, being placed in the second division (senior optimes). He returned to India as a barrister about 1909 and set up private practice in the Allahabad High Court. Within a short time, he built up a very extensive practice and became one of the foremost members of the Bar. He was elevated to the Bench in 1920 at the early age of 34, and while still in early forties, he became Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court in 1932. His work as Justice and Chief Justice was marked by vast erudition and quickness of decision. In spite of absorption in his legal and judicial duties, he always retained his interest in science.

He tackled one of the most abstruse subjects of the present times, namely the theory of relativity. He was able to deduce some of the results of Einstein with simpler mathematics and in spite of what has been said nobody has yet been able to find any flaw in his mathematical calculations. He felt however that the proper domain of the application of the principle of relativity was modern physics, a subject of which he had not much knowledge, and he turned his attention to the study of physical sciences. But this work has been left unfinished by his untimely death.

Besides taking interest in mathematics, he took interest in other cultural subjects. Following the traditions of his family, he had collected a large number of old Arabic and Persian manuscripts and had arranged to publish them with the aid of learned scholars. As a Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, he brought new life to the institution.

Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo

The fundamental idea upon which the whole structure of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy rests is that Matter as well as Spirit is to be looked upon as real. Writes Prof. S. K. Maitra in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

It will not do for philosophy to ignore Matter as it will not do for it to ignore Spirit. A spiritualistic philosophy that totally negates Matter is as one-sided as a materialistic philosophy that totally ignores Spirit. The two extremes, therefore, which philosophy must avoid are materialism ignoring Spirit and spiritualism ignoring Matter.

For this reason Sri Aurobindo declares, "The affirmation of a divine life upon earth and an immortal sense in mortal existence can have no base unless we recognize not only eternal Spirit as the inhabitant of the bodily mansion, the wearer of this mutable robe, but accept Matter of which it is made as a fit and noble material out of which He weaves constantly His garb; builds recurrently the unending series of His mansions" (*Life Divine*, p. 8). We must say with our ancient forefathers, "Matter also is Brahman" (*annam brahmeti vyajanat*). The inevitable result of separating Matter from Spirit is, as Sri Aurobindo points out, to force us to make a choice between the two. This is, in fact, what we actually notice in the history of human

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thought. Either Spirit has been denied as an illusion of the imagination or Matter has been denied as an illusion of the senses. The result is either "a great bankruptcy of Life" or "an equal bankruptcy of the things of the Spirit."

The materialist's denial of the Spirit rests upon an apotheosis of sensuous knowledge.

The senses are for the materialist the sole means of knowledge. Reason, if it goes in any way beyond the data of the senses, must be pronounced to be a false guide.

The extreme narrowness of the materialist's position is its own undoing. There is no possibility of denying the creative function of the mind and the still higher powers of the Spirit in the shaping of our knowledge. There are vast fields which are inaccessible to the senses. And even in the regions where the senses function, the knowledge that is obtained is not tied down to the senses. All knowledge, qua knowledge, exhibits a transcendence of the senses, a reconstruction of the sensuous material by the mind and the higher powers of the Spirit.

But materialism, formidable as it was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is now greatly discredited and is no longer such an obstacle to the understanding of the true nature of Reality as the other one-sided theory, the spiritualism which denies altogether the reality of sensuous world.

The spiritualistic negation of the physical world is called by Sri Aurobindo the "refusal of the ascetic," and is pronounced by him to be "more complete, more final, more perilous in its effects on individuals or collectivities that hear its potent call to the wilderness" than the materialistic denial of the spiritual world.

This one-sided affirmation of the Spirit is the characteristic note of Indian thought as we find it in the Vedanta. Due to the predominant position which the Vedanta occupies in our country, this way of thinking even now dominates Indian thought, which is still more or less under the shadow of "the great refusal," as Sri Aurobindo calls it.

Not that this line of thought has not been of help in the development of our culture. It has done tremendous service in quickening the spiritual life. It has created in man a great aspiration, the aspiration after unity with the Divine; the spiritual value of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

Holi

S. Fuchs gives the following description in *The New Review* of the Holi festival in Northern India :

The Hindu villages are always restless on full-moon nights. But in the full-moon night of the Phagun, the Holi night, all the villagers assemble at one place, and celebrate the Spring-festival for once in concord and mutual goodwill.

The legend relates that this feast is named after Holika, the sister of the Rakshas Hiranyakashyapu. This king of the demons forbade all his subjects to worship any other god but himself. But his own son, Pralhad, disobeyed him and worshipped the Supreme Being in the form of Vishnu. The unnatural father condemned his son to death, when he heard of this. But all the various devices of putting his son to death failed, because Vishnu protected his faithful worshipper and the boy always escaped unharmed. At last Hiranyakashyapu's sister, Holika by name, volunteered to bring about Pralhad's destruction. She told her brother that she would wrap herself into her fire-proof veil, a present of the god Shankar, and hold her nephew in her arms, while firewood should be heaped around them both and set in flames. But it so happened, that by a quick movement of hers the miraculous veil slipped from her body and fell just over the boy. Before the wicked woman could get back her precious garment, she was covered with a heap of fuel and unable to move. The pyre was set in flames and Holika was burned to death, while Pralhad again escaped unhurt. Yet his father could not be appeased by this miracle. He tied his son to a pole, took his sword to cut the boy's head off. At this moment the pole burst from top to bottom, Vishnu stepped out of it and killed the devilish parent.

In remembrance of this ordeal, the Hindus annually celebrate Holi. It is the triumph of the gods over the demons, the victory of the sons of the light over the powers of darkness, of the sun over winter and cold.

The day before the Holi night, the villagers ram a pole in the ground, in the centre of the place of their religious meetings.

This pole is called *danda*, the Holi pole. Meanwhile the boys gather firewood and dry cowdung-cakes which they pile up to a huge heap around the *danda*. The mischievous urchins do not collect the fuel in the jungle, but they steal it from the village houses. They are chased away good-humouredly, but once their booty

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has been thrown on the pyre, nobody will dare to take it back. The *Kotwal* (village watchman), too, goes from house to house and collects dung-cakes. He does not steal them, of course—this would be little in keeping with his dignity as a quasi-policeman—but all the villagers willingly give him a few dung-cakes.

In the evening the village youths gather round the Holi pole. They begin to sing and to drum. Slowly the other villagers too come, some join in the singing, but the majority content themselves with squatting down on their heels and listening. The women come as well, tightly wrapped in their veils and sitting close together to ward off the chillness of the night. The young newly-married women who have just come home for the feast days from their husband's village, appear also gaily chatting with their former playmates.

When the singers are warmed up a little, one or other man gets up and begins to dance.

After a while the men begin to dance the *Dandya Ras*. The dancers form a circle, two rows deep. Each man holds a short stick in his hand. Formerly the dancers carried swords, but the meek toilers of the soil have exchanged this dangerous weapon for a stick! Singing in chorus, to the beating of the drums, they weave intricate patterns, changing their places continually by stepping from the inner to the outer row and then back again into the inner line of the circle.

Shortly before day-break, when the dancing and singing reaches its climax the *Kotwal* goes through the village and calls those who might be lagging behind or have taken a short nap. Now the village headman (*patel*) gets up with dignity and approaches the Holi pole. He offers a coconut and a mixture of rice and curd (*dahi*), which he spirts on the pyre and on the red flag waving gaily on top of the pole.

After the *patel*, the *Kotwal* makes his offering, according to an old privilege. After the offering, the *Kotwal* hands some *tuar* stalks to the *patel* who lights them and sets the Holi pyre in flames.

During the performance the drums have never ceased to roll in a passionate rhythm, and the singing has drifted into wild cheering. The whole villagefolk, men and women behave as if possessed. They take up mud and dust from the ground and throw it on each other. Others hold pots with red or yellow colour ready and sprinkle the paint over the clothes and faces of men and women.

After the people have got tired of "playing Holi," they proceed to the well or river and take a bath. They also wash their clothes. Of course, the red, blue or yellow colours, sprinkled all over the shirts and *dhotis*, cannot be washed off so easily. Thus the clothes are borne with resignation, till they are torn enough to be thrown away. After the bath, the high-caste Hindus go home, sing and dance, till the festive meal is ready.

The Crisis of Indian Industrial Art

India's fine industrial art tradition has in the last few years been dying fast. Observes Dr. Hermann Goetz in *The Aryan Path*:

In the bazaars the old textile designs which had made the fame of India all over the world have been disappearing at an alarming pace, the old furniture has been deteriorating, the metal ware degenerating, the pottery declining in type and in quality. No, Indian industry is not dying, as it had threatened some decades ago to do. The schools of arts have saved the old technical traditions from oblivion, and in the long run the local industries have adapted themselves to the new situation created by the rise of modern industrialism in this country, not least because of the support which they have received from the nationalist movement. Today, the markets are again full of Indian goods, from great mills as well as from small local industries, and the role and assortment of foreign goods has become approximately the same as in South-Eastern Europe or in Latin America.

But what is dying is the good taste of the public.

This is the more curious as India has seen a great revival of artistic consciousness in the same period. Though we cannot yet pretend that she has arrived at a new art style expressing the new developments in Indian life, there is at least a vivid consciousness of the beauties of old Indian art and an endeavour to revive it. In the last years this revival has been progressing to a still tentative adaptation of this "Classicism" to the problems of the day. It is, however, just this growing interest in the "new" India which destroys the popular art tradition. It is true that certain famous articles, *e.g.*, the beautiful Benares textiles, are still a pride in every household and their manufacture is still flourishing. Connoisseurs and artists are enthusiastically collecting samples of the fine old traditional Indian textiles, bronzes, ceramics. The new modern middle class, however, especially most of the young intellectuals, are rather ashamed of the old fashions and everywhere desire modern goods. And where such a demand appears, industry of every type, of course, tries to satisfy it. So we see new sari borders, new designs for printed cloth, new types of furniture everywhere, and with every year these dominate the market more and more. In many towns it is no longer possible to buy the old patterns at all, except a few which are to be had in the Khadi Bhandars; which, in spite of all encouragement, are few compared with the shops dealing in Indian and foreign mill cloth and perhaps also in some hand-woven materials.

Some of the more expensive fashionable articles created in leading centres of social life are indeed exquisite. But the overwhelming majority betray a deplorable decay in, if not complete absence of, good taste.

As far as the old traditions have been modernized the designs have become crude and the colours ugly and strident. Where new ideas have been taken up they are superficially adapted from European and American models. But what models! These new fashions fall back on the very refuse of Western manufacture. I remember with shame to have been shown in a leading shop of a not unimportant Indian town "fashionable" bedspreads decked with designs such as the scum of Western life, sailors on tramp ships, prostitutes and criminals, like to have tattooed on their bodies; and to have seen, in "modern" Indian houses, furniture resembling that in the servants' rooms of Europe, and, in the durbar-hall of one of the greater maharajas, ventilators designed for a factory.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Paramecia : One-cell Society

The discovery of the Paramecia, a tiny one-cell member of the animal kingdom, the study of its life and habits is another triumph of the microscope. Naturalists and students of biology will find the following extract reproduced from the *News Review* interesting :

Very popular with biology students are Paramecia, tiny one-cell animals about a 125th inch long. These pond creatures will thrive on a handful of hay left to stagnate in a jam-jar of water.

To the naked eye, Paramecia are just dirty white specks. Under a microscope they turn into granulas, transparent blobs, shaped like a slipper. The simplest form of life, they provide a good preliminary study before going on to more complicated subjects.

Under good conditions, the sexless Paramecia reproduce simply by dividing in two. When the water becomes acid and living conditions get harder, they embark on matrimony to invigorate their species.

Behind this well-known if dull behaviour a strange world of social life and behaviour has been discovered by an American zoology professor.

Dr. Herbert Spencer Jennings, of California University, made a microscope survey of the Paramecia's courting methods, and last week he reported having observed flirtations, taboos, petting, and definite hours for parties.

Dr. Jennings also found different families of Paramecia. No two members of one family would mate with each other. A strict taboo was kept on irregular alliances.

Parties are held only between eight and nine in the morning, five and six in the evening.

Two families meet and stick together in a clot as if covered with glue. After getting acquainted they separate and proceed with the mating.

Pairing off they adhere closely to each other. Their body-walls break down, and between them they exchange one of their two nuclei. Then comes separation; they continue their normal dividing and produce thousands of invigorated progeny.

Apart from these displays of mass love, certain individualistic Paramecia go courting on their own. Two touch each other gently and swim off side by side in ascending spirals. This caressing behaviour lasts only a few moments, after which they part and may be start all over again.

"As the animals swim in a graceful spiral they make a pretty sight, reminding one of couples in a dance," said the professor. Ultimately this flirting may lead to mating—when the couple have thoroughly sounded each other, and made sure they do not belong to the same family.

These goings-on led Dr. Jennings to wonder whether the minute, brainless Paramecia have glimmerings of consciousness after all.

—

Nation, its Role and the Individual

In an article concerning Nationality in *The Catholic World*, Stephen J. Brown, S. J. gives the definition of a nation as follows :

A nation is a large body of population, living together in a common territory in organized social relations, and held together in a peculiar kind of spiritual oneness compounded of some or all of certain elements—language, literature, race, religion, customs and traditions, common interests, common statehood, etc. Always including common memories of past sufferings and exploits, and the actual will to carry on that common life as a distinct people."

Why nations ? Have they a useful, or shall we say a providential role to fill ? To answer these two questions we must trace the gradual development of human society and analyse the various bonds.

In its remoter origins the nation may be said to be an outgrowth of the family and to that extent equally natural and providential. The function of the family is to provide a suitable milieu for the early stages of the human being's conservation and development. The child is naturally committed to the love and fostering care of those who brought it into the world. This function is shared in even today by *kindred*, near relations or relatives as we are accustomed to call them. In early days kindred naturally dwelt together, forming a sort of patriarchal or inchoate society such as we see in the Bible. This developed into the *tribe* such as he find in Hebrew history and in primitive societies such as the Northern American Indians. The tie between the members of a tribe was primarily one of blood, descent from a common ancestor. But the principle of incorporation with the tribe by adoption was admitted and intermarriage with other tribes (exogamy) was more or less common. So that in time the blood-bond came to be rather imaginary than real. The *clan* (clann =children, offspring) of Celtic countries was a form of society similar to the tribe. The *gens* of early Roman times recalls the same principle of blood relationship developing into a social bond.

When a tribe settled in a given territory and possessed the land, a new bond between its members was created, common devotedness to this land, which came to be regarded with devoted affection as the fatherland, *patria*.

But already other bonds than those of common origin and kinship had come into being, bonds to which, taken along with that of kinship and that of native land, we may begin to give the name of nationality. These other bonds are in the first place those of common language and common culture. To return for a moment to the family. The child is taught the necessary rudiments of knowledge and the elementary discipline of body and soul only through the tongue spoken by his parents. The daily habits of conduct which he learns

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as he grows up, his early outlook on life can hardly be other than those of his parents and kindred. Thus with the society or community into which he is born he inherits a certain language and a certain culture, this latter term being understood in the sense of a particular social milieu necessary to the development of the child's personality. It will include ways and customs, traditions, folklore in the wider sense, and religion. The gypsy child will talk Romany and grow up with such culture as gypsies can give him and none other. To this heritage, whatever it may be, of language and culture the child has a natural right and he may not normally be deprived of it. What is true of the individual child is true likewise of groups bound together by common origin (partly real, partly supposed), and other bonds such as we have mentioned. They have a common heritage of language and culture and they have a natural right to that heritage.

There comes a time in the history of the community (by whatever name it may be known) when it becomes fully conscious of the bonds that bind it together. There is then developed within it a collective will which gives to it a unity not merely physiological and cultural but psychological and, as I have maintained in my definition of a nation, spiritual. In that moment a nation is born. And unless hindered by force from outside it will at once make itself a state as well.

Observe that it is only at this latest stage in the formation of a nation that nationality acquires political significance. Hitherto it has been a cultural influence, an educational influence in the broad sense, since it molds ideas and feelings, giving to the personality the national stamp. Nationalism, as we have seen, is the frame of mind which fosters all the factors that go to constitute nationality. Its aim is to cultivate nationality in the cultural sense. It is only when the achievement of independent statehood is thwarted or an attempt is made by a dominant nation or state forcibly to "assimilate" (for example to Russify or to Prussianize or to Anglicize) the nationality in question that nationalism takes on a political role, *viz.*, the defense by political methods of its nationality or the endeavour to achieve its independent statehood.

"Now how does the Nation act upon the individual? How does it bestow on him the heritage, the birthright that it has prepared and preserved for him? By an influence that is partly creative, partly educative. It gives to the individual a body of manners and customs. That does not mean merely a certain number of habits or ways of doing things; it implies a body of inclinations that become almost second nature. That is the value of the Nation. The national environment or milieu gives each one a nationality, that is to say a complexus of physiological preformations and mental dispositions, from which result certain ways of seeing, thinking, and acting. . . . Nationality puts the individual, without effort on his part, in possession of a certain measure of [distinctive] civilisation and raises him to a certain level of development. That is its natural and providential mission."

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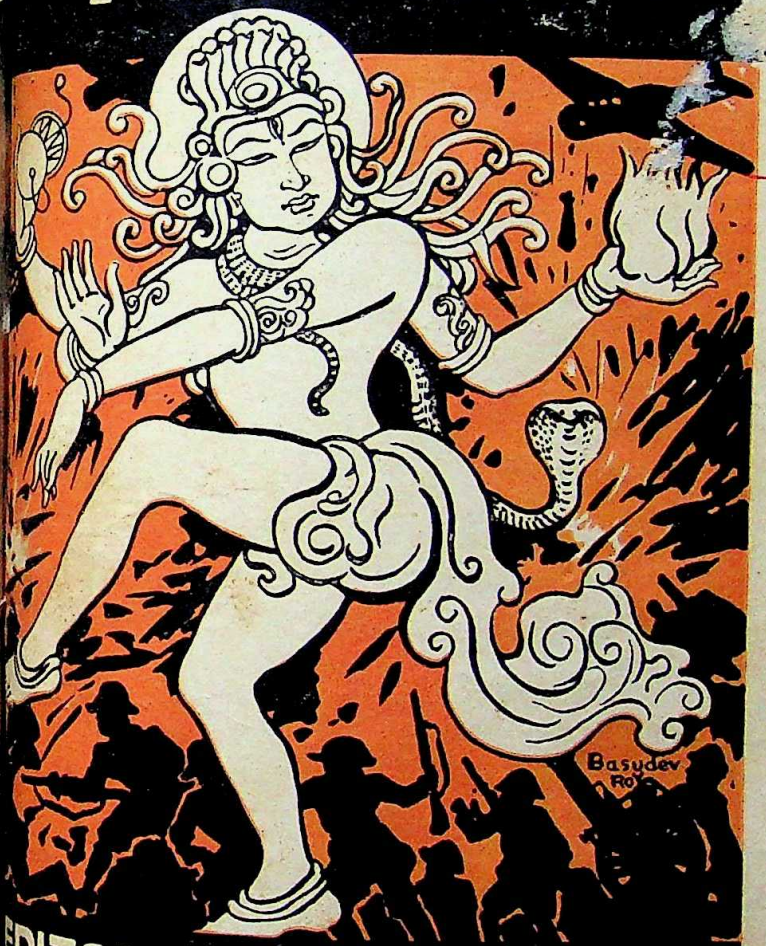

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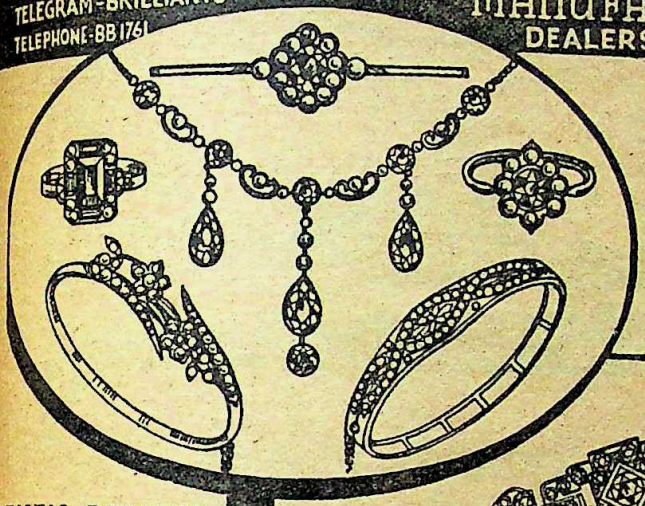

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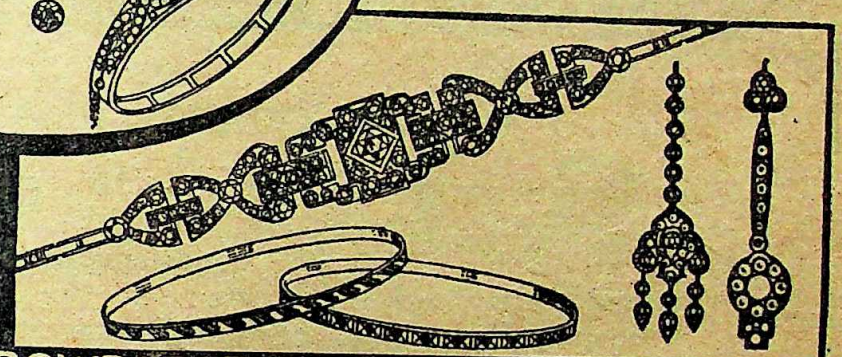

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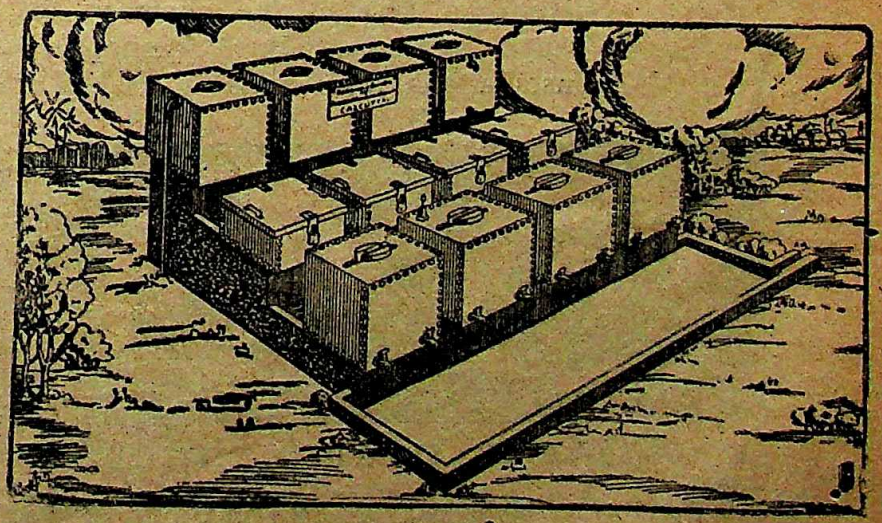

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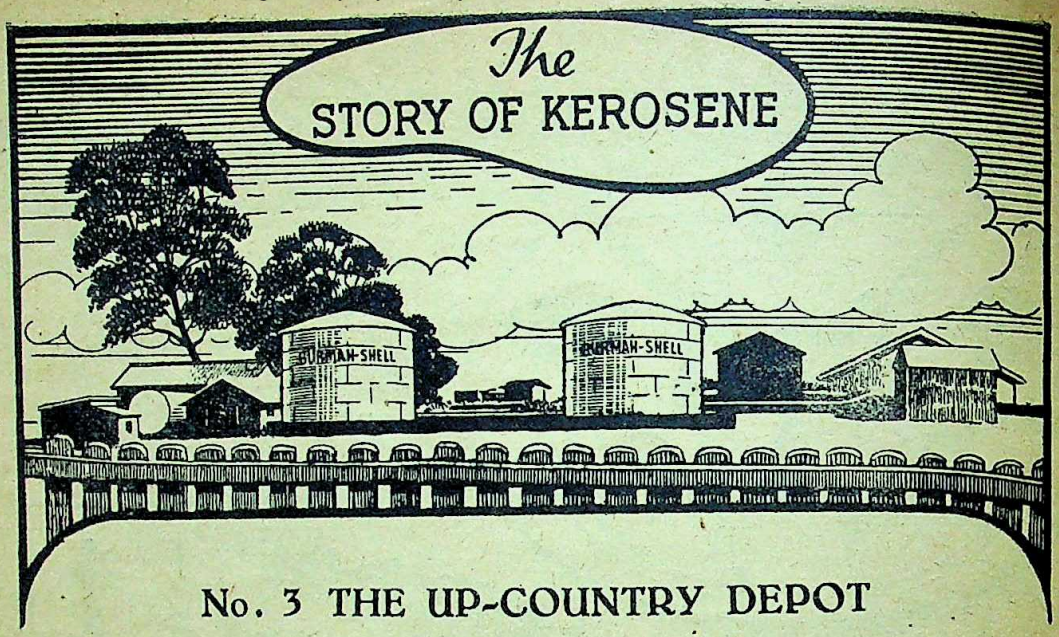

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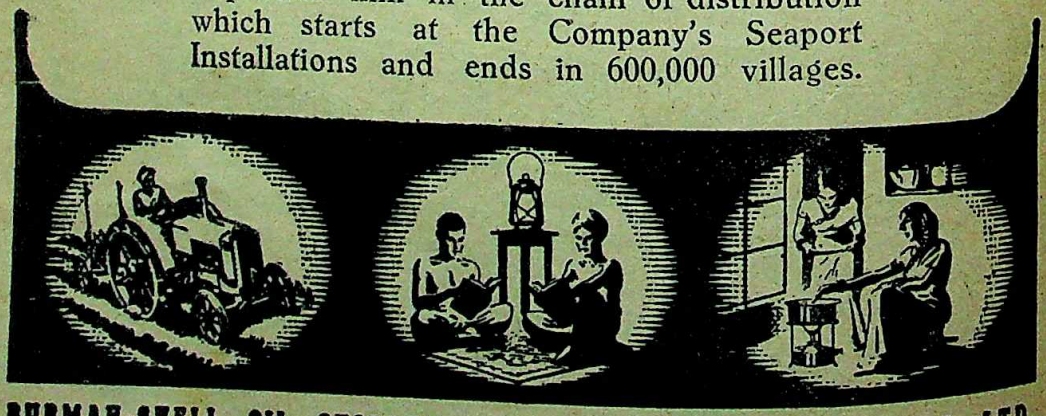

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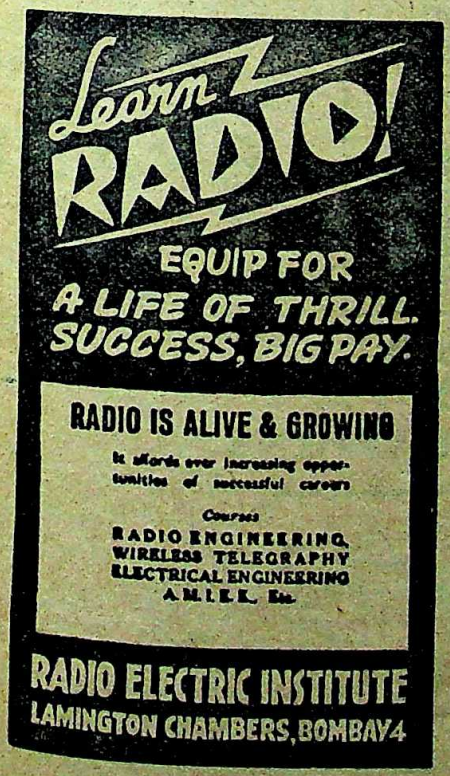

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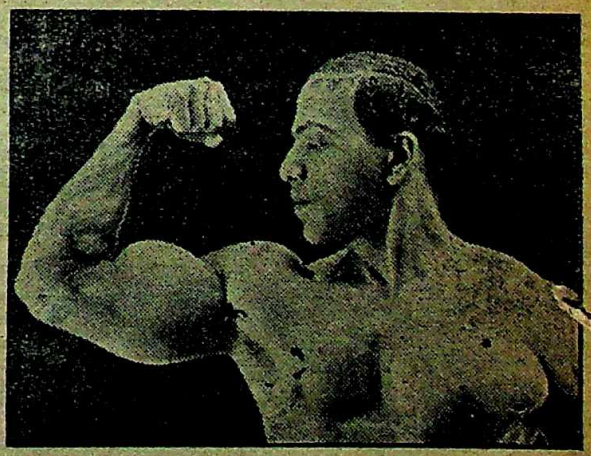

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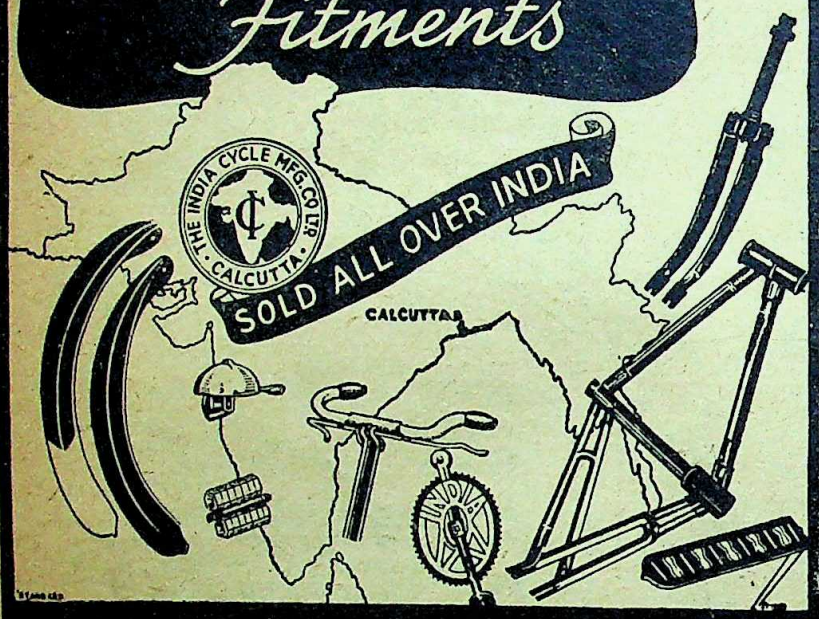

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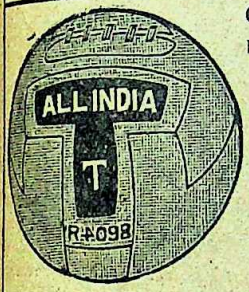

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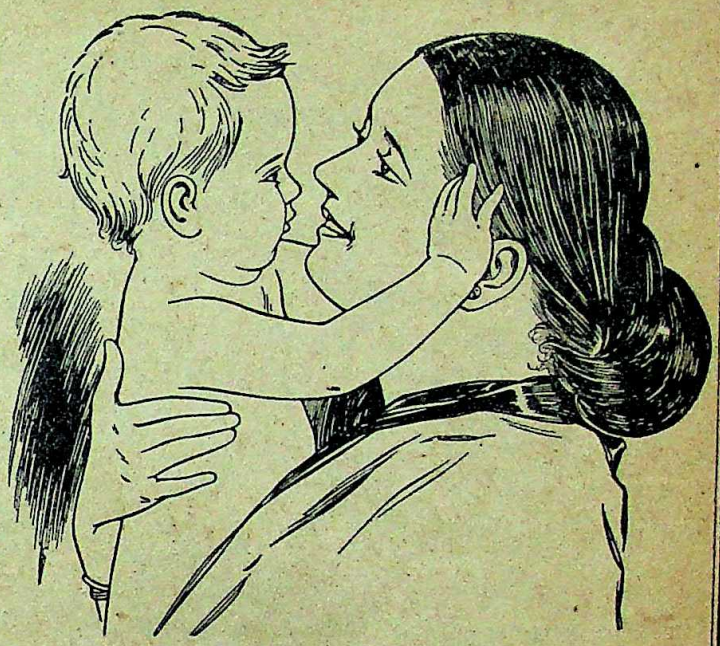

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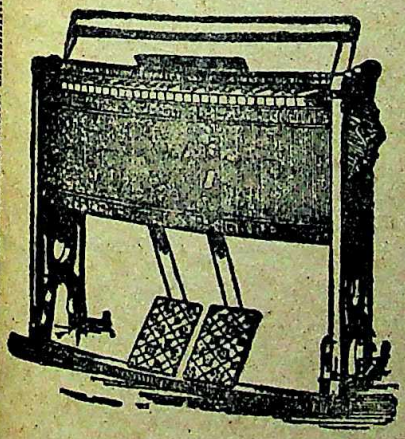

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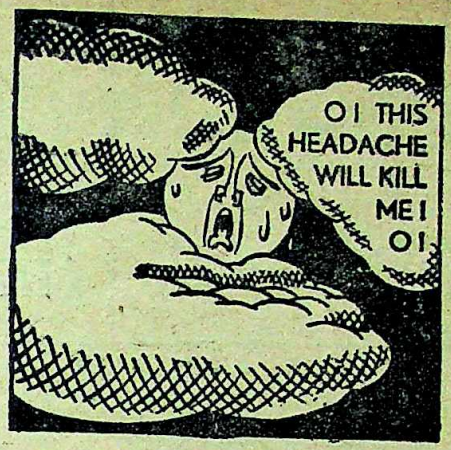

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1941

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NOTES

Apprehension of Collapse of European Civilization

We wish with all our heart that Britain would remain a free nation at the end of the war, as she is at present, though we do not in the least desire that India should remain one of her dependencies now or at the end of the war. Irrespective of Britain's past and present dealings with India, we wish the British people continuous enjoyment of freedom and prosperity. We have no feeling of revenge such as would lead one to wish that she should taste the bitter cup of misery and humiliation resulting from subjection to some foreign power.

It is not only the British people to whom we wish well. Our hope and wish is that all the peoples of Europe who are now under the heels of the Nazis would regain their freedom. We desire that even Germany and Italy would remain free nations, but without the desire and the power to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over other peoples.

But what the future has in store for Europe nobody knows. Our wishes count for nothing. It may be that the mutually destructive war efforts of the belligerent parties would involve them in one common ruin, and that would spell the collapse of what is called "European civilization." But would that be an irretrievable disaster? Let us look at the matter from the non-Europeans' point of view.

European "Civilization" and America, Asia and Africa

In the days of the Buddha, of the Rishis of the Upanishads, of Confucius and Lao-tze and of Jesus, neither they nor their disciples and other countrymen of theirs had any of the modern paraphernalia of civilization. Not to speak of the luxuries and comforts of the modern man, they did not possess even many of the things which we consider necessaries. Were these Great Ones then uncivilized? No thinking man can say they were savages or barbarians. No; they were highly civilized. Why? Because they taught and had supreme regard for the ideals of truth, justice, right and humanity.

Non-Europeans would judge European nations and their "civilization" not by their dress and the paraphernalia of modern existence but by what regard they had for the ideals of truth, justice, right and humanity.

The European peoples who conquered the original inhabitants of America settled in different parts of that continent by almost exterminating those luckless tribes by methods and means which, to say the least, would bear no examination.

Similar is the record of European "civilization" in Australasia. Almost all aboriginal tribes have there disappeared from the face of the earth except the Maoris, whose number, however, was greatly reduced.

Though the black man has not been totally

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or almost entirely exterminated in Africa, the number of the Negroes has been very greatly reduced, they have been dispossessed of their land, and, except in the small republic of Liberia, nowhere are the Negroes possessed of the same rights as the white settlers. The most abominable and agelong crime of which the exponents of European civilization have been guilty in Africa is that Negro men, women and children were forcibly taken away from their homes, packed like sardines in ships, taken to America, sold into slavery there, and treated worse than cattle. It took America a terrible civil war to abolish slavery.

In Asia the various European nations who have territorial possessions here, have not been able to make any attempt to exterminate the people of any country or part thereof. But the policies of the ruling European peoples in the different countries which they have kept under subjection have not been characterized by regard for justice and humanity.

We do not mean to say or to suggst that in no country in America, Australasia, Africa and Asia has any individual European shown in his attitude towards the natives of the country and his dealings with them that he is civilized at heart and pays heed to the dictates of truth, justice, right and humanity. No; in all these continents there have been individuals of European extraction who have acted and behaved as a truly civilized human being ought to.

Nor do we mean to say or suggest that in no non-European country, under the rule of some European country or other, has the foreign European government passed any law or adopted any measure such as one would expect of a truly civilized government. No; there have been many such laws and measures. They reduced the irksomeness and oppressiveness of the yoke of the stranger and were calculated to perpetuate or at least prolong these foreign rules. But the fundamental policy of the European governments in non-European countries acquired by violating the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, has been opposed to any truly civilized ideal and has been characterized by greed and predatoriness.

In all these European-ruled non-European countries the people have become emasculated owing to the military policy of their foreign governments, and, as Rabindranath Tagore says in *Crisis in Civilization*, that mastery over the machine by which these European imperialists have consolidated their sovereignty over their non-European subjects, has been practically kept a sealed book to them. And they have been kept largely illiterate, too.

For these reasons, the possibility of the ruin of the European "civilization" of which we non-Europeans have tasted the fruit, does not stagger us. Should it be totally wrecked, a real civilization such as the Buddha, the Upanishadic Rishis, Confucius and Jesus would have approved of, would rise from its ashes. Human nature is greater than "civilized" European nature. The collapse of European "civilization" would not make human nature bankrupt.

German Vandalism in Britain

The Leader writes :

No one can help being deeply moved by the melancholy news that such historic buildings of London as Lambeth Palace, the home of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Queen's Hall, centre of London's musical life; St. James' Palace, the former home of the Sovereign of England and afterwards the home of the Prince of Wales, the beautiful building where a number of historic conferences was held including the India Round Table Conference; the Houses of Parliament; Westminster Hall, said to be one of the most beautiful in the world; Westminster Abbey; St. Paul's Cathedral; Old Bailey, the home of the Criminal Court of Justice, and the Salvation Army Headquarters have been bombed by the vandals from the land of Hitler and the Huns. The people of England have spirit enough to bear these losses stoically, as they have put up with the bombing of Buckingham Palace and with the virtual destruction of Coventry and Plymouth. They are not the people to be cowed down by any amount of such damage—or still worse. They are lion-hearted and they will carry the fight to a finish. And by God's grace, and with the help of the United States, victory will be theirs.

We strongly condemn vandalism wherever and by whomsoever committed and we admire all peoples who love their land and fight pluckily in defence of its freedom. In the last great World War, the Germans destroyed or damaged many cathedrals and other edifices in France and Belgium which could not be exactly replaced or restored. The French and the Belgians then fought their enemies heroically, but in this war they have been overpowered.

We have no details of the results of the R. A. F. bombings in Germany like those we have of German bombings in Britain. But vandalism even by way of reprisal cannot be supported, whoever may be guilty of it.

European Vandalism Outside Europe

While deeply and sincerely sympathizing with the victims of vandalism in European countries, we cannot help recalling the acts of vandalism of which Europeans have been guilty in America and Asia. Few are the remains of Inca, Maya and Aztec civilizations in America. Coming to more modern times, has not there been damnable European vandalism in China

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in the nineteenth century, for example? Who irretrievably damaged and despoiled, for example, the unique Summer Palace in China's imperial capital? We do not like to dwell on this dismal topic longer and give specific examples of European vandalism in other countries. But when Europeans complain of vandalism in Europe, it will do them good to believe that Nemesis has overtaken them.

"Resist Goonda Raj (Ruffians' Reign) Violently or Non-violently"

"That people should flee for their lives for fear of the goondā should be intolerable. They ought to possess the capacity of resisting goondā-shāhi (reign of the goondā) violently or non-violently," says Gandhiji in the course of a letter addressed to Sj. Bhogilal Lala, secretary to the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee on the subject of the duty of the people and of Congressmen in areas affected by riots. The letter reads:

"For four days Mridulaben, Gulzarilal and I have had talks to our hearts' content. If you and Sjt. Jivanlal Divan could have been also present, it would have been very helpful to me in arriving at a decision.

"We gather that there are two opinions regarding what the Congress did, failed to do, and should do in future in case of communal disturbances. However, that may be everything considered, I am of opinion that in a crisis like the present an Advisory Committee (of which the personnel is given below) should be appointed and everything should be done according to their advice. You will see that I have included Shri Mahadev Desai's name on the Committee. He will not be able to be there on all occasions but he will try to be there whenever all feel that his presence is essential.

"Your first duty is to find out how many among our Congressmen firmly hold that violent resistance against an opponent in defence of oneself or others is out of the question. Those who favour violent resistance must get out of the Congress and shape their conduct just as they think fit and guide others accordingly. I am firmly of opinion that if the Congress does not clearly define its policy in this matter, it will end in proving itself to be a useless organisation.

Duty of Congressmen

"If a majority of Congressmen hold that violent resistance against an assailant is a duty, and if they do not regard it as inconsistent with the creed of the Congress, they should openly declare their opinion and guide people accordingly. The absence of our leaders in jail should not deter any one from declaring his opinion in this crisis. It can be revised in case it is found later to be wrong. The point is that no one should be in a state of indecisiveness.

"I am sure that if all Congressmen had done their duty we sould not have had the goonda-shahi—the reign of the goonda, that we had.

"That people should flee for their lives for fear of the goonda should be intolerable. They ought to possess the capacity of resisting goonda-shahi violently or non-violently.

"If my interpretation of the Congress creed is correct, the Congress and Congressmen may offer non-violent resistance only, and they are sure to succeed. But we should tell the people in the clearest possible terms that running away in fear is cowardice. It is their duty to offer resistance—even violent, if they are incapable of non-violent resistance, which is a worthy way.

No Help from Government

"Congressmen will not ask for the help of Government police or military. Those who believe in violent resistance will indeed ask for Government's help.

"A Congressman may not directly or indirectly associate himself with gymnasia where training in violent resistance is given. But he will appeal even to the believer in violent resistance to observe certain rules of restraint. Even violent resistance admits of a certain amount of decency. Thus, for instance, murdering an innocent man in cold blood should be taboo. The fundamental thing to be borne in mind is that people should under no circumstances be cowardly or impotent. One need never be a goonda to fight a goonda. One who stabs another in the back and takes to his heels will never be counted as brave.

"A Congressman can have no prejudices and so he would go out his way to meet members of the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and other bodies in the interests of peace, and persuade them to combine in ruling out the law of the jungle, no matter how great their political differences. That these endeavours may fail should not matter in the least. It is their duty to appeal to every one, and to flatter none.

No Compensation

"The Congress will not claim compensation for losses sustained during the riots. That is not its concern. The people had to sustain losses as they lacked the capacity to defend themselves; and so they must bear them. I go so far as to believe that Government could not, even if they would, secure adequate compensation to those who have sustained losses.

"I think it is terrible to think of protecting ourselves with the help of the Bhaiyya, Sikh or Thakurda. To engage an ordinary durwan or gate-keeper is a difficult proposition. There should be no young man among the mercantile middle class community who has not gone through training for self-defence, violent or non-violent. Engaging these foreign elements for defence, far from putting an end to goonda-shahi will put a premium to it.

"Hindus staying in Muslim localities must not leave them, but stay on there even at the risk of their lives.

"Muslims living in Hindu localities should be ensured the fullest protection by the Hindus.

Cultivated Courage

"The practice of closing down shops at the slightest rumour of disturbance should be stopped and every shop-keeper should be ready for violent or non-violent self-defence. If they will cultivate this courage, the loss will be reduced to a minimum, and the riots would become a thing of the past. Riots such as we have in our country are unknown in the west, though there may be civil wars there. The reason is that the contending parties there are equally matched, and do not take to their heels at the sight of one another, nor do they ask for and accept police help. The use of the police is entirely for protection against thieves and robbers. In this aspect we are absolutely barbarous and even impotent.

"Members of the Committee:—Mahadev Desai—President; Narahari Parikh—Vice-President; Bhogilal Lala and Gulzarilal Nanda (Secretaries); Jiwanlal Diwan, Mridula Sarabhaie, Indumati Chimanlal, Khandubhai Desai, Raojibhai Patel."—*A. P.*

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WARDHAGANJ, May 24.

"Congress will be extinct if they flee like cowards in the midst of riots. Their first and last duty should be resisting goondāism in communal riots not by violence but by non-violence, for which I have been trying since 1920," declared Mahatma Gandhi last night while addressing the National Youth's Training Camp.

Now-a-days, he said, he was unwilling to leave Sevagram, where he was very busy, but when these youths had expressed a wish that he should go to them, he agreed to come to Wardha where he had an opportunity of mixing with them. Mahatma Gandhi said, "This camp is expected to achieve many things now when Ahmedabad, Dacca, Bihar and Bombay are ablaze with communal fires and strifes. Don't be deaf to what is going on in India where riots are taking place. It is unmanly to run away when attacked by goondas or hooligans in riots. There are only two ways of facing such situation. One is the traditional, universal and timeworn way of meeting violence with violence. The other is the new art of facing such dangers by suffering and sacrificing and boldly, standing against violence by non-violence. Even beasts when at bay offer resistance to their aggressors. Then, why should we human beings, run away from riotous scenes? I have given you during the last twenty years the only weapon for meeting all eventualities, namely, non-violence. Don't kill your attacker but suffer at his hands or even be ready to die for achieving communal unity. I think you have been taught this new principle of sacrificing yourself. Now Congressmen are put to the test and if they cannot valiantly and manfully face such dangers or riots or hooliganism by non-violence, Congress, as an organisation will forfeit its right to exist as a national institute. My mind is full of these things now that I am awaiting for news from Bombay on the telephone where it is reported there is a recrudescence of riots. It is the world's order to punish goondaism or arrest it by violence, but I appeal to you all to meet this peacefully and non-violently and justify your existence and also of the Congress as a national institution. My visit will be fruitful if you ahcieve this and help me in realising it, not by blow for blow but by offering your lives."
—A. P.

Though Gandhiji's letter is meant specially for a province, it has a general applicability also. That is also the case with his address to the National Youth's Training Camp.

That goondās must be resisted and that this resistance may be violent so far as non-Congressmen are concerned, is an opinion which Gandhiji has expressed more than once before, but its reiteration is not superfluous. He probably knows that all Congressmen do not believe in complete non-violence in all circumstances and, therefore, he has said in the course of the letter:

"If a majority of Congressmen hold that violent resistance against an assailant is a duty, and if they do not regard it as inconsistent with the creed of the Congress, they should openly declare their opinion. The absence of our leaders in jail should not deter any one from declaring his opinion in this crisis. It can be revised in case it is found later to be wrong. The point is that no one should be in a state of indecisiveness."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad once declared that he would not hesitate to take up the sword in defence of India. There may be others in the Congress who would not hesitate to use force for the attainment of a legitimate object.

Gandhiji says that "the Congress and Congressmen may offer non-violent resistance only, and they are sure to succeed." He has also said that "a Congressman may not directly or indirectly associate himself with gymnasia where training in violent resistance is given." Further, he has expressed the opinion that "there should be no young man among the mercantile middle class community who has not gone through training for self-defence—violent or non-violent." Addressing the National Youth's Training Camp, he gave the young men the advice: "Don't kill your attacker, but suffer at his hands." "I think you have been taught this new principle of sacrificing yourself." We pay attention seriously to all earnest exhortations and observations of Mahatmaji, though we do not hold that it is ethically and spiritually necessary to abjure the use of physical force under all circumstances. On the contrary, we hold it to be a bounden duty to use force in certain circumstances, though in all circumstances we would prefer a non-violent to a violent method. So, as Mahatmaji is not unused to issuing instructions in detail, we would ask him to state in some detail the method of non-violent self-defence and of non-violent self-sacrifice for oneself and for others and of the training needed for the same. We would also ask him to indicate with some precision the method of non-violent defence and self-sacrifice in the case of raids or attacks by a mob, like the one described below: "All of a sudden a gang looted shops and houses in a village. The attackers were headed by a group of uniformed men not belonging to the locality who proceeded in a methodical and organized manner. They carried with them petrol and syringes, maps and plans, and deadly weapons. In some places the attacking mob consisted of five or six thousand people. Village after village was looted and burnt."

Some degree of physical fitness is required even for non-violent defence and non-violent sacrifice. Some thoroughgoing ahimsāist should state how this fitness can be acquired if gymnasia are to be studiously avoided. In order to be able to deal with riots and other violent disturbances effectively and with coolness and courage one should not be a total stranger to receiving scratches, thrusts or cuts with pointed or sharp-edged weapons, and to the sight of blood without being shocked and overpowered. How, in the course of a thoroughly non-violent

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training one can acquire this sort of qualification requires to be stated.

Gandhiji has said :

"Hindus staying in Muslim localities must not leave them, but stay on there even at the risk of their lives. "Muslims living in Hindu localities should be ensured the fullest protection by the Hindus."

The exhortation to the Hindus differs to some extent from the exhortation to the Muslims. Gandhiji tells the Hindus staying in Muslim localities that they must stay on even at the risk of their lives. But he does not tell the Muslims living in Hindu localities that they should stay on "even at the risk of their lives." Is it because, in his opinion, Muslims living in Hindu localities do not generally run the risk that Hindus dwelling in Muslim localities do? But whilst he says that Muslims living in Hindu localities should be ensured the fullest protection by the Hindus, he does not say that Hindus dwelling in Muslim localities should be ensured the fullest protection by the Muslims. Why this difference? Does he think that Hindus require this exhortation and Mussalmans do not require a similar one, because in his opinion Hindus are prone to molesting their Moslem neighbours but Moslems are not prone to molest their Hindu neighbours? Or, does he feel that Hindus in and outside the Congress are likely to pay heed to and follow his advice, whereas Mussalmans in and outside that body are not likely to do so?

No doubt Gandhiji is a Hindu. But the letter under discussion has been written by him not in the capacity of a member of the Hindu community but in that of the leader of the Congress, a body which contains members from all communities in India. So, if he has the right, as he undoubtedly has, to advice Hindu Congressmen, he has a similar right to advice Muslim and other non-Hindu Congressmen.

The idea of being quite independent of a foreign government like the British Government in the maintenance of peace in the country appeals to us strongly. And we think it lamentable and disgraceful that there is no moral and spiritual force in the country powerful enough to prevent groups of people belonging to different communities flying at each other's throats. But we cannot agree to absolve the Government from the primary duty of all governments of maintaining peace and of restoring it when disturbed. And certainly we cannot go so far as to believe that Government are under no obligation to compensate people for the losses sustained by them even when a provincial government makes no arrangements for the protection of the people and when so-called riots may be in part due indirectly to the activities and speeches of provincial ministers.

Gandhiji says that "the use of the police is entirely for protection against thieves and robbers." It is certainly not *entirely* for that purpose. The prevention and detection of offences against the person, not merely and wholly against property, are included in the duties of the police. But assuming without admitting that the use of the police is entirely for protection against thieves and robbers, the police should certainly help in the prevention and quelling of those riots of which a, if not *the*, principal object is plunder, which is another name for robbery.

Gandhiji says :

"Riots *such as we have in our country* are unknown in the West, though there may be civil wars there. The reason is that contending parties there are equally matched and do not take to their heels at the sight of one another nor do they ask for and accept police help."

It is not quite plain what Gandhiji means by the words "*such as we have in our country*," which we have italicized. But communal, religious and racial "riots" are *not* unknown in the West, though there is no third party with its attitude in those countries. The anti-Jew, anti-Catholic and anti-Negro disturbances in America, the anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic "riots" in Britain, and the anti-Jewish pogroms in Czarist Russia may be mentioned in support of our observation. The parties to these "riots" are not always or generally equally matched. It is usual in the West to accept police help in such cases, when available.

We agree with Mahatmaji that there should be no young man among the mercantile middle class community who has not gone through training for self-defence. But we would say that all young men of the upper, middle and lower class even among the non-mercantile communities should undergo training for self-dence. And not young *men* alone. All young girls and young women should have such training. **To keep their person inviolate is a sacred duty entrusted to them and to society.**

We presume Mahatmaji's advice to suffer at the hands of the attacker is meant for men only. For how can a woman attacked agree to suffer at the hands of an abductor and ravisher?

Iceland Declares Complete Independence

LONDON, May 20.

Iceland's complete independence and severance of her union with Denmark was proclaimed by the Icelandic Alting (Parliament) on May 16, says the Lahti (Finland) radio.

The former Icelandic Minister to Copenhagen, M.

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Bjoernsson, has been made the first Regent of the Icelandic Republic.

The Stockholm Correspondent of the Danish paper "Berlin Sketidence" states that the debate in the Alting which has 49 members lasted 3 hours and three motions were voted on.

Firstly, a motion that the Danish Government cannot under the present circumstances carry on its functions was carried by 41 votes to nil.

Secondly, a motion that the union statute between Denmark and Iceland be discontinued was carried by 38 votes against 3.

Thirdly, a motion that Iceland be made a republic and a Regent appointed, instead of the Danish King, was carried by 44 votes to nil.

The first President of independent Iceland is expected to be their former envoy in Copenhagen, M. Svenn Bjoernsson, according to an interview with the envoy at Stockholm published in the Stockholm press. The envoy pointed out that negotiations had been in hand before the war for Icelandic independence by 1943 and the events of the war had impelled the Icelanders to anticipate the declaration intended for that year. Elections to Parliament had been postponed for four years.—*Reuter.*

LONDON, May 20.

Iceland has cancelled its union with Denmark according to a "New York Times" wireless message from Copenhagen. It is recalled that since 1918 Iceland has been acknowledged a sovereign state united with Denmark only through the identity of the sovereign.

Further details of Iceland Parliament's (Alting) decisions at the meeting on Saturday are given by the Reykjavik correspondent of the Swedish Telegraph Agency quoted by the Danish radio.

The correspondent states that apart from the decision to dissolve the Union with Denmark and introduction of the republican form of Government it was also decided to appoint a regent for one year at a time in accordance with Icelandic Government's rights under the decision of April 10, 1940, regarding assumption of royal function. The Alting decided to extend its mandate for a new four-year period, thus postponing elections which should have taken place this summer. —*Reuter.*

It is somewhat heartening that at a time when State after State is being reduced to subjection and servitude by Nazi Germany, a small group of people living in an island in a far-off corner of Europe have declared themselves independent. Whether they will be allowed by Hitler to remain free cannot be forecasted. But their declaration of independence has given rise in our mind to a train of, perhaps idle, speculations.

Danish Iceland and French French-India

Denmark was and is a monarchy, though at present under Nazi heels. In 1918 this monarchy acknowledged Iceland to be a sovereign State united with Denmark only through the identity of the sovereign. This acknowledgement showed the entire absence of the imperial mentality in Denmark. As the Danish Government cannot now carry on its functions, the acknowledged sovereignty of Iceland has enabled it to declare complete independence.

By way of contrast consider the relations of republican France with its possessions abroad. Though a republic in name, France has been for long thoroughly imbued with the imperialistic spirit. Hence it has not been conceivable that France, though a republic, would acknowledge the autonomy, say of French India, in the same way as Denmark, though a monarchy, acknowledged the sovereignty of Iceland. Indians living in French India have all along been under the subjection of France as Indians in British territory have been under British subjection.

It should not be considered absurd to suggest any sort of similarity between the case of Indians living in a few small French dependencies and that of people living in a country like Iceland. The Indians who live in French India are not less civilized than the people of Iceland and are inheritors of a glorious civilization hoary with antiquity. The area of Iceland is much larger than the total area of all the French possessions in India. But whereas in 1935 the population of Iceland was only 115,870, the total population of the French possessions in India was in that year 282,397. Hence if 115,870 persons could declare their independence because the Danish Government to which they owed allegiance had been deprived of freedom of action, there would be nothing inherently absurd in 282,397 persons doing so on the ground that their suzerain the French Government had really lost its liberty. But unlike the people of Iceland, the people of French India live scattered in different places in the midst of British possessions and speak different languages and if they were to declare their independence, the British Imperial Government would at once take them under their care and prevent them from setting so bad an example to their neighbours in the adjoining British territory!

A University Charter for Visva-bharati

Dr. B. C. Ghosh, who recently retired from the principalship of the Vidyasagar College after a long career of usefulness in that great institution, has written the following letter to the dailies:

Speaking at Rangpur last month to the College Teachers' Conference as its President I referred to Rabindranath's Santiniketan in the following words:

"We must not forget that our great Poet has started the nucleus of a new University at Bolpur with a distinct ideal. Will not Bengal, will not India, water the seedling and cherish it as the handiwork of a son who has brought glory and renown, comfort and consolation by his perfect music wedded upto noble words?

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For forty years has the Poet laboured for the institution. In the evening of his life shall not a grateful people come forward to relieve his anxieties on the score of its future? Will not a Government, that prides itself on its popular foundation, do something to ensure its success and permanance? Money grants may help to tide over temporary difficulties. But to realise its ideal and fulfil its mission, the one thing needful is a Charter to convert it into a University. This will indeed, be the right way to celebrate the Poet's 81st birthday. Let the people of Bengal, the people of India demand a University Charter for the long-cherished institution from the Government and let the Government do its duty as well to raise itself in the estimation of the world by such gracious grant.

As soon as the Government raises the status of the institution, one feels sure, our aristocracy and plutocracy will alike extend their wonted patronage and generosity to the new University.

The raising of the standard of the institution will establish a larger centre of education and culture in West Bengal, enlarge its activities and help the local people in ever so many way of trade and industry. Close to the collieries it will spread its civilising influence and create an intellectual atmosphere that would make life more a little different from what it is without such culture. I hope the idea will appeal to the friends and admirers of the great Poet.

In the *Jyaishtha* number of *Prabāsi* we have supported the proposal to give Visva-bharati the status of an independent university. It has indeed a distinct ideal; for in education as in other subjects Rabindranath Tagore is an original thinker. His ideal of education comprehends all sides of human nature and all aspects of culture. The different departments of Visva-bharati are really parts of one integral scheme. As the school and college at Santiniketan have to conform to the courses of studies of the Calcutta University, it has not been practicable to co-ordinate their work with the work done by the departments of music, of pictorial and plastic art, of rural reconstruction, of village crafts, etc. If Visva-bharati attained the status of an independent university, the founder-president would be able to give a concrete shape to his ideal of a university.

Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday Greetings to Rabindranath

SANTINIKETAN, May 9.

"It was with very great pleasure and deep gratitude that I read your message of congratulation on my birthday, conveying your own good wishes and those of the Chinese people. Your affectionate remembrance of me was one of the special joys of the day, and I send my heartfelt thanks for your gracious words of goodwill to you and the great nation you represent." Thus says Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in the course of a letter to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in reply to the latter's congratulatory message on the occasion of the Poet's 81st Birthday.

The Poet adds:

"The celebration of my birthday at Santiniketan is held on Bengal's New Year's day which fell on April 14. Hence it is also a time for a review of past and a forward looking hope for the future. The brave and patient people of China and their fortitude in suffering are constantly in my thoughts and I am happy in the opportunity to send them not only my thanks but a new year's greeting also. May their achievements in the coming year be great in all that makes for noble nationhood, and may the labours of their devoted leaders bear such fruit. May the innocent multitudes be spared from dire calamity to build their lives in peace. With this prayer I renew my thanks to you for your gracious message."—*A. P.*

Japanese Consul-General's Congratulations to Rabindranath

Congratulating Poet Tagore on the occasion of his Diamond Jubilee, Mr. K. K. Okazaki, Consul-General for Japan, has issued the following:

"On behalf of the Japanese community of Calcutta, I send our united heartiest congratulations to the Poet, Philosopher and Sage, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on the occasion of his Diamond Jubilee. We all join India and the Universe in a single prayer to the Omnipotent to spare him to his people so that he may continue his good work for the cause of humanity.

Greetings to Rabindranath Tagore from Mutually Hostile Quarters

Rabindranath Tagore has received congratulations on his last birthday from the Chinese as well as the Japanese. How happy would it have been if the Japanese as well as the Chinese had shared his all-embracing love of humanity and his hatred of war.

The Bratachari Movement in South India

The Guardian of Madras writes:

"Health and Service are two objects of the Bratachari movement started by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. (retd). He rather revived an ancient village institution, the remnants of which he discovered during his official career in Bengal. Physical exercise, games, dance, music, co-operative labour, woven together in the movement, give to village life a family character. Mr. Dutt has made a careful collection of the folk songs and brought back into vogue the folk dances. Under his leadership the movement has spread rapidly in Bengal. As one result, he has the dream of effecting a cultural, communal and social unity. Thanks to the enthusiasm of some of those who watched demonstrations of Mr. Dutt's troupe recently in South India, a start has been made in Madras with a training camp opened at Poonamallee last week. Songs in Tamil and Telugu have been prepared and 30 trainees have joined the camp. A search in the South Indian villages will yield a rich harvest of songs and dances which might be used in this movement. Round it should gather efforts to revive much that made ancient village life, a happy existence."

Dacca "Riots" Inquiry Committee

The Committee appointed by the Bengal Government to inquire into and report on the

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Dacca "riots" consists of a High Court Judge and a District and Sessions Judge, both Englishmen. That Englishmen alone are considered sufficiently impartial for such inquiries is a result of the British occupation of India as well as its explanation—and its justification, too, from the British point of view.

A Notable Feature of the Dacca "Riots"

A notable feature of the Dacca "riots" which assumed the character of a pogrom in many of its episodes and incidents in various places—to judge from the speeches delivered in the Bengal Legislature about them, was that thousands of persons fled from British territory to take refuge in the adjoining Indian State of Tripura. In the case of Orissa, thousands of refugees from some Indian States once found shelter in the British-ruled province of Orissa, then administered by Congress Ministers. In Bengal, which is ruled by a Ministry consisting predominantly of Muslim Leaguers, the opposite phenomenon has been seen.

His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur of Tripura has acted most nobly and generously to meet the requirements of the situation. He has not only granted all the money required for the purpose of giving relief, ordinary as well as medical, to the refugees numbering 12,000 in round numbers, but has personally looked into all the arrangements made for the purpose. This incident will remind students of the history of India of the fact that when Shah Shuja was pursued by the Emperor Aurangzeb, it was the King of Tripura who gave him shelter, braving that Mughal Emperor's wrath.

Chinese Scriptures For India

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and Dr. Chen Li-Fu. Minister of Education, China, have presented the Mahabodhi Society with a set of Chinese 'Tripitaka'—Buddhist scriptures, published 414 volumes of the treatise in forty bundles, packed in camphor boards, through Prof. Tan Yun-Shen, Director of the Cheena Bhavana at Visvabharati.

The donors have made the gift as a token of their love and regard for the Mahabodhi Siciety and the Buddhist religion on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Society which comes off in December this year.

Another edition of the Chinese 'Tripitaka' was presented to the Mulagandhakuthi Vihara at Sarnath some years ago through Prof. Tan Yun-Shen.

Stalin And Matsuoka's Embrace

TOKYO, April 29.

A farewell embrace between M. Stalin and Mr. Matsuoka at the Moscow railway station, which amazed everyone present including Soviet Foreign Office officials, is described by Mr. Matsuoka's Private Secretary, Mr. Shinchi Hasegawa, who is publishing a series of articles on Mr. Matsuoka's tour in the "Asaji Shimbun chain of newspapers."—*Reuter.*

Though Stalin of Russia theatrically embraced Matsuoka of Japan, Russia, it has been published in the papers, would continue to supply munitions to China, which Japan has been trying to conquer. That is not inconsistent with a diplomatic embrace.

British War Expenditure

LONDON, May 16.

During the period from September 3, 1939, to April 26, 1941, the total war expediture amounted to £5,703 million. The actual war expenditure reached its peak during the first three months of 1941. From September, 1939, until March, 1940, the monthly expenditure averaged only £166,000,000. From April, 1940, until March, 1941, the average expenditure rose to £303,000,000.

A country of which the total population is 50 millions in round numbers has been spending £303,000,000 a month on the average to win the war. That gives an idea of the enormous wealth and great prosperity of Britain. Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India. is a notable politician of such a country. Yet from the fact that India, inhabited by 400 million people, has once for all donated only a million and half pounds for prosecuting the war, the same Mr. Amery has concluded that India is prosperous! It seems that British Cabinet ministers think that if Indians can somehow keep their skin and bones together, they must be considered prosperous.

"Deadlock" and "Impasse"

The papers have been writing and the leaders have been speaking much on the "deadlock" and the "impasse," but where is the deadlock and the impasse? Recruiting, rioting, collection of taxes, satyagraha, the arrest and imprisonment of satyagrahis, exodus to the hills, collection of donations to war funds, schemes for putting an end to communalism, schemes to perpetuate communalism, kidnapping and plundering raids in N.-W. F. P., conferences and confabulations of all sorts, "blackouts" in Calcutta as a more than sufficient protection against air-raids, etc., etc., are all going on without any hitch. Where is the deadlock?

Staple Cotton Cultivation in Bengal

Though of late Government has been doing something to popularise staple cotton cultivation in Bengal, others, like the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, should come forward to help this endeavour. In other places success has been attained by co-operation with Government of concerns like British Cotton Growing Asso-

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ciation, whose efforts have introduced its cultivation in those localities with profit to themselves and the growers. Difficulties have sometimes arisen, due to fluctuation of markets in competition with growers of other countries. To provide against such danger the best way is to cultivate superior varieties with higher yield and lower costs of cultivation. According to the opinion of the person to whom Bengal owes

Sarada Charan Chakravartty who has succeeded in growing the Dacca-Egyptian variety of cotton in Bengal

is important variety of cotton, which, to quote e Secretary, Bengal Mill Owners Association, S. Bhattacharya, is unparalleled in the history India, Dacca-Egyptian fulfils those condi-ns. So more importance should be attached to e introduction of this variety than of others. e Government grant of Rs. 2,500 for manural d seed multiplication experiments of this rticular variety, though small, is to be com-nded. Concerns like Dhakeswari Cotton ills would do well to undertake cultivation big areas of this particular variety in colla-ation with the Government. From reports the last cotton sub-committee meeting in ngal (26-10-40) it is understood that the Sec-ary, Central Committee, gave an assurance to augurate a full-fledged cotton botanical scheme 5 years to start with in case its possibilities Bengal can be established in the remaining ears of the working of the scheme. Under circumstances all attempts must be made all quarters to make it successful during period.

Permanent Museum of Scientific Discoveries

SIMLA, May 21.

A remarkable collection of products of scientific research in India conducted during the past few months under the auspices of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research was shown to press representatives in the Commerce Member's room this afternoon and explained by Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, Director of Research. Though developed under the stimulus of war most of the articles were such as would lend themselves to large scale commercial production and use in peace.

Samples were shown of plastic products of many sizes and shapes and of a strength which made them unbreakable even by hammer strokes. Other products included unburstable containers for dropping petrol, lubricating oil and water supplies from air by parachute. These containers have undergone tests in which they have been dropped from heights of over 150 feet on stony ground in Simla and have remained unscathed. Synthetic wood, anti-gas fabrics, waterproof packing paper, solid fuel and tommy's cookers, substitutes for glass, laminated boards which could be used as roofing material or for lining walls, etc., are some of the other things exhibited.

It is understood that permanent museums for these products are to be established, one at Calcutta and one at Delhi, in charge of trained men to explain them to the public and more particularly to industrialists.—*A.P.*

Uniform Braille System for the Blind in India

The Statesman of the 25th May last published the following:

In order to examine the question of introducing a uniform Braille code (systems of embossing which the blind read with fingers) in India the Central Board of Education have, it is learnt, decided to appoint a small committee of experts in the education of the blind.

Mr. S. C. Roy, a blind scholar of the Calcutta University, has been selected as one of the members of the committee.

The decision of the Board has been welcomed by the workers for the blind in Calcutta who believed it to be a great forward step in the education of the visually handicapped of this country. There are as many as seven or eight Braille codes in use all over India, which make large-scale production of Braille literature and the inter-communication among the blind of this country utterly impossible.

A similar difficulty was felt in Great Britain and America about half a century ago. Through the united effort of the Governments and workers for the blind in those countries a uniform Braille type was adopted by the English-speaking countries in 1932.

In Bengal, the Braille adaptation in the Bengali language was introduced in 1892 by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*. Two modifications of the system evolved by Mr. Chatterjee, were subsequently made by Mr. L. Garthwaite and Mr. L. B. Shah.

The organizers of the "The Lighthouse for the Blind" which is proposed to be established in Calcutta, are taking an active interest in the matter by adopting a uniform Braille system in India. They have since undertaken to impart a Braille printing press to print literature for the blind.

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We are entirely in favour of having a uniform Braille alphabet throughout India. We wish the committee of experts full success in their endeavour.

Chatterjee's Braille alphabet in Bengali to which the extract from the *Statesman* given above refers, appeared in the Bengali monthly *Dāsī*, in its first year. It was edited by the editor of *The Modern Review*. It was the organ of the Dāsāshram, a home for invalids and incurables. The magazine had for its special object the service of those unfortunate persons as well as of the blind, the deaf, etc.

"Lighthouse for the Blind"

A new institution—"The Lighthouse for the Blind"—has been founded by a committee with Lord Sinha as its President, in order to alleviate the endless sufferings of the blind, and to make them happy and contributing members of society through education and employment. The Lighthouse for the Blind is the first one of its kind in India. It will endeavour to ameliorate the conditions of the blind in general, functioning as a central clearing house for the visually handicapped persons all over the country. Its distinction from the existing blind schools, catering only to the needs of blind children, is thus quite clear. The Lighthouse for the Blind will, at the very outset, undertake to carry out the following objects:

(1) *The Education of the Adult Blind.*

According to the Census Report of 1931, the number of blind persons in India is over 600,000, of whom about 500,000 are adults. In Bengal, there are about 30,000 blind adults out of a total of 37,000 blind. Practically nothing has been done in our country to impart training and education to this vast number of blind individuals. Most of them have no other alternative but to swell the number of beggers and destitutes. The new institution provides a complete programme of training and education, based on scientific lines, for the adult blind including the war-blinded soldiers.

(2) *Printing for the Blind.*

The success of literary education of the blind is dependent to a large extent on the availability of a sufficient quantity of reading matter in Braille. Accordingly, the Lighthouse will be provided with a Braille printing press in order to print books in English and in the vernacular for the use of blind persons all over India.

(3) *Education of Blind-Deaf-Mute Persons.*

The new institution will also undertake the hard task of imparting education to persons suffering from a triple physical handicap, namely, blindness, deafness and muteness. Laura Bridgman, Helen Keller and a few others have shown what such people can do if educational facilities are provided for them. According to the Census Report of 1931, there were, in Bengal, 179 blind-deaf-mute persons, and 1072 in the whole of India.

(4) *The Department of General Welfare.*

This department in the Lighthouse for the Blind will conduct publicity, placement, and other general welfare activities for the blind.

In these ways the Lighthouse for the Blind will endeavour to brighten the dark path of the blind of India through education and employment. We invite you to keep this light burning.

A sum of Rs. 25,000 has been estimated as the initial cost of inaugurating the Lighthouse for the Blind.

We appeal to the kind and generous hearted public, the Government Central and Provincial, the Corporation of Calcutta, the University of Calcutta and other public bodies to help the "Lighthouse for the Blind."

We hope that the general public will show its appreciation of the blessing of sight by helping the blind to help themselves.

All contributions may be sent to Rai Bahadur Ramdev Chokhany, Honorary Treasurer, 7, Lyons Range, Room No. 2, Calcutta, or to the Lighthouse for the Blind Fund, the Central Bank of India, 100 Clive Street, Calcutta.

We accord full support to this institution.

Reasons For Dropping Conscription in Ulster

President De Valera of Eire (Ireland) spoke to a crowded Dail on the 26th May last on the question of conscription in Ulster. Said he:

"There can be no more a grievous attack on any fundamental right than to force an individual to fight by force for a country to which he objects to belong."

He recalled that when the British Government proposed conscription for Northern Ireland, he made representations to London against it.

Mr. De Valera said:

"We have refrained from doing anything that might be regarded as hostile to Britain. Should the British Government go ahead the conscription proposal, the people of the two islands would be thrown back into the old unhappy relations."

Mr. De Valera continued that

"The six northern counties are part of Ireland and the inhabitants are Irishmen and nothing could alter that fact. No matter what political or economic changes may take place in the world, the people living in these two islands are destined to live as neighbours."

Mr. De Valera revived the issue of partition.

"Some three years ago a settlement with Great Britain was made and ratified by that nation's Parliament which removed every other outstanding quarrel and left only partition. I was confident that with the good relations which had been established that partition would also soon disappear. Unfortunately the war came and found us with the foundations of lasting friendship still incomplete and with the grievance of partition rankling in every Irish heart."

Mr. De Valera concluded:

"We proclaimed our neutrality. It was friendly neutrality. We refrained from doing anything that might be regarded as hostile. We pledged ourselves that we would not permit our territory to be used as a base for enemy action against Great Britain. And the forces that we have are our guarantee that we will keep that pledge. If the British Government goes ahead with conscription in six counties, they will undo the work and good will of the past and the people of the two islands

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will be thrown back again into the old unhappy relations."

Mr. Cosgrave, Leader of the Opposition, said:

"It is vital that at this time no question of misunderstanding between us and Great Britain should be allowed to revive an old enmity which every one in this house fervently hopes has been for ever ended."

Mr. Cosgrave added that

The present situation was so exceedingly dangerous that if not properly handled, it might involve not merely the future welfare but the very existence of the State. The unfavourable reactions of conscription were difficult to calculate but they undoubtedly would be great. He was convinced that the result that might inevitably ensue in both parts of Ireland and elsewhere would far outweigh any advantage to Great Britain. "We should ask ourselves, however, whether we are taking steps best calculated to ward off conscription from the north and to secure a future that would be tolerable either for those in the north or for us."

The Labour Leader Mr. Norton supported the protest against conscription.

Sir John Maffey, United Kingdom representative, was in the distinguished strangers' gallery and also Mr. E. J. Garland, the Acting Canadian High Commissioner. —*Reuter.*

BELFAST, May 26.

During the week-end there were numerous protest meetings in Northern Ireland and to-day the Irish Parliamentary Labour Party sent a telegram to labour members of the British Government saying that there was grave resentment at the threat to impose conscription and that bitterness and strife would be the only result. They urged British Labour representatives to use their influence to prevent this act of aggression.—*Reuter.*

On the 27th May last *Reuter* cabled:

Conscription for Northern Ireland has been dropped.

Mr. Churchill announced this decision in the House of Commons to-day (Tuesday). He declared, "We have made enquiries in various directions and come to the conclusion that at the present time although there can be no dispute about our rights or merits, it will be more trouble than it is worth to enforce such a policy."

If the Irish leaders and people had merely appealed to the sense of justice and the righteousness of the British Government, if they had merely said, "What you are going to do is wrong, it goes against our cherished opinions, and we protest against it," and so on and so forth, their words would have fallen on deaf ears. But as the British Prime Minister apprehended trouble, he dropped conscription in Ulster.

British statesmanship consists not in listening to the dictates of reason, justice and right but in avoiding trouble, if the alvantage to be gained by any measure is likely to be outweighed by the trouble the party or parties concerned may give.

Evil Effects of Government Control of Education

The evils of Government control of education were pointed out by Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, in the course of his presidential address at the 20th session of the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference, which was held at Berhampore (Murshidabad) on the 13th April last. The address was mainly devoted to criticisms of the Secondary Education Bill which is now on the Legislative anvil.

Citing the example of Australia, where there is no communal problem, the Government of which, with the consent of the people, assumed large powers of control with the view of increasing the efficiency of the educational system, Dr. Mookerjee quoted the following passage from the "Education Year Book" to demonstrate the disastrous consequences of officialising education:

"The present system links education far too closely with political events and uncertainties. It does not protect the schools sufficiently against the possibility of ignorance or bias on the part of the Government of the day. Ministerial policy in education is practically determined by the private views on education which happen to be held by the members of the Cabinet, and chiefly by the member of the Government who is given the portfolio of education, the educational system lending itself in the most dangerous way to the machinations of an unscrupulous or partisan Government."

It is such an apprehension which is agitating the mind of the educated non-Muslim of Bengal today, said Dr. Mookerjee.

Dr. Mookerjee's address was a very able pronouncement. The facts and figures which he gave, showing how great and predominant a share the people of Bengal—mainly the Hindus, have contributed to the enlightenment of the Province, show what labour he has bestowed on the preparation of his valuable address.

All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference

"True democracy with a spiritual basis gives us a culture that accepts all cultures and thus becomes the true culture. There also grows a religion that accepts all religions and thus becomes true religion in which there is no room for any communalism. There develops a science that accepts all science and so evolves a civilization which becomes an integration of all civilisations." Thus concluded Principal Dr. B. C. Ghosh in his Presidential address at the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference, which commenced its sixteenth session at Rangpur on the 11th of April last.

Dr. Ghosh urged that the University should

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be placed in the hands of actual educators, the teachers themselves—"for that would be true autonomy." He welcomed the establishment of more colleges and hinted at the conversion of the college at Rangpore into a North Bengal University.

He opined that the "proposal to place Secondary Education in the hands of a special Board is an anachronism and an irrelevance." He advocated reform of the system of examinations and curricula.

"The opening of several new colleges in the mofussil is a matter of gratification. There is no need to apprehend that the numbers in other colleges will fall off as a consequence. An increasing number of students are coming up every year through the schools from the growing generations. There is also an immigration from the neighbouring provinces such as Bihar and Orissa and districts and places as far away as Mysore and Travancore. These young men flock to Calcutta colleges for the reason that college education in their own province is far more expensive and facilities afforded are few and far between.

Bengal is still the fostermother for thousands outside her boundaries. Calcutta University is still the Goddess of bounty as well as of learning, even to those who would turn away the Bengalis from other provinces. Its list of Indian vernaculars reveals how inter-provincial and national the Calcutta University is."

Mr. Amery on the Industrialization of India

Addressing the young Indian technicians who have been taken to Britain for further training in order principally that they may on their return be better able to manufacture munitions, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said :

"If India is to play her part worthily in this war it is not enough that she should find, as she is doing, hundreds of thousands of splendid and willing recruits. She must also make weapons without which they cannot overcome their enemies. That is the greatest task upon which India is entering to-day and for the fulfilment of that task she needs more trained skilled technical workers. That is part of India's battle you are undertaking both by what you can learn here and by what you can teach others when you return to India. You have come to serve your country in the present struggle. Thus you will also serve her hereafter.

"India can never be fully prosperous until she has developed her industrial as well as her agricultural resources. You will be helping to build up that future as well."

Mr. Amery's belated discovery that India needs to be industrialized is due to the exigencies of war. All that Britain requires for carrying on the war cannot at present be made in Britain. Part of her requirements have to be made in India. For that reason and to the extent necessary for that purpose, India must be industrialized. But is Mr. Amery prepared to help India in industrializing herself to supply her own requirements in peace time—requirements which in great part are now imported from Britain ? When the war is over, will he remember, will the British Government remember that "India can never be fully prosperous until she has developed her industrial as well as her agricultural resources" ? And will the British Government then promote India's industrialization ? Will it at least refrain from throwing obstacles in the way of her industrialization ?

While opening a factory for the manufacture of chromite at Andheri Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas condemned Government's industrial policy. He recalled a declaration of Sir William Clarke, Commerce Member of the Government of India during the last war, announcing that the building of industries where capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians was the special object that Government had in view. Sir William had then strongly deprecated the taking of any steps "if it might merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." On behalf of the Indian public, Sir Purushottamdas now challenges the present Commerce Member to "put into practice what his predecessor declared exactly twenty-five years back with the full concurrence of the then Governor-General and his Executive Council."

Formerly the British manufacturers competed with the Indian manufacturers "from a distance," that is, from Britain, but now many of them have "transferred their activities to India and compete with the Indian manufacturers within the boundaries of India." This process has been greatly facilitated by the Government of India Act of 1935 with its "Provisions with respect to Discriminations, etc.," which stand in the way of Indians enjoying any special facilities or advantages in their own country such as all nationals enjoy in their own countries. Here in India Britishers have been given the same rights and advantages as Indians alone ought to have been given.

We shall thank our stars if when the war is over the technicians trained in Britain be not given extra facilities to join British factories in India in preference to factories financed, owned and managed by Indians.

Mr. Amery on Indians' "Minor Differences"

There are many other passages in what Mr. Amery said to the Indian technicians in London which are open to criticism. But to criticize British politicians is a thankless task and a humiliating one, too. These men do not pay the least attention to what Indians say. They go on repeating statements the falsity of which has been shown again and again. But

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nevertheless we have to comment on some of their utterances.

Mr. Amery said :

During your voyage here and still more among a different people you may have become more conscious of the fact underlying your minor differences, you are Indians and belong to India.

That is something you should feel proud of, proud of India's wonderful past and of the greater future that is in store for her, eager to do credit to India while you are here and do something for India when you return. Some of you may take part in public affairs later on and I can only hope that the result of your visit here may have strengthened your loyalty to India and will make you put India first above all local and communal interest in what you say and do in public life.

The technicians belong to different communities. While addressing them Mr. Amery said that their differences were "minor differences," and that in spite of those minor differences they should be "conscious of the fact" that "you are Indians and belong to India." He exhorted them to "put India first above all local and communal interest in what you say and do in public life."

If Mr. Amery really and sincerely believes that the differences between different communities and parties in India are "minor differences," why does he magnify them when he has to use them for the purpose of putting off indefinitely the day when India will be free? Truth is truth. Duplicity is duplicity.

Mr. Amery referred to India's prouder future. India's children can never be proud of any future so long as their country remains a dependency of Britain. They can be proud of a future when no Britisher, however high his position, will not be able to address any of them patronizingly. We hate to be patted on the back.

Bengalee Coastal Battery

Subedar M. B. Singh, Hony. General Secretary, Bengalee Ex-soldiers' Association, announces that with reference to the filling-up of a limited number of vacancies in the above Battery the "Bengalee Ex-soldiers' Association" has been requested to recruit educated Hindu and Mussalman youngmen for the same. The Association office at No. 3, Moti Sil Street, Calcutta, will be kept open for the purpose between the hours 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. daily except Saturdays and Sundays upto the 5th June. For qualifications and conditions one should apply to the Honorary General Secretary at the above address.

Bengal Assembly Bye-election

JALPAIGURI, May 20.

The bye-election to the Bengal Legislative Assembly from the North Bengal General Municipal constituency has resulted as follows :

Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri (Hindu Mahasabha)—11,151 votes.

Mr. Satishekhareswar Roy (Forward Block)—2,327 votes.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Chakravarty (Independent)—68 votes.

Mr. Lahiri has been declared duly elected by the returning officer, Mr. A. J. Dash, Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division.

Out of 13,569 votes polled 23 votes were rejected. —*A. P.*

We are glad that Sj. Asutosh Lahiri has been elected. We have known him for many years as an unassuming and indefatiguable worker in the country's cause, for which he has had to suffer grievously both in the Andamans and in India. Apart from the personal aspect of Sj. Lahiri's success, the election results appear to show that the Forward Bloc has little hold on the Hindu public in his constituency, as in spite of the great influence of the historic house to which the candidate nominated by it belongs, he could get only about one-fifth of the votes secured by Sj. Lahiri.

Acharya Kripalani on Pakistan

In one of his recent statements Acharya Kripalani has tried to explain the reasons why Congress has not expressed any opinion on the Pakistan scheme. According to him, the reasons seem to be the vagueness and indefiniteness of the scheme, the fact that the scheme had not been referred to the Congress in any definite form or shape, and the fact that the British Government and not the Congress is in power in India. These reasons, taken singly or all together, do not appear to us to justify the Congress in not expressing any opinion on the scheme. There have been very many matters of less importance on which the Congress has expressed its opinion in spite of the facts that they were vague, that they were not referred to the Congress and that the British Government and not the Congress is in power. It will at once occur to all that the most recent example of such a matter is the subject of the communal riots. These so-called riots vary somewhat as to their origins, unless one assumes as true the vague popular notion that they originate from some central source. They are also not exactly of the same character everywhere. In spite of these differences in their origin and character, in spite of nobody having referred the subject to Mahatmaji and in spite of the British Government and not the Congress being in power, Mahatmaji, the sole accredited representative and leader of that body, has written and spoken on the riots.

Whatever there may be in the scheme which is vague or indefinite, its mischievous, nay dangerous, revolutionary and anti-national charac-

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ter is as plain as anything. If Congressmen and their leaders have not perceived it, they must be very obtuse indeed. But if they have perceived it, why do they not speak out? Acharya Kripalani says that "if it pleases the British Government to grant Mr. Jinnah's demand, Pakistan will be one more native State, and that would affect the unity and integrity of India as little as the 650 native States already existing in India." Indeed!

Every "native" State in India, including every Muslim "native" State, has a ruling prince descended from its 'royal' family. Who will be the Prince of Pakistan, or, rather, who will be the Prince of North-Western Pakistan and who of the North-Eastern Pakistan? Again, the Rulers of the "native" States, both Hindu and Mussalman, have a Princes' Chamber which connects the Hindu princes and States with the Muslim princes and States, and connects them all with the Viceroy and through him with the British Crown, allegiance to which is the connecting link between British India and the Indian States. Mr. Jinnah wants two Independent Muslim States in the North-West and the North-East, having nothing to do with the rest of British India or with the Indian States. Whether his two Pakistans are to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Imperial British Government, is not quite clear—probably he knows that he cannot do without it. But it is quite clear that he does not want a Federated India, he does not want a Federal Central Legislature and representation for Pakistan there. In the Federal India to be, according to the Government of India Act, the Indian States also are to be represented along with British India, thus constituting one undivided India. But as Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan is intended not to have anything to do with the rest of India, his scheme certainly strikes at the root of the unity and integrity of India, which the existence of the 650 Indian States does not. When India comes to have a Federal National Government, the suzerainty of the British Crown over the two Indias is to pass on to it. But Mr. Jinnah does not contemplate acknowledging its suzerainty.

"Let Mr. Huq Set the Example in Bengal"

In the course of a press statement with reference to the proposal of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, for the establishment of National Governments both at the Centre and in the Provinces, Syed Habibar Rahman, President of the All-Bengal Bengali Muslims' Association, says:

Mr. Huq is one of the Muslim Indian Nationalists who are eminently fitted to bring about order out of chaos in the present confusion of our Indian political issues and make the establishment of National Governments both at the Centre and in the Provinces a reality. In this noble patriotic mission, Mr. Huq shall surely have the support not only of cent per cent of Bengalees but also of all nationalist patriotic Indians.

But may I ask Mr. Huq if this was at all possible for him to accomplish while in the circle where he now lives and moves? I on behalf of the Bengalee Mussalmans may therefore make an earnest appeal to Mr. Huq to rise to the occasion and set his own house in order. In other words he shall set an example in his own Province by the immediate establishment of a National Ministry enjoying the confidence not merely of Muslims, but of Hindus and all other communities and being above public reproach.

It is not from the communalist platform but from the nationalist platform that Mr. Huq will be able to make up differences and secure to himself the credit of having done the greatest national and public services to India at this critical juncture of the world's hisotry.

All-Bengal Bengali Muslims' Association

The All-Bengal Bengali Muslims' Association has been formed with Syed Habibar Rahman, leader of the Krishak Praja Party, as its president, with the object of safeguarding the political and economic interests of Bengali Mussalmans. The Mussalman ministers of Bengal are Muslim Leaguers and, as such, are under the influence of non-Bengali Mussalmans. That being so, the political and economic interests of Bengali Mussalmans have been suffering. This is evident in the Corporation of Calcutta, where non-Bengali Muslims rule the roast. In the mofussil, too, the interests of the Bengali Mussalmans are not adequately looked after.

On the occasion of the many calamities which overtook East Bengal in particular during the last many decades, even the richest non-Bengali Mussalmans did nothing for the Bengali Mussalmans, who preponderate in East Bengal.

The Bengali Muslim Association is for joint election in the Calcutta Municipality. In such election Bengali Muslim candidates expect the support of both the Bengali and non-Bengali Hindu voters of Calcutta as well as that of the Bengali Mussalman voters.

Syed Habibar Rahman has shown in the course of a press statement that the Pakistan scheme is opposed to the teachings of Islam and is anti-democratic. His view appears to us to be correct.

Indian Repatriates From Colonies

Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, Organising Secretary, Indian Colonial Society, who recently

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visited the Matiaburuz Camp where repatriates from the various colonies are living, has issued the following through the *United Press* :

"A few days ago I had occasion to visit the camp at Matiaburuz Garden Reach, Calcutta, where repatriates from the various colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji, S. Africa, etc., are living in large numbers and perhaps their condition of living is a sealed book to many. Their long wail of woe is want of work, low wages, bad sanitation and their miserable existence. Although repatriation has been going on ever since the indenture system began a hundred years ago the repatriates were small in number as most of them preferred to stay away in the colonies and settle down as agriculturists. One of the conditions in the agreement with the labourers at the time of recruitment was that the labourer is entitled to free return passage with his wife and children after a stay of 10 years in the colony or grant of land for settlement in lieu of the passage money. About 200 repatriates have been interviewed by me and on enquiry it was found that most of them paid their own passage back to India, although they are entitled as per agreement to a free return passage in as much as they have stayed in the colonies for 10 years and more. Thus most of them were deprived of this right and suffered financial loss. The Indian Government would do well in the first instance to enquire into this specific grievance of the repatriates and find out in how many cases the colonial Governments have acted contrary to the terms of the contract. The only solution of solving this problem of repatriates is to send them back with their grown-up sons and daughters and settle them on their land by a scheme of land settlement which have been embarked upon by most of the colonial governments.—*U. P.*

The late Mr. C. F. Andrews, in the midst of his many other activities, made the repatriated Indians objects of his special care. Nobody has yet stepped into his shoes. But the sufferings and grievances of the repatriates urgently call for remedial action.

Resolutions Relating to Dacca Riots Enquiry Committee

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha was held on the 28th May last at 211, Bowbazar Street, Sir M. N. Mukherjee presided. The following resolution was passed :

Resolved that the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha do appear before the Commissions appointed to enquire into the Dacca riots and that a statement as called for by the Commissioners be forwarded by the General Secretary.

That the general secretary be authorised to take all necessary action on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in connection with the enquiry.

'That without meaning to cast any reflection upon the personnel of the Enquiry Committee, the Working Committee is of opinion that having regard to the scope of the Enquiry, it is wholly undesirable in principle that any officer below the rank of a High Court Judge and serving under the Provincial Govnrnment should be called upon to form and express his conclusion on the questions that will arise. The Working Committee therefore asks the Government to revise the Constitution of the Committee in the light of the consideration referred to above."

Srimati Labanya Prabha Dutt, President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has authorised Sri J. C. Gupta, Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., Sri Kamini Kumar Dutta, Advocate, M.L.A., and Sri Shrish Chandra Chatterji, Pleader, Dacca, to appear before the Enquiry Committee. They are also empowered to take assistance from such other lawyers and friends as they may think necessary.

The Executive Council of the Bengal Forward Bloc and followers of the Bose brothers have resolved that their Bengal Provincial Committee "do appear before the Dacca Riots Enquiry Committee to be presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice MacNair and represent before the said Committee, the case of the public regarding the matters referred to them." And also

"Resolved further that Sj. Sarat Chanlra Bose be authorised to give all necessary directions regarding the conduct of the said case before the said Committee including the engagement of lawyers."

"Calcutta Municipal Gazette" Tagore Birthday Special Supplement

The Tagore Birthday special supplement of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is an excellent publication. It is profusely, tastefully and splendidly illustrated. Besides some interesting and informative special articles, it contains a full chronology of the poet's long and glorious life and a chronology of his works. It contains much information which cannot be had in any other single publication. For this reason and for its general attractiveness, it deserves to be preserved for future reference and enjoyment.

Tagore Birthday Celebrations

Tagore Birthday Celebrations have been so numerous in Bengal that the Bengali daily papers have not been able to give any account of most them. In fact, most of them have not even been mentioned in the Calcutta Bengali dailies.

It is only fitting and right that Rabindranath Tagore should be claimed by all Indians irrespective of creed, caste, locality and party affiliations of any kind. He may also be properly claimed by other peoples also outside India, as theirs. We are sure that but for the war, there would have been celebrations of Tagore's entry into his eighty-first year in many countries of Europe and America, not to speak of some countries of Asia.

Outside Bengal, in India, we have noted that there have been celebrations of the occa-

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sion in Karachi, Lahore and Bombay, in which the participants of both sexes were people belonging to different provinces.

Conditions of Life of Women Prisoners

Mrs. Hansa Mehta has described the conditions of life of women prisoners in Yeravada Jail from personal experience. Probably the state of things in other jails is no better. Women stand in need of greater privacy—particularly for a few days every month. But, generally speaking, the arrangements which are bad for women are bad for men also.

Naturally, Mrs. Hansa Mehta has devoted greater attention to the sanitary arrangements in jails than to any other matter connected with jail life. Says she :

> The first and foremost question that requires immediate attention is that of sanitary arrangements. They are far from satisfactory. The number of latrines or privies may appear sufficient on paper but owing to a small number of tin pans being supplied—instead of baskets tin pans are used as there is no flush system—perhaps not more than half a dozen are actually used. Considering that the number of prisoners often is nearly over 150, half dozen latrines can hardly be considered sufficient for the requirements of the prisoners. I wonder if the Municipal Rules would ever permit such meagre provision. Then, there is no proper drain with the result that the atmosphere inside and in the vicinity of these latrines is very foul. The latrines are small uncomfortable cubicles with doors, most of which have their bolts broken and, therefore, cannot be shut securely. Recently at the request of the political prisoners some of the bolts were repaired, but so badly that most of them are again out of use.
>
> The sanitary arrangement for the night *i.e.*, within the barrack itself where prisoners are shut in for nearly twelve hours *i.e.*, from say 6 p.m. to 5-30 a.m., is again hopelessly inadequate. There is one small cubicle attached to the barrack with a small tin pan to be used for all purposes by, say, 28 prisoners—the maximum capacity of the barrack. The tin pan is perhaps meant to be used as a urinal only, but when prisoners are shut in for 12 hours it is not fair to expect them not to use it for other purposes as well. No separate arrangements are considered necessary for women during their monthly period. The edge of the pan is higher than the surface of the seat and therefore it is difficult to use the thing in a sitting posture. Standing posture is convenient for men and therefore what is suitable for men is also suitable for women ! That seems to be the logic that guides the Jail authorities.
>
> The same logic prevails with regard to bathing arrangements also. A shade is erected without any doors and women are expected to bathe together and wash together. There is no privacy and no separate arrangement is considered necessary for women who do want privacy during their monthly period. At the request of political prisoners, some sort of temporary enclosure was erected for them, but the place selected is near the open drain of the latrines so that no one with any sense of cleanliness wishes to go near it much less bathe and wash in it.

Mrs. Mehta adds that she "had discussed these things with some of the women visitors who used to visit the jail." They agreed with her "that those who were responsible for these arrangements lacked in imagination and did not think it necessary that women may require different arrangements from men." That is too mild an indictment. Why, the arrangements are abominable even for men. The women visitors told Mrs. Mehta that "they had brought these things to the notice of the authorities concerned time and again, but to no purpose."

Mrs. Mehta has drawn attention also to the very insufficient lighting of the jail barracks at night and to the bad food supplied to the prisoners. The food materials are bad, the cooking is bad, and the serving, too, is insanitary. No wonder, the meals are tasteless and there is no variety in them.

Adult Education

Speaking on adult education on the first of May last, at the University Institute Library room, Calcutta, Rai Sukumar Chatterjee Bahadur of Sriniketan said that adult education and rural reconstruction were inter-connected.

> Whatever they might do to improve the rural life, it had to be done by the people themselves. This work could not be done by imposing the wish of the paramount power on the people. But before the people were able to do anything in this direction, they must have sufficient knowledge. This knowledge would come through a proper system of education of the people. That was why, said Mr. Chatterjee, to his mind the rural reconstruction problem was fundamentally a problem of adult education.
>
> Before they undertook a task to do, they must understand fully the implications of the thing. Mr. Chatterjee said that first of all they had to understand what was adult education, and why they required it. They required education for four puproses : firstly for the development of power to be able to live in a rational manner, secondly, to discharge their duties to the family and society as citizens of the State, thirdly for the fullest development of power to produce sufficient wealth and lastly for the cultural development. Applying this to adult education, they contemplated a course of action by which the adult population of Bengal would be able to live healthier and cleaner lives in individual capacity, to discharge their duties to their family and society, to produce sufficient wealth, by which poverty would be removed and lastly to live as civilized human beings.
>
> Mr. Chatterjee explained how people were giving increasing attention to the problem of rural reconstruction since the introduction of reformed Government. He appealed to the students and public to come forward to take up the work of rural uplift in right earnest. Two things they had to remember : what they gave they must give with reverence; and if they wanted to tell anything, they must make themselves master of the subject. They must not say anything off-hand.

Mr. J. N. Basu, who presided over the lecture, also encouraged the students to come forward as brave soldiers and devote their time and energy to this real constructive work.

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We agree with Sj. Chatterji that, circumstanced as they are, the people of Bengal—particularly those among them who are so fortunate as to be educated, should themselves undertake to liquidate both juvenile and adult illiteracy in Bengal. Nevertheless, though we would highly value such self-help, we could wish that the power paramount over India cherished the ideal of universal education among the people over whom it rules and despotically made every boy and girl and adult in the country at least literate.

Fostering Communal Harmony in the Panjab

Last week in response to an invitation by Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Panjab Provincial Congress Committee, over a hundred representatives of various communities met at his residence to explore ways and means to foster communal harmony in the province. Sir Abdul Qadir presided over the meeting, which, after three hours' discussion, passed a resolution appealing to every section of the people of the Panjab to work for fostering peace and goodwill in the province.

The meeting formed a committee of 11 members including the Presidents of the Provincial Congress Committee, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, to give a practical shape to the programme of the meeting.

It was decided at the meeting to issue the following appeal :

"In view of the recent communal disturbances which have occured in some places in India and of the critical times ahead, we, the undersigned, appeal to the people of this province to do their utmost to maintain and promote communal harmony so as to make such conflicts and friction impossible. Though we owe allegiance to different political organisations, yet we are all agreed on one point, *viz.*, that **the programme of no political liberty can be realised by such violence and communal strife. In fact, we are all of the opinion that the political objectives of various groups, no less than those of India as a whole, can only suffer, and their achievement will be delayed by such disturbances.**

We of us assembled here, therefore, make an earnest appeal to every section of the people of this province to beware of all instigation and intrigues and to work for fostering peace and goodwill amongst the people of the Punjab."

The sentence which we have printed above in thick type should be borne in mind by the followers of all parties.

Prominent among those who attended the meeting were

The Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Raja Narendranath, President of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, Master Tara Singh, President of Shirmani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Sir Abdul Qadir, R. B. Ramsaran Das, Sardar Sampuran Singh, M.L.A., Nawab Zaffarkhan, M.L.A., Sirdar Mangal Singh, M.L.A. (Central), Sardar Sant Singh, M.L.A. (Central), Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, Parliamentary Secretary, R. S. Sohanlal, M.L.A., Lala Dunichand, M.L.A., Nawabzada Rashidali, President of the Lahore City Muslim League, Mr. B. L. Raliaram (Christian), Dr. S. K. Dutta (Christian), Mian Nurullah, M.L.A., Maulana Daood Ghaznavi, Pandit K. Santanam, Mian Ghyasuddin, M.L.A. (Central), R. S. Sohanlal, M.L.A., and Abdul Aziz.—*A. P.*

Schemes Recommended by Scientific Research Board

Over fifty schemes of research were considered by the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research at the fifth meeting held in Simla on May 16, 1941, and of these twelve were recommended. Of the latter, mention may be made of the following :

Manufacture of Carbon Electrodes for the Aluminium Industry, on which work is to be carried out at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Application and standardisation of vegetable dyes from certain barks, to be carried out jointly by Mr. M. N. De at the Silk Institute at Bhagalpur and Dr. K. Venkataraman in the Department of Chemical Technology, University of Bombay.

Erection and operation of a pilot plant for the manufacture of butyl alcohol and acetone, by Dr. H. D. Sen and Dr. B. C. Guha at the Imperial Institute of Sugar Technology, Cawnpore.

Four schemes relative to synthetic dyestuffs were sanctioned. These concern the preparation of vat colours, by Dr. K. Venkataraman; preparation of mono and di-alkyl anilines, by Mr. B. C. Roy, University College of Science, Calcutta; investigation of electrolytic methods for the preparation of anilines, etc., by Dr. B. B. Dey, Presidency College, Madras; and manufacture of aniline from chlorobenzene by Dr. G. P. Kane, Department of Chemical Technology, University of Bombay.

The Board also recommended schemes for the continuation of work on the manufacture of vacuum and compressor pump by Prof. M. N. Saha, and for the manufacture of sodium cyanide, by Dr. J. C. Ghosh. The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research was created in April 1940 and it was not till the end of June 1940 that the scientific work of the Board was started and Director of Scientific and Industrial Research was given the use of the laboratories of the Government Test House.

The Late Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar

By the death of Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar India has lost a notable figure in the field of politics. By profession he was a lawyer and attained great distinction in the bar, becoming Advocate-General of Madras in due course. He was known to possess uncommon intellectual powers. After giving up the position of Advocate-General he joined the Congress and soon made his mark as a Congressman. He presided over the Gauhati session of the Indian National

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Congress. Sometime after that event he left the Congress fold and practically retired from politics for some time. From some time before his death he again began to take interest in politics. His non-conformity was an asset in Indian politics, though he made mistakes as even political leaders with large followings also do. The very fact that he was not a ditto man or a yes man, but thought for himself, made his statements and utterances thought-provoking, though sometimes rather erratic.

Allahabad Sets Example in Life Saving Swimming Class

It was only the other day that a fatal case of drowning while swimming in the Wellesley Square tank in Calcutta was reported in the papers, and that was not the first of such cases in that tank. Cases of death by drowning in the Ganges are also not rare. There ought to be at least one swimming class in Calcutta for teaching methods of saving life. Allahabad has set an example in this respect.

ALLAHABAD, May 26.

The importance of swimming as an art and as an exercise sure to be beneficial to health, was emphasised by the speakers at the opening cremony performed this evening at the Bharadwaj Tank, by Mr. R. N. Basu, chairman of the municipal board, of a swimming and life saving training class, under the auspices of the Humane Life Saving Society, Allahabad.

Mr. G. N. Banerji, the chief instructor of the Society read a report in the course of which he demonstrated, by giving quotations from various eminent people of European and American countries, that swimming played an important part in the national education of people. He related the activities of the Society and pointed out that the Humane Life Saving Society of Allahabad was the first institution to give training in scientific methods of swimming and life saving in water. He thanked the municipal board for the grant that the society received and appealed for an increase in the grant.

Among other speakers was Mr. G. D. Karwal, president of the University Athletic Association who speaking on the importance of the art of swimming, referred to the acquatic training activities in the Universities.

Mr. R. N. Basu, chairman, in the course of his remarks, commended the activities of the society, paying a tribute particularly to Mr. G. N. Banerji, the chief instructor. Mr. Basu promised to get a shed constructed at the Bharadwaj tank for the facility of the students receiving training in swimming.

Demonstrations in the scientific methods of swimming and preliminary lessons given to students on land, were also held on the occasion.

Meeting of Select Committee on the "Supervision of Orphanage and Widows' Homes Bill"

The Select Committee on the Supervision of Orphanage and Widows' Home Bill met on Wednesday the 28th May last under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq.

Among others Begum Hashina Murshed, Begum Farhat Banu Khanum, Mrs. Hemaprova Majumdar, Miss Mira Dutt Gupta, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ali, Khan Bahadur Abdur Rouf and Miss P. B. Bellheart attended the meeting.

It is understood the Committee held some preliminary discussions and adjourned till June 20.

The *United Press* understands the Bill is being circulated to various institutions, inviting their opinions, before the Committee meets next.

Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee's note on the Bill had appeared in Calcutta dailies previous to the meeting of the Select Committee.

French Fleet and Colonies Not to be Surrendered to Germany

WASHINGTON, May 27.

The French Government has reassured the United States Government in writing that the French fleet and colonies will not be surrendered to Germany or any other power.

M. Henri Haye, the French Ambassador, delivered a note containing a specific guarantee to Mr. Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State.

M. Henri Haye told pressmen that he had drafted a note under instructions from Vichy intended to remove misgivings in the United States on the scope of Franco-German collaboration. The French Government apparently acted in conformity with the request last week by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, to Vichy to define the position clearly in writing if it wished to convince the world that pro-Hitler elements were not in supreme control at Vichy.

While refusing to divulge full details of the Note M. Henri Haye said, "We hope it will be a disappointment to those people who are trying to disturb Franco-American relations."

M. Henri Haye has made enquiries of the State Department concerning British Navy's interception of the French ship "Winnipeg" in the Carribean Sea within the neutrality zone. He said he had sought information whether the "Winnipeg" was merely searched for possible contraband or was to be seized by the British.—*Reuter.*

Delay in the Publication of Bengal Census Results

Several provinces published the population figures of the last census by the middle of March last. The Bengal figures have been in the hands of the Bengal Ministry since the last week of March; but they have not cared to publish the same up to the moment of this writing (May 29). In the *Sunday Statesman* of April 28 appeared a paragraph that checking of census figures in the Panjab and Bengal were going on. Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh has issued a statement in the *National Herald* of May 16 last, saying that as the communal proportion of

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the Muhammadans has gone down to 32 per cent in Bengal, the so-called checking has become necessary. The Hindu census-officers are being transferred elsewhere, sometimes even in the midst of their work. In some districts enumeration pads were not sent by the scheduled time, but were retained at the sub-divisional and district headquarters up to as late as the beginning of May last. In Noakhali enumeration pads are alleged to have been blown away by storm. It is said that in some centres of counting the staff is overwhelmingly Muhammadan. All these lead to the suspicion that census tabulation this year has been open to manipulation. Mr. Fazlul Huq is reported to have said at a private *majlis* at Park Circus that the Muhammadans have become 48 per cent at this census. (We are expecting a contradiction from him). If this be so, the reason for both the delay, and the manipulation, if any, becomes obvious.

Political Prisoners at Deoli

That the political prisoners immured at Deoli have grievances will cause no surprise. The place is haunted by memories of suicide. The only adequate remedy is the abolition of the camp. If that be not acceptable to the powers that be, let an independent committee of non-official Indians be appointed to find out some other remedy.

"Hinduize Your Politics"

"The Hindus should test all national and international politics and policies through the Hindu point of view alone, observes Mr. Savarkar, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in the course of a message on the occasion of his 57th birthday which fell on the 28th May last.

"Whatever policy of political event" he adds, "contributes to safeguard and promote Hindu interests must be backed up by the Hindus and whatever is likely to prove detrimental to Hindu interests must be condemned and opposed by the Hindus. Inasmuch as the Hindus do not ask anything more than what is legitimately due to them on principles of equity and equality. Hindu interests must of necessity be consistent with the demands and contents of genuine nationalism and even humanism."

"Let the Hindus therefore," Mr. Savarkar continues, "as an immediate step to give effect to this Hinduised political progress, elect only those Hindus to represent them in the legislature and all other political bodies as Hindu representatives who pledge themselves openly and uncompromisingly to safeguard, to defend and promote the interests of Hindudom as a whole. Thus firstly Hinduise all politics."

"And secondly, as the first and immediate step to militarise Hindudom, let every Hindu youth who is capable to stand the test, try his best to enter the army, the navy and the air forces or get the training and secure employments in the ammunition factories and in all other branches connected with war crafts."

"Unforeseen facilities are being thrown open to you. Unexpected opportunities have presented themselves before you. You help no one else more than you help yourselves if you utilise these facilities and opportunities to militarise Hindudom."

"This sums up the whole programme and the supreme duty of the hour; Hinduise all politics and militarise Hindudom—and the resurrection of our Hindu nation is bound to follow it as certainly as the dawn follows the darkest hour of night."

Mr. Savarkar's attitude is to no small extent due to the anti-Hindu politics of British imperialists, and also in part to the Muslim appeasement policy of the Indian National Congress.

Mr. Amery's "India First"

The present Secretary of State for India never lets slip an opportunity to repeat *to Indians* the slogan "India First." The Indian technicians in London whom he addressed recently were exhorted by him to place India first in whatever they thought and did. On this slogan of Mr. Amery's Raja Narendranath made the following comments in his address as chairman of the Reception Committee of the Hindu Conference held on March 1, 1941.

To the advice given by Mr. Amery on December 12, 1940 that "India first" should be our watchword, my answer is that so far as the Punjab is concerned, you have been teaching us to place India fourth. In the words of the Persian poet I would say, "You fastened me to a plank, threw me into midstream and then ask me not to allow any clothes to be drenched." We have first to display our religious label, then to display our caste label for the acquisition of rights in land and entry into public service and also our class label of being martial or non-martial for entry into the army. Those who insist on this discrimination forget that Punjab was conquered by soldiers belonging mainly to classes now designated as non-martial. A visit to the monuments raised at Chilianwalla which was the scene of the most sanguinary battle of the second Sikh war and to the Baradari at Lucknow which was besieged by mutineers in 1857, will show that the names of Bajpaies and Tewaries abound amongst those who lost their lives. It should not be difficult for Mr. Amery to understand that separatism or egoism comes naturally to man and that the growth of altruism is a slow process of evolution. To say that different communities should settle amongst themselves what their mutual political relations should be and that the Communal Award cannot be changed without the consent of the communities concerned is to postulate an impossible condition. I do not expect that those who benefit by differentiation will voluntarily surrender their preferential rights. Majority of the Sikhs as also majority of the Muslims belonging to agricultural tribes acquire some preferential rights in consequence of the policy that has been adopted and followed—a policy introduced when the bureaucracy was in the ascendency. Though Islam and Sikhism do not recognize caste, can they be expected to forego their rights? Have the British Government no responsibility in the matter? They have themselves introduced this discrimination. At the same time, they propose to make us self-governing as soon as possible.

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The Nizam's Message of Impartiality As a Ruler

HYDERABAD (DN.), May 22.

"I do not desire to injure, with narrow-mindedness, the susceptibilities of any community or faith or to distort the practice of my religion in such a manner as to earn the title of bigot. It has been my principle and also the principle of my forefathers to look upon all religions without difference or distinction and cause no weakening of our rule by interference in the practice of any religion," declares His Exalted Highness the Nizam in an unofficial communication to a local paper.

"Refuting the interpretation given to the line in a poem composed by the Nizam some years ago by some Majlis spokesmen in support of the theory that the Nizam is the embodiment of the sovereignty of his Muslim subjects, he states that what he may write or say as a Muslim cannot be confused with what he may write or say as a ruler for in the latter capacity he rules over a people professing different faiths and over different communities, not only one particular sect, and that as such he must rule equally over all."

"Religious and political matters," he adds, "are two different things which cannot be combined together as their very nature is different, and this distinction is understood by persons with a sense of understanding and with minds free from tumult."

His Exalted Highness then refers to the Firman he officially issued eight years ago, which stated, inter alia, that whatever may be the religion of his house or his own personal beliefs, he is as the ruler the follower of another religion as well, which may be characterised as "peace to all," because "under me live people of different faiths and different communities and the protection of their houses of worship has been for a long time a part of the constitution of my State."

"In my other capacity as the Ruler," concludes the Nizam, "I consider myself to be without any religion, not in the sense of being an atheist but in the sense of being without bias as a Ruler for any particular religion or community. In this faith I and my forefathers have taken pride and will continue to take pride and I trust my descendants also, God willing, will follow the same principle."—*A. P.*

While it would be difficult to credit the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam with absence of bias for or against any particular community, this communication is valuable as a declaration by which he and his Government can be and are to be judged.

Britain's Policy in India

LONDON, May 29.

It is intended that the Government of India should be carried on "by India for India in India" and not from Whitehall, declared the Duke of Devonshire, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, speaking "with the full authority of the Government" at Leeds University of which he is the Chancellor. Efforts to achieve closer co-operation in India would not be discontinued. Despite political divisions the great Empire of India was overwhelmingly behind Britain in its war effort.—*Reuter.*

Everything depends on the meaning of "India." A more satisfactory declaration would be that the Government of India should be carried on by the Indian people of India, for the Indian people of India, and in India. It would be still more satisfactory if such government began at once.

Hindu Mahasabha Representatives Before Dacca Riots Enquiry Committee

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha which met on Wednesday (28th May) under the presidentship of Sir Manmathanath Mukherji resolved that the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha should be represented before the Dacca Enquiry Committee which will be presided over by Mr. Justice McNair.

Mr. S. N. Banerji, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. N. C. Chatterji, Barrister-at-Law will represent the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha before the McNair Committee. Mr. Banerji and Mr. Chatterji are leaving Calcutta by Dacca Mail on Friday (30th May) evening. They will be accompained by Prof. Haricharan Ghose, member of the Working Committee and Mr. Bhujanga Bhusan Bose who have been deputed by the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha to assist the leaders with reference to the proceedings of the Enquiry Committee.

The working committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has done well to select two distinguished and experienced lawyers as their representatives, as the evidence to be placed before the enquiry committee should be carefully sifted and tested before being so placed.

Tagore Birthday Celebration by Children

There was a large gathering, including hundreds of boys and girls, at the 81st birthday celebration of Poet Rabindranath Tagore by children, which was held on the evening of the 28th May at the Empire Theatre. Si. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, Editor of "Ananda Bazar Patrika," inaugurated the function. Dr. Kalidas Nag presided. The function was organised by Bharati Sahitya Sabha and a number of juvenile periodicals including *Pathshala, Rungmashal, Mauchak, Mas-paila, Bhai-bon, Kaishorak, Rup-katha, Ramdhanu, Kishore Bangla* and *Ananda-Mela* (the children's section of "Ananda Bazar Patrika)."

It is quite fitting that there has been a special celebration of the poet's birthday for and by children. No one has added more than he to the joy of life of our children by his various books and songs and dramatic performances, dances and festivals meant for them, and by his educational ideals and methods.

Allegation of "Distinct Deterioration in Treatment" of Pandit Nehru

LONDON, May 29.

Mr. Amery denied an implication of Mr. Sorensen in a question in the House of Commons that restrictions imposed on Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had been intensified since January. After Mr. Amery had given a detailed answer to the question Mr. Sorensen asked whether Mr. Amery would consider any evidence that

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he might provide that there had been a distinct deterioration in treatment. Mr. Amery replied "I have seen a statement to that effect and I have made enquiries."—*Reuter.*

As is often usual in such cases, perhaps the very official complained against was the person of whom enquiries were made and what he said was considered conclusive.

Reuter ought to have cabled both Mr. Sorensen's question and Mr. Amery's reply. The short cable actually received merely excites curiosity without satisfying it.

Pandit Malaviya on Cow Protection

BENARES, May 26.

Addressing a public meeting yesterday organised by the All-India Cow Protection League, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya emphasised the necessity of protecting cows and appealed to the public to leave sufficient pastures in villages and towns for cows to graze. It was a sin, he added, to see cows being slaughtered. He called upon Indians—Hindus and Muslims—to shelter cows from slaughter houses.

The League was recently established in Benares to take necessary measures to protect cows and supply pure milk to the public.—*A. P. I.*

We are entirely for the protection of cows. But arrangements ought to be made to buy from Hindu milkmen the dry cows which they sell to butchers, and to keep them alive. Hindus do not kill cows in the literal sense, but many of them kill their cattle by inches by keeping them in a half-starved condition. This should be remedied.

Our Exports and Our Poverty

Sjt. Bharatan Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

A glance at the Statistical Abstract published by the Government of India will reveal what it is we are exporting. Here are a few articles taken at random—bones, dyeing and tanning substances, fodder, fresh vegetables, grains and pulses, hides and skins, leather, metals and ores, oil-seeds and oil-cake, spices, cotton, jute, wool, wood and timber.

A half-starved, ill-fed and under-nourished people can certainly not afford to send out food produce like fresh vegetables, grains, pulses, oil-seeds and spices without sinking further into starvation and misery. To export bones and oil-cake from a land whose soil is exploited to the utmost is to deprive it of valuable manure and thus steadily to impoverish that on which a nation condemned to a life of agriculture depends. Allied to this is the export of fodder and oil-cake, both of which are essential for our cattle, which form the back-bone of our agriculture and village industries and provide also nourishment in the way of milk and milk products to the people. It is true, so far as textiles go, that we are exporting manufactured goods, but they constitute only a small percentage, the bulk of the export consisting of raw cotton and wool. In addition, we are exporting dyeing and tanning substances, leather, hides, metals, ores and timber. What justification can there be to send out raw materials such as these which are essential to the industrial life of the people? Is it because they are a surplus which we are unable to make use of? As it happens, if our people are poor, one of the chief reasons is lack of profitable employment. What else can be the result if basic raw materials such as these are taken away?

Sjt. Kumarappa is right. All the exports mentioned by him ought to be utilized in India —preferably by villagers through village industries.

Kulti Disturbances : Magisterial Order Quashed by High Court

"Strictures were passed by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Bartley in this rule issued by this court (suo moto) calling upon the District Magistrate, Burdwan, to show cause why the order of Mr. P. L. Dhar, Deputy Magistrate, Asansol, dated March 5, 1941, adjourning sine die the criminal case against Ebrahim and 33 others, should not be set aside.

"Delivering judgment the Chief Justice said that on April 5, 1941, the District Magistrate of Burdwan rendered to this court his monthly statement showing the state of the files in the courts of the magistrates of his district at the end of February, 1941. In that statement this case against the accused under sections 147, 333, 353 and 379 I.P.C. was shown as pending for over three months in the court of Mr. P. L. Dhar, Deputy Magistrate, Asansol. The explanation of the delay in disposing of the case concluded with the words : The pleader for the Crown filed a remand petition on 6.3.41 praying for an adjournment sine die on the ground that the Government wished that the case should not be taken up until further instructions were received from Government. The case was therefore adjourned sine die.

"His lordship said that the procedure which had been adopted in this case of sending instructions from the Government through the District Magistrate and the Sub-Divisional Officer to the Public Prosecutor and having those instructions reported in the court of the trying magistrate who was subordinate to the District Magistrate and the Sub-Divisional Officer was open to gravest objection.

"It was not a procedure contemplated by the Code of Criminal Procedure. In his lordship's view, those who issued instructions in that way, those who forwarded those instructions and those who obeyed them did not act according to law. His lordship observed : "I wish these remarks should be noted by those who are concerned in matters of this kind.

"Under these circumstances the rule was made absolute, the order of the Deputy Magistrate dated March 5, 1941, was quashed and this case was sent back to the Magistrate for him to hear, and determine it according to law."

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BENGAL SUPERVISION OF WIDOWS' HOMES, ORPHANAGES, NARI RAKSHA SAMITIS, ETC., BILL

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE Bengal Supervision of Orphanage and Widows' Home Bill, 1940, requires very much greater attention, and critical attention at that, than it has received from the public. The member in charge of this Bill is Begum Farhat Banu, M.L.A. She gave a printed copy of the Bill to Mrs. Kumudini Basu, B.A., Secretary to the Nari Raksha Samiti. I have read it. My comments are the result of that perusal.

My first observation is that this Bill is unnecessary. For, if there is any immoral traffic in women and children carried on by any persons, organizations or institutions, we have the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act of 1923 to cope with it. In the second place, the Begum Sahiba has not shown that institutions of the kind in Bengal which she wishes to bring under the purview of her Bill have been guilty of carrying on immoral traffic at all or to any appreciable extent. In fact, I do not remember having read in the papers the report of a single case of such traffic being carried on in Bengal by such institutions. That is also the testimony of a retired Chief Presidency Magistrate, an Advocate and some other responsible persons with whom I have had talks on the subject. But supposing there have been a few such cases, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act of 1923 is, as I have already pointed out, on the Statute Book to deal with them.

A much more glaring evil, the shame of Bengal, is the terribly large number of offences against women—abduction, kidnapping, rape, gang rape, etc., occurring day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year. So far as the honour, safety and welfare of women are concerned, the first duty of the Government, the Ministry, the Legislature, is to devise and enforce measures and means to stamp out this evil. They have not done this duty. On the contrary, if the Bill under comment be passed, the Nari Raksha Samitis which try to bring about the punishment of the scoundrels who victimize women, will cease to exist.

The evil of gang rape is not new in Bengal, nor has it disappeared. It may be mentioned in this connection that the late Mr. Justice Syed Amir Ali, distinguished alike as a jurist and judge and as a historian of Islam, once suggested that capital punishment ought to be inflicted on the offenders in cases of gang rape. The frequency of such crimes in those days in the Rajshahi district led him to make this suggestion. But his brother judges in the High Court not having supported him, his proposal was not even considered by the Government. He cited a precedent for such legislation. There was a time when in Australia hooligans, known there as "larrikins," used to commit such crimes. Australians being a self-governing people and their own women being the sufferers, their government made a temporary law for executing these offenders. As the result of such drastic but necessary legislation, gang rape completely disappeared and the law was repealed in Australia.

The Bill is called the Bengal Supervision of Orphanages and Widows' Homes Bill. In the heading and title of the Bill the word, "Orphanage" is used in the singular number, but in the preamble and in the text of the Bill, the word is used in the plural number. In the "Statement of Objects and Reasons," again, it is used in both numbers. There are similar mistakes, showing that the Bill has not been drafted and printed with the care that all such documents require and deserve.

Though the name of the Bill includes only Orphanages and Widows' Homes, the preamble and the body of the Bill include "Marriage Bureaus" also. The work of inclusion does not end there. The last paragraph of the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" runs as follows:

> "It is, therefore, desirable that all institutions like Orphanages, Widows' Home, Marriage Bureaus, Nari Raksha Samities etc., should be properly controlled and administered in a manner suggested in the proposed Bill."

So, "Nari Raksha Samities" are also included. Rescue Homes have also been included.

The one philanthropic body in Bengal which was the first to be called Nari Raksha Samiti (society for protecting women) and which continues to be so styled par excellence is the Nari Raksha Samiti which was founded in 1924 by the late Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, Editor of the *Sanjibani*, with the support of persons like the late Mr. S. R. Das, Advocate-General

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of Bengal and later, Law Member of the Government of India. Its object is to bring about or help in the prosecution of persons accused of abducting, ravishing or otherwise victimizing girls and women, who are in very many cases poor and helpless. This Samiti has been doing its noble and indispensably necessary work ever since its foundation, irrespective of the caste, creed, and social position of the accused or of the creed and caste of the victims. It is neither an Orphanage nor a Widows' Home, nor a Rescue Home, nor a Marriage Bureau. There is not the least reason, therefore, why it or any other association like it, conducted by responsible public men with the object of bringing to book wicked men who victimize girls and women, should be brought within the purview of this Bill.

Some of the office-bearers, of course honorary, of the Nari Raksha Samiti are mentioned below :

President—Sir N. N. Sircar, retired Law Member of the Government of India.

Chairman—Mrs. S. R. Das, wife of the late Mr. S. R. Das.

Among the Vice-Presidents are : Acharya Sir P. C. Ray, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Mr. J. K. Biswas (retired Chief Presidency Magistrate), Sj. Hirendranath Datta, Professor Abdur Rahim, M.A., Mrs. Keron Bose (Women's Delegate to the League of Nations), Mr. T. C. Roy (retired District Magistrate), Mr. Pannalal Bose (retired District Judge), Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, etc.

The Treasurer is Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhan Datta, and the General Secretary, Mr. S. K. Das Gupta, retired District Magistrate. Mrs. Kumudini Basu, B.A., is the Secretary.

I have already said that, as this Samiti is neither an Orphanage nor a Widows' Home, nor a Rescue Home, nor a Marriage Bureau, there is no reason why it or any other responsible and respectable body like it should come under the purview of the Bill. The Bill (Section 3) requires the institutions which are to be under supervision to take out a licence from the District Magistrate. Money-making concerns may be and in many cases are required to take out licences. But Orphanages, Widows' Homes, Rescue Homes, and Nari Raksha Simitis, it is needless to say, are not money-making concerns, but benevolent institutions. It would be outrageous to require persons like Sir P. C. Ray, Sir N. N. Sircar, etc., to take out a licence for doing philanthropic work. Section 4 (*c*) requires that before issuing a licence the District Magistrate must be satisfied "that the society has sufficient funds at its disposal to run the institution for at least two years."

Those who have the least knowledge of the financial condition of our literary, social service and other philanthropic bodies, do not require to be told that such a requirement would be tantamount to declaring that there must not be any genuine Nari Raksha Samiti or any bona-fide Widows' Home or any bona-fide Orphanage, for which it is very difficult to get donations and subscriptions. These requirements and the penal provision that "whoever contravenes the provisions of the Act shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 500," would be more than sufficient to destroy the all-too-insufficient incentive for doing genuine women's welfare work which exists in the country.

In Bengal not only the mere existence but also the strong and adequate financial and other support of a body like the Nari Raksha Simiti on the part of the public is urgently and essentially necessary. During the period 1926-1931, the number of offences against women brought before law courts was 7,012, the number of Mussalman women victimized being 3,513. The number of women victimized during the period 1934-1938 was 4,370, that of Mussalman women being 2,299. During this latter period only 20 per cent of the accused were convicted. It was recently stated by the Bengal Premier in the Assembly that in 1938, 1939 and 1940 (up to November) the cases of offences against women tried by law courts numbered 1,075, 1,223 and 1,199, respectively. In 1938, there were only 273 convictions and those in the two following years were equally small in number. All the figures given in this paragraph are compiled from answers to questions asked in the Legislature. It is well known in Bengal that a considerable proportion of offences against women do not come before courts of justice. But even those which are tried by such courts are very large in number.

Hence, there ought to be a strong body with ample financial backing to prosecute real culprits and secure their conviction. Government should do everything in its power to help such bodies. Nothing should be done which would directly or indirectly handicap them or ring their death-knell, as the Bill under criticism is sure to do.

I have written in some detail about the Nari Raksha Samiti in Calcutta, as it is the oldest and best known among such bodies and as I have some personal knowledge of its work. Similar work is done by some other bodies also.

The first sentence in the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" runs as follows :

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"In Calcutta, Dacca and other mofussil towns a good number of institutions under the garb of Orphanage, Widows and Rescue Homes and Marriage Bureaus are shady in minor boys and girls."

This sentence does not convey any meaning, though it is not impossible to guess what its writer wanted to say. Such slipshod drafting does not reflect credit on any one concerned.

In the course of an interview which Mrs. Kumudini Basu had with the member in charge of the Bill, Mrs. Basu was told that "shady" was a misprint for "trading"! So, if we are to assume that the Begum Sahiba is correctly informed, there is immoral traffic in minor boys also, carried on, it is to be presumed and believed, by orphanages.

We are told further :

"Most of these institutions are not genuine and are clearing houses for supplying girls to designing persons and houses of ill fame."

It is to be noted that there is no mention here of "boys" being supplied to anybody. How is the mention of boys in the previous extract to be accounted for ?

All institutions having such a wicked object ought certainly to be most drastically dealt with. But the lady who has introduced the Bill has not mentioned even a single such wicked institution, not to speak of giving a more or less complete list of them. As the Ministers have allowed the introduction of the Bill, they may be presumed to possess a list of them. Where is the list ? Let us have it, or at least the number of such institutions.

It has been alleged that "most" of these institutions are of the wicked character imputed to them. Assuming that that allegation is true, one would be justified in holding that, as "most" of them are bad, "a few" at least are "genuine." That being so, it does not logically follow that for the guilt of "most," "all" should be brought under the purview of the Bill, as appears to be its object from the following last paragraph of the statement.

"It is, therefore, desirable that all institutions like Orphanage, Widows' Home, Marriage Bureaus, Nari Raksha Samities, etc., should be properly controlled and administered in a manner suggested by the proposed bill."

I have inferred above that "a few" at least are genuine. Let me cite one. There is in Calcutta a home for helpless or destitute girls and women called Nari Kalyan Ashram. Its office-bearers, of course honorary, are as follows :

President—Sir P. C. Ray. Vice-Presidents—Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Mr. Kiran Chandra Dutt, Rai Bahadur Joges Chandra Sen, Rai Bahadur Devendra Nath Ballabh, Mr. J. K. Biswas, Mrs. S. R. Das, and Dr. Khagendra Lal Sen. Honorary Treasurer—Sir Hari Sankar Paul. Members of the Executive Committee—Mr. Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Mr. Rakhaldas Haldar, Mr. Brajendanath Bhadra, Mr. Ban Behari Bose, Mr. Nitai Charan Pal. Mr. Sudhir Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, Mr. N. C. Das, Mr. P. K. Mukerji and the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behari Mullick. Honorary Secretary—Mr. Siddheswar Ganguly. Hon. Joint Secretary—Mrs. Kumudini Basu.

Vidyasagar Bani-bhavan, founded and conducted by Lady Abala Bose, is another such genuine institution, and of a different kind. And there may be other similar institutions. All such should make their real philanthropic character known to the public and to the Begum Sahiba who has introduced the Bill.

The public of Bengal should understand that the Bill, if passed into law, would require Lady Abala Bose and Sir P. C. Ray and their co-workers to take out a licence for maintaining their institutions, that they would always have to show a reserve fund equivalent to two years' expenses of the institutions, and that they would be liable to pay a fine of Rs. 500 for even technical breaches of the "Bengal Supervision of Orphanage and Widows' Home Bill (Act)."

I do not mean to suggest that there should not be any legislation on the subject under discussion, if considered indispensably necessary. What I mean is that while institutions and organizations with a wicked object should be severely dealt with, nothing should be done which would result in the humiliation, discouragement or disappearance of truly necessary and beneficent institutions.

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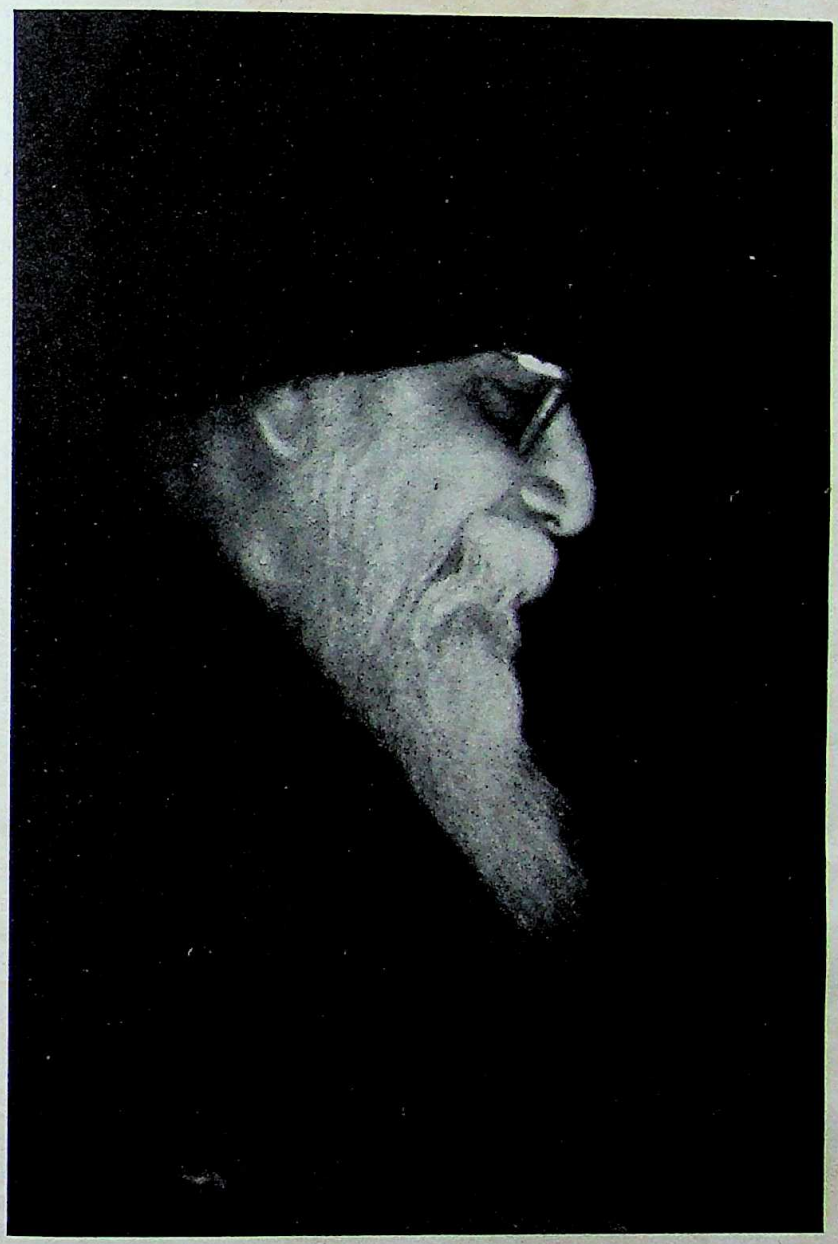

Portrait of Rabindranath Tagore on his last birthday, 25th Baisakh, 8th May, 1941

[A Night Snap]

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THE RELIGIOUS BASIS OF CIVILISATION

By INDO-EUROPEAN

JOHN BUCHAN's final book, *The Pilgrim's Way*, was finished in 1939, and published in 1940 after his death as Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General of Canada. The book is sub-entitled "An Essay in Recollection," a recollection divided between the personalities and events through which his life proceeded, and his reaction to them, but discloses little of the author's own contemplation of the deep issues of human life until he reaches "the other side of the hill," a phrase of Sir Walter Scott's that he takes as the title of the closing section of his recollections.

The author of *The Pilgrim's Way* is best known to readers in the English-speaking world by his family name of John Buchan, and it is this name that I shall use in the following remarks that have been stimulated by the final declaration of his belief and "crowning optimism" that he makes in the section mentioned (part IV, page 296). The declaration is so closely concerned with present world-shaking events which were developing in Europe at the time of his death, so pertinent to India as a factor in the future of civilisation, and so different from my own belief and crowning optimism in the midst of much more cataclysmic circumstances than those that he faced two years ago, that I have felt impelled to give his declaration a careful examination—as follows.

In Buchan's view the war in Europe "is not only between the graces of civilisation and the rawness of barbarism. More is being challenged than the system of ethics which we believe to be the basis of our laws and liberties." To some minds such a challenge would appear to be radical enough in opposition, seeing that an ethical basis of civilisation, if truly ethical and not just expedient, would concern itself with all human relations individual and collective. But the something more than a rival "ideology" that Buchan sees between the dictatorships and the democracies is not ethics but religion; not even religion in general but a religion in particular:

> "Today the Faith is being attacked, and the attack is succeeding. Thirty years ago Europe was nominally a Christian continent. It is no longer so. In Europe, as in the era before Constantine, Christianity is in a minority."

Buchan identifies religion with Christianity in the exclusive sense that Christianity is the only valid religion, without which civilisation is impossible, a position, that no one who knows the history and culture of India can share. He declares his agreement with Blake's view that

> "Man must and will have some religion; if he has not the religion of Jesus he will have the religion of Satan, and will erect a synagogue of Satan."

Buchan adds:

> "There have been high civilisations in the past which have not been Christian, but in the world as we know it I believe that civilisation must have a Christian basis, and must ultimately rest on the Christian Church."

Buchan believes further that the peril of Christianity has been indifference brought about by material self-confidence and pride. But he held to a final "crowning optimism," the belief that

> "the challenge with which we are now faced may restore to us that manly humility which alone gives power. It may bring us back to God. In that case our victory is assured. The Faith is an anvil that has worn out many hammers."

Two points in the foregoing that provoke question are, first, the belief that civilisation today (by which Buchan means the future) "must have a Christian basis, and must ultimately rest on the Christian Church," and the implication that non-Christian civilisations are things of the past and have no place in the future. My mind disagrees with both belief and implication. I do not believe it is at all necessary that civilisation should be based on a single religion; but if such a single-religion basis were necessary, I believe there are in the world today religions besides Christianity that could provide a workable basis for a much better civilisation than either a dictatorial or a democratic civilisation such as are now engaged in mutual murder and destruction. Buchan does not give any reasons for his belief in the Christian basis of civilisation. He simply asserts it in the manner of a religious imperialism parallel to the political imperialism that he professed and worked for. I shall give reasons for my contrary belief.

Apart from the assumption of Christian superiority and of the exclusive and universal validity of the acceptance of Christianity as the only qualification for post-mortem felicity, which is outside the scope of the question as I see it,

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certain questions arise as to the possibility of founding a Christian world-civilisation within any calculable time that would justify a "crowning optimism." How and when, for instance, is the present Christian minority in Europe, which Buchan notes, to be turned into a Christian majority in the countries now under Nazi domination, in "godless" Russia, and in the two divisions of France which, even in the time of alliance with Britain, was officially non-Christian?

The passing of time is reducing the number of those who remember the era of Christian majority. The passing of time, too, is increasing the number of young people who in Germany pass through an anti-Christian schooling to an anti-Christian life. Thus the de-Christianising of Europe deplored by the Vatican radio (April 1941) proceeds; and the spread of Nazi domination into the Balkans as I write carries anti-Christian influence into additional areas and populations. The Italian influence, while not specifically anti-Christian, tends to exalt State over Church and to value Christian ideas to the extent that they serve the purpose of the State. Europe, in the circumstances, presents a problem of much subtler difficulty to a future re-Christianising of the continent, not to mention the world, than it did at the beginnings of Christianity; for a rebuilding of Christianity, such as John Buchan's "crowning optimism" requires for civilisation, will not be, as it then was, on the debris of a disintegrating Paganism, but against the will and ruthless action of an alert anti-Christian consciousness.

Even when the power of Nazism is broken, it is conceivable that the change of mind brought about in the meantime by the anti-Christian education of the young and propaganda among the elders, will present a gigantic task, to the performance of which Christianity will bring a diminished power of unity, compared with that which animated the early Christian communities, a power decreased and loosened by the lesions in organisation, but chiefly in doctrine, that have developed in the body of Christianity during its history.

Of these lesions the widest, though not the deepest, is that between Catholicism and Protestantism. Both Churches take Jesus Christ as their central personality and the Bible as their authority. Their doctrinal and liturgical differences might conceivably be composed in the face of threatened disaster, though the attitude of recent utterances from Rome retains its historical self-centred finality.

The deeper lesion in the Christian body is that between the orthodox groups and the groups which, though claiming to be within the Christian body, deny the basic doctrines on which all phases of orthodox Christianity are united—the finality of the Bible and the divinity of Jesus. In any endeavour to estimate the validity of Christianity as a unified basis for unified civilisation, it cannot, for instance, be forgotten that, though the unprepossessing Greek word *psilanthropism* is a verbal peculiarity, its meaning (mere man, not God) is an organised idea which, through ministers of knowledge and refinement from Emerson downwards in the Unitarian Church, opposes the doctrine of the Trinity by the doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead, a monistic idea which, as far as Europe is concerned, has been nourished by classical culture in the universities, and within the last half century has become attractively familiar to the mass of readers through cheap reprints of scientific Rationalism and recently by the scientific mysticism of Lodge, Jeans, Eddington, and others. The monistic idea cannot be ignored as a possible potent influence in the thought of the future, and it is opposed to both Catholic and Protestant fundamentals, and assisted by the scientific findings of psychical research on such basic doctrines as Heaven and Hell and life after death.

Side by side with the foregoing, the "higher criticism" of the Bible moved over from the textualist to the historian. Questions of similarity or dissimilarity between, say, the synoptic gospels, came to look curiously futile beside the drastic question: Did certain events, deemed crucial in Christian doctrine, ever happen, or happen at the time or in the manner related of them? It was an old question, but modern answers had the reinforcement of history and science. A century ago D. F. Strauss (1806-1874) promulgated what became known as the "mythical theory" that the Christ of the Gospels was a product of the myth-making faculty of first and second century Christians. Alfred Loisy (1857-1940), a question-minded French priest, spent a long life in literary effort to establish his conviction that the exaltation of the historical Jesus to the status of divinity was a result of the devotion of the first Christian community. So dangerous was this deemed to be by the Catholic Church, as an attack on the foundations of Catholic authority and universality, that Loisy was excommunicated, like his ninth century precursor, Joannes Scotus Erigena, who reduced the historical Jesus to a minimum and advocated the application of reason to doctrine.

But the excommunication of individuals does not excommunicate ideas: these are not

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intimidated by "bell, book and candle." So eminent a Protestant Churchman as Dean Inge, reviewing Loisy's last book in *The Hibbert Journal* (April 1938), while expressing strong disagreement with much that Loisy had written, said that, though Loisy's writings were very destructive in their conclusions, "his arguments must be met, not ignored." He himself took the side of the myth-and-miracle-makers. He asserted the necessity of myth in religion, and denied the doctrine that miracles are fundamental to faith.

For the carrying of conviction to a generation that is not merely intellectually sceptical of Christianity but opposed to it with an intensity as keen and as cruel as mediaeval Catholicism was to non-Catholics, or Episcopalians to Covenanters in Britain, it is fairly certain that Dean Inge's assertion that arguments such as Loisy's against certain Catholic doctrines, "must be met, not ignored," has more likelihood of receiving some measure of respect, however small, than the assertion of the Reverend Father Edward Quinn of St Anne's Cathedral, Leeds, in the same number of *The Hibbert Journal* on "The Religion of National Socialism," that, in the present crisis,

> "the Christian can only be loyal himself to his belief . . . . rejoicing that the eternal values which he defends must ultimately triumph, and that his suffering and loyalty are the greatest human assurance of their final victory."

The questioning mind of today, even if it renounced the temptation to ask what the "eternal values" are, and what is their foundation in scientific fact and enlightened reason, is not unlikely to enquire whether the prescribed "suffering and loyalty" as the "greatest human assurance of their final victory," has a retrospective virtue, and if, by parity of reasoning, the suffering and loyalty of "heretics" at the hand of the Catholic Church in the middle ages did not give equal assurance of the final victory of heretical doctrines held by the sufferers. And there have been sufferers for conviction outside the Christian fold,—but from the Christian point of view they do not count.

The force of ideas such as those of Loisy and others may not, in a Christian evaluation, be counted dynamically important in the re-Christianising of Europe. But in the work of restoring "the Faith" which, in Buchan's estimate, is preliminary to victory, it is not the unimportance in the Christian mind of enforced adaptation of doctrine to new facts (as Protestantism adapted itself to the theory of evolution) that is likely to count with the anti-Christian mind, but the importance that such adaptation assumes in the antagonistic mind as a demonstration of uncertainty that destroys faith in "the Faith."

Matters such as these, it may be said, do not come within the personal interest of Buchan in his "Essay in Reminiscence"; and this, though outside a critical consideration of the issues involved in his belief and "crowning optimism," is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that in the record of a career that ran parallel to the agitation for woman suffrage in Britain he has no mention of that epoch-making phase in the political life of his country, and is so he-mannish in his interests that his long gallery of public figures stand in masculine solitariness as if they were misogynists to whom the contemporary lives of the Pankhursts, of Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Charlottee Despard, Annie Besant or Beatrice Webb, were remote mythological phenomena not worth mention, since it is "manly humility" (with no womanly taint) "which alone gives power."

On considerations such as those indicated above hangs the two-sided question: On which version of Christianity and on which phase of the Christian Church is the future civilisation to rest? From the Catholic point of view there is only one Christian Church and one exposition of Christianity, and both are located in Vatican City, Rome. The orders and teachings of bodies outside "the Church" are invalid. From the same point of view Buchan's belief and "crowning optimism" are idle speculations. A solid Christian front to the attack on "the Faith" will remain an impossibility while Catholicism retains its claim of exclusive and universal efficacy. It sets the victory, that according to Buchan, is to follow a return to God, at an incalculable date, in the face of the deliberate and articulate de-Christianising of Europe that is today (April 1941) rapidly increasing in extent and fervour, and in Germany has generated the emotional force of a rival religion.

Even in Buchan's own Protestantism, which is as sure of Catholic "error" as Catholicism is of Protestant "heresy," there is no sign of early unity. In the selecting of the "Christian Church" which is to be the "Christian basis" of civilisation, it would be expecting more than human nature has hitherto been in the habit of conceding, to expect one or all of the Nonconformist bodies to give precedence to its historical enemy the Church of England, or *vice versa*, and evolve a Christian civilisation outside the sanction of "*the* Church," that is, her of Rome to which Protestant exegesis based on a symbolical

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reading of the Book of Revelation has long applied uncomplimentary adjectives.

In short, all things considered, John Buchan's "belief" in the Christian foundationing of a future civilisation as a sequel to two thousasd years of history in the once lauded "Christian continent" does not appear to be well founded; and his "crowning optimism" is optimistic indeed, wearing a crown but wielding no sceptre.

The second main challenge in Buchan's statement of belief on Christianity and civilisation is provoked by the first clause of his statement: "There have been high civilisations in the past which have not been Christian, but...." and the "but" puts the civilisation of the future outside the competence of any non-Christian group.

Aside from the claim of exclusive possession of the way to bliss after death on which both the Catholic and Protestant Churches, while mutually excluding one another from such possession (even as Buchan, on a study of the history of England in Scotland, decided that no Englishman could be admitted to Heaven, a decision that he changed later at Oxford), are united in excluding the non-Christian groups; and, putting the matter on a non-doctrinal basis, it may be pointed out that, as far as mere numbers go, the followers of the Buddhist ideal in Asia out-number the followers of the Christian ideal elsewhere, and, on the conclusion of the present un-Buddhistic conflict between the Buddhist nations, Japan and China, might reasonably be regarded as a potent influence in a future civilisation. Indeed, even if John Buchan cannot see such a possibility through the intellectual opacity of a non-critical "belief," Japan had, even in Buchan's end years, conceived, as a parallel to the Germanic "New Order" for the world, a "New Order" of which Japan elected herself Head, but with fifty per cent of Nazi modesty confined it to Asia.

A civilising power might also be thought of as a possibility in Islam, with its democratic character; and, like Japan, Islam in India has felt the popular urge to founding civilisations through the infection of a mind that has evolved the idea of a civilisation on a Mohammedan basis, for followers of "the Faith," within the geographical boundaries of India. Hindu India has not caught the infection from Europe. It might indeed be said that the direction of the civilising infection was from east to west, as India had evolved the one sane civilisation of humanity ages before Europe had emerged from "barbarism." She had conceived the idea that human beings could manage to live civilly together on the ground of unity of origin and community of interests; on the ground also (inconceivable to the general western mind) that human beings and human actions are shadows and reflections of super-human personality and activity, and prophecies of inevitable divine attainment. The Vedic civilisation declined to a confused memory partly because human beings are disconcertingly human, partly because power-civilisations from outside India put their suzerainty over a wisdom-civilisation. But it is not impossible to conceive that when a ruined world, or a world in which democracy reaches triumph through ruin, is driven to the necessity of calling on the wise and gentle, instead of the merely shrewd and physically powerful, to help in the construction of a new civilisation, Vedic India will find a place "in the Parliament of Man, the federation of the world." If and when she does, she is likely to go deeper and broader in foundation-laying than any of the other groups; for while they will seek (unless they have attained wisdom before then) to rear a civilisation on the foundations of a faith or "the Faith," the Vedic mind will characteristically endeavour to do so on the realities of human life as a version of the Cosmic Life, and so to evolve a civilisation free from the limitations of extraneous and inadequate preliminary conceptions, a civilisation that will create its own conceptions and sanctions out of human nature in its completest material and spiritual verity, and so be neither Vedic civilisation, nor Christian, nor Japanese nor Nazi, but simply and triumphantly and stably—Civilisation.

An objection from the Christian side to any of these non-Christian possibilities has been anticipated by the assurance already noted, shared by the laymen, John Buchan, and the Churchman, Father Quinn, that Christianity is the only thinkable basis for a civilisation. Aldous Huxley, reputed as an intelligent litterateur, applies the appropriate colour to civilisation in an essay on "The Country": "The French may think themselves lucky if, avoiding war, they can fill their depleted country with *civilised white men*," (italics mine) as distinct from Portugal which admitted colonial negroes to its community, "and in two or three generations the race which had conquered half the world was extinct": an evaluation of human quality and quantity that is closely related to the Nazi idea of race purity.

Father Quinn gives Christian territory a

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European frontier. In the article already quoted from, he says :

"The new Germany is being trained in a belief which rejects these historic (Christian) values, and those nations which might have maintained them in this time of faithlessness are also largely a prey to an oriental philosophy which hates the tradition of Christian Europe even more than National Socialism."

(The word "does" is presumed at the end of the quotation.) Neither the defaulting nations nor the "oriental philosophy" to which they have become a prey is named. But from a fairly extensive study of the philosophies of Asia, not of India alone, I feel confident in saying that, even if it was possible for a philosophy to perform the unnatural operation of hating, there is no philosophy of Asian origin in my knowledge (leaving aside the Scholastic Philosophy which arose out of the Romish elaboration of the simple faith of the early oriental Christians) to which the "tradition of Christian Europe" is a matter for philosophic thought, let alone unphilosophic hatred.

A deeper objection to any faith-basis of a future civilisation, including the Christian basis, is that, even if the Nazi attack on Christianity is broken, a world-civilisation cannot be based on any single view and mode of life; even as it cannot be based on the now acutely anti-Christian "faith" declared in the Nazi second scripture (the first being *Mein Kampf*), Rosenberg's *Der Mythus des XX Jahrhundrets*, according to which Jesus must be rejected "since he did not know the foundations of Faith : Race, Blood and Honour," and that Christianity must follow Jesus into oblivion. The new Faith is a reversal of the ideal of human progress towards unity and peace and happiness; a fall-back to the division of Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, White-man and native, Christian and non-Christian, that have vitiated human relationships from time immemorial and continue to vitiate them today and to construct barriers against the movement of the individual towards freedom of experience and exprssion and towards happy and beneficent co-operative activity in the affairs of life. A further weakness in the white-European-Christian claims on behalf of a Christian civilisation (a civilisation, be it said, not based on the life and teaching of the founder of Christianity but on the European elaboration of it in organised Christianity) is the fact, so strangely ignored by the claimants, that the individual out of whose life and teachings the Christian Churches arose was neither white nor European nor a Catholic or Protestant Christian, but a tawny Asiatic Jew of the mystical vegetarian sect of the Essenes. A keen-minded Frenchman, Paul Richard, once a padre, came in time and through life in Asia to write : "Europe worships one Asiatic—and takes it out of the rest." He also wrote : "The Cross of Christ is Christianity."

Here this critical analysis of the demand for a religious basis of civilisation might end. But it would appear ungracious to leave so urgent a matter with only a hint above in the direction of a foundation that would be free from the defects which I have pointed out in both the Christian and Nazi claims. The basic flaw in the matter, as it appears to me, is in the idea of making any religion, or a religion of anti-religion, the foundation of civilisation. To make a religion a practical test of detailed action is to make it subservient to emotionalised human interpretation; to try, so to speak, to make the manners and customs of the tropics obligatory in the arctic circle, or *vice versa*. To regard a religion as the essential foundation of a world-civilisation is to treat it as an expedient for the fabrication of someone's notion of what a civilisation should be, rather than (and this is my contribution to the foundationing of civilisation) seeing the religious impulse, apart from formulation and observances, as one of the natural hungers of humanity : the hunger for enlargement of life that is inevitable to a conscious unit within the life of the universe; the longing of the finite for the infinite; an expansive impulse that, if attempted to be satisfied by accumulation of what belongs to others, will destroy itself, as the Nazi totalitarian imperialism and all other forms of imperialism cannot in the long run avoid doing; but an expansive impulse that, if satisfied by giving itself to others in the spirit of unity and sympathy, will receive from the others much more than it gives, and through codes and institutions facilitating such beneficent expansion will create not only the basis but the structure and super-structure of the only civilisation from which peace, prosperity, happiness and longevity may be expected.

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JOSEPH HACKIN

(1886-1941)

By GEORGES DE ROERICH

On April 23rd a brief cable to the Associated Press announced the death of Professor Joseph Hackin and Madame J. R. Hackin in an air crash "somewhere" in England. Science will mourn the death of a distinguished archaeologist and historian of Art, and those who knew him personally mourn a charming man ever willing to guide and assist the numerous research students who flocked to his hospitable study at the Musée Guimet in Paris.

Born at Boevange (Luxembourg) on the 8th November 1886, Hackin's main interest lay in the field of Buddhist Art and Archaeology. He received his training as an Orientalist at the Ecoles des Hauts Etudes in Paris where he attended classes in Sanskrit and Tibetan under the guidance of the late Professor Sylvain Lévi. From the very beginning of his scientific career, Hackin had been intimately associated with the Musée Guimet in Paris, first in the capacity of Assistant Keeper, and then Curator. It was amidst the rich collections of this unique institution that he found ample scope for his researches in the field of Buddhist Art and Archaeology. He felt powerfully attracted by the Arts of Ancient India and especially by the colourful and highly decorative Buddhist Art of Tibet and Central Asia (Eastern Turkestān). During the years preceding the World War of 1914-18. the collections of the Musée Guimet received important additions. The rich collections of antiques and manuscripts brought back by the Mission Pelliot (1906-8) from Eastern Turkestān and Kansu were first deposited at the Musée du Louvre and the manuscripts and prints at the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris. Some of the best paintings on silk recovered from the Walled-up Library of Ch'ien-fo-tung in Tun-Huang (Western Kansu Province, China) were however transferred to the Musée Guimet where they now occupy a separate hall (Salle Pelliot). Almost simultaneously a rich and varied collection of Tibetan religious banners or *than-kas* was donated to the Museum by Professor Jacques Bacot, the eminent French Tibetologist and explorer. It was this environment that inspired Hackin. His first published work was however not dedicated to India or Tibet, but to the Art of Ancient China. In 1910 he published in collaboration with M. Chang Yi-chu a catalogue of the collection of Chinese Paintings preserved at the Musée Guimet (Tchang Yi-tchou et J. Hackin: *La peinture chinoise au Musée Guimet. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliotheque d'Art,* lv, Paris, 1910). Some of his most important works deal with the Art of Tibet. In 1911 he published a monograph on the Art of Tibet based on the Bacot Collection at the Musée Guimet (J. Hackin: *L'Art Tibétain,* introduction de M. J. Bacot, Paris, 1911), and also contributed an article entitled "Notes d'iconographie tibétaine" in the *Mélanges d'Indianisme offerts par ses élèves à M. Sylvain Lévi.* Paris, 1911, pp. 312-328. In 1916 he published the important memoirs on the representations of the life of Sākyamuni, the Buddha, in the Tibetan iconography, based on the Lalita-Vistara (J. Hackin: *Les scènes figurées de la Vie du Bouddha dans l'iconographie tibétaine. Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale,* Vol. II, Paris, 1916). Among his other works on Tibetan Art mention must be made of his lecture at the Musée Guimet "Sur les illustrations tibétaines d'une legende du Divyāvadāna" which appeared in the *Annales du Musée Guimet,* Bibl. vulg. XL, 1914, "Some Notes on Tibetan Paintings" (*Rūpam,* No. 7). "Indian Art in Tibet and Central Asia," *The India Society,* London, 1925, "A propos d'un article recent sur la peinture tibétaine" in the *Revue des arts asiatiques,* V, 1928, 1, pp. 39-40, and his "La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet," Paris, 1931. Hackin also contributed chapters on Tibetan Art in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and in the *Asiatic Mythology* edited by P. Couchoud, New York.

In 1921 the Musée Guimet started the publication of a *Bullétin Archéologique du Musée Guimet,* the second part of which, dedicated to the Central Asian and Tibetan collections (Missions Pelliot et Bacot) of the Musée Guimet contains a Catalogue by J. Hackin of the Pelliot Collection, exhibited in the Salle Pelliot (paintings and pottery), and a description of the Tibetan paintings of the Bacot Collection, representing the sixty mahāsiddhas.

Appointed Curator of the Musée Guimet, Hackin published in 1923 a Guide-Catalogue of the Museum, dedicated to the Buddhist collections (India, Gandhāra, Eastern Turkestān,

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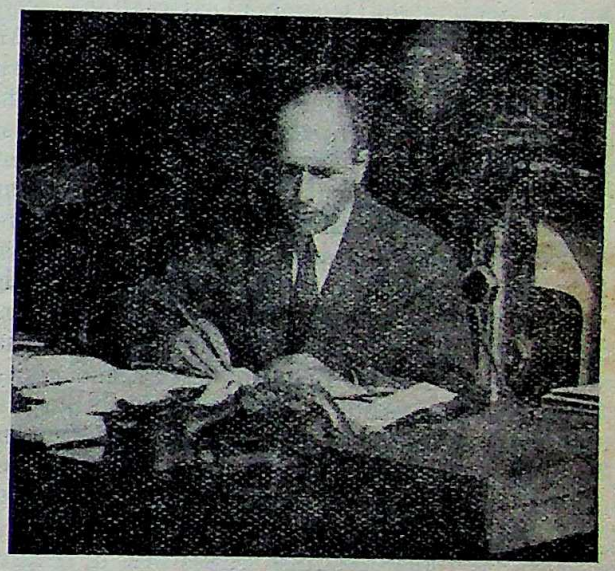
North China and Tibet). This useful publication was in reality not a dry catalogue inventory of the Museum collections, but a general survey of the Buddhist Art in India, China, Central Asia and Tibet. Under his guidance the Musée Guimet developed into an important centre of scientific and cultural life of the French capital. Since 1927 the Museum authorities were engaged in the work of reorganization of the Museum. New halls were added (for example the Salle d'Afghanistān), and the presentation of the collections was thoroughly modernized. In 1935 the Museum was able to mark its fiftieth anniversary amidst new surroundings. J. Hackin did not limit himself to the study of the rich pictorial material brought back to Paris by the Mission Pelliot, he also collaborated in the study of the vast number of manuscript remains recovered from the Walled-up Library of Ch'ien-fo-tung in Tun Huang. In 1924 in the Series dedicated to the study of the manuscript material brought back by the Mission Pelliot, he edited and translated a Sanskrit-Tibetan manuscript of the X A.D. (Coll. Pelliot No. 3521), brought back from Tun-Huang (J. Hackin: *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibetáin du X siècle. Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, Série pétit-in-octavo,* Vol. II, Paris, 1924).

But the greatest event of his life was the archaeological exploration of Afghanistān. In 1922 Professor Alfred Foucher visited Kābul and negotiated with the Afghan Government a convention which gave France the right to conduct archaeological explorations in Afghan territory. This was the beginning of the "Délégation archéologique francaise en Afghanistān," which for the last twenty years conducted archaeological explorations in various parts of Afghanistān. In 1923 Professor A. Foucher was joined by M. André Godard, architect and archaeologist. During 1923 the French archaeologists visited Jelālābad (the ancient Nagarahara, the site of the miracle of the Buddha Dīpānkara), Hadda, Kābul and Bāmiyān with its 12,000 cave temples (II A.D.—VIII A.D.). The field work carried out during 1922-23 was necessarily limited to a preliminary archaeological survey. Numerous sites with important ancient remains were known to exist, and the directors of the Archaeological Mission had first to create a plan of exploration, and then establish the importance of the various sites awaiting the spade of excavators. In 1924 the French Mission was joined by J. Hackin who began his exploratory work in Afghanistān by conducting an archaeological survey north of the Hindu-Kush Range in the vicinity of Balkh (ancient Bactra) and further north in the basin of the Oxus. He also took part in the explorations at Bāmiyān and Kapisī in the Kabul Valley. In 1930 J. Hackin was appointed field-director of the Archaeological Mission, assisted by M. Jean Carl, architect. They continued the work begun by Monsieur and Madame A. Godard at Bāmiyān, as well as explored the cave temples in the valley of Kakrak, situated in the vicinity of Bāmiyān. Excavations were also conducted in the neighbourhood of Kābul, where some 12 km. N.W. of the Afghan capital, at Khairkhāneh, a temple was excavated—the first Brahmanical, non-Buddhist edifice to be excavated in Afghan territory, in the ruins of which the excavators discovered a remarkable statue of Suryā in white marble.



Professor Joseph Hackin

In 1931 J. Hackin interrupted his researches in Afghanistān to join, in the capacity of archaeologist, the mechanized expedition of André Citroen-Haardt, which unsuccessfully attempted to cross on caterpillar trucks by the Gilgit route into Eastern Turkestān. The difficulties created by the Provincial Authorities of Hsin-chiang prevented the expedition from carrying out its programme of archaeological excavations and surveys. Hackin was however able to visit some of the sites in the Kuchā and Turfān area (Kizil, Bezeklik, Murtuk). The results of his obsrvations were embodied in a monograph entitled "Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale" (1931), Paris, 1936, pp. 35, pl. I-XXVI.[1]

1. On the Expedition Citroen-Centre Asie, see Georges Le Fevre: La Croisiere Jaune. Troisieme Mission Georges-Marie Haardt et Louis Audouin-Dubreuil. Paris, Plon, 1933. L. Audouin-Dubreuil: Sur la route de la Soie, Paris, 1935.

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In 1932-33 J. Hackin proceeded to the Far East to direct the Maison Franco-Japonaise in Tōkyō. During his stay at the Japanese capital he delivered a series of lectures on the explorations of the French Mission in Afghanistān. These lectures were since published by the Maison Franco-Japonaise in Tōkyō under the title of *L'Oeuvre de la Délégation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistān (1922-32)*, Tōkyō 1933.[2]

Very important excavations were conducted during the field season of 1936-37. The field work was directed by J. Hackin, assisted by Madame Hackin, Mme. Jean Carl, Jacques Meunié and Ghirshman. Explorations were conducted in several parts of Afghanistān. During September-December excavations were carried out in Afghan Seistān, where M. Ghirshman surveyed a number of prehistoric sites. In January the Mission explored the ruins of a Buddhist monastery near Kunduz in North Afghanistān. The spring months were spent in fruitful excavations at Begrām (ancient Kāpistī, 60 km. north of Kābul), at Shotorak (5 km. east of Begrām), and at Fondukistān (between Kābul and Bāmiyān). In 1937 the Mission made what may prove to be its most important find. While excavating a walled-up room in the ruins of Begrām, the archaeologists discovered numerous objects remarkable for their artistic interest and state of preservation. These objects consisted of some fifty Greek bronzes, goblets and vases in Syrian painted glass (I-IV A.D.), and a considerable number of remarkable ivory plaques, the work of Indian ivory carvers, an art which was extensively practised in Ancient India, and of which only a few specimens had come down to us. The Begrām plaques exhibit a certain affinity to the Mathurā school (II A.D.), and according to Hackin belong to the pre-Gupta period, of which little was known up-to-now.[3]

At Shotorak, M. J. Meunié excavated a Buddhist temple which had been mentioned by the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang in the VII-th century A.D. The excavations yielded numerous Buddhist sculptures (III-IV A.D.).

At Fondukistān, M. J. Carl excavated the ruins of Buddhist monastery with frescoes in the Central Asiatic style (VI-VII A.D.), perhaps the work of Central Asian artist-monks.

These excavations in Afghanistān have immensely enriched our knowledge of the so-called Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra (I B.C.-IV A.D.), and have revealed the existence of a late Buddhist Art with a strong Iranian (Sassanian) influence, which the French archaeologists call Irano-Buddhist (IV-VII A.D.), and which possibly represents a branch of the great Central Asian Buddhist Art. So far only Buddhist sites have attracted the attention of archaeologists in Afghanistān. We feel sure that future excavations will yield numerous finds of the great Central Asian nomadic art.

The work of the French Mission which continued at Begrām in 1939-1940, was interrupted by the present War, and the departure of Professor and Madame Hackin for England.

The scientific results of the several expeditions conducted by the French Mission are published in a series *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique francaise en Afghanistān*. Five volumes of this Series, dedicated to the excavations at Bāmiyān, Hadda and Khair-khāneh have already appeared, and others are in preparation.[4]

The finds of the various expeditions are divided between the Museum in Kābul and the Musée Guimet, the most important finds going, naturally, to the Museum in Kābul, the considerable extension of which, thanks to the constant and enlightened interest of the Government, has been recently announced in the Press.

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2. J. Hackin : Bamiyan, Tokyo, 1932 (in Japanese); summary of a lecture delivered at the Imperial University of Tokyo.

3. On the Begram plaques see the preliminary report on the finds by J. Hackin in the *Revue des arts asiatiques*, XII, 1 (1938)—"Les travaux de la Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan, Compte-rendu sommaire, Sept. 1936-Aout, 1937"; Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Vol. XII for the year 1937 (Leyden, 1939), pp. 30-33, pl. IX, X; also "Recentes trouvailles archeologiques de style pre-Goupta" in the "Arts Musulmans-Extreme-Orient" (Histoire Universelle des Arts, Paris, Colin, 1939), p. 283.

4. Volume II. A. Godard, Y. Godard and J. Hackin : *Les Antiquites Bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, Paris, van Oest, 1928.

Volume III. J. Hackin and J. Carl : *Nouvelles Recherches Archeologiques a Bamiyan*, Paris, van Oest, 1933.

Volume IV. J. Barthoux : *Les Fouilles de Hadda*. I (Stupas et Sites). Paris, van Oest, 1933. III (Figures et figurines), Paris, 1930.

Volume VII. J. Hackin and J. Carl : *Recherches Archeologiques au Col de Khair-khaneh pres de Kabul*, Paris, 1936.

In preparation : J. Hackin and J. Carl : *Bamiyan* (conclusions).

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In recognition of his exploratory work, Professor Hackin was elected Corresponding Member of the Institut de France.[5]

Besides his numerous and many-sided duties as Museum Curator, and Head of an Archaeological Mission, Hackin found time to conduct courses in Indian Art and Archaeology, in Tibetan and Central Asian Art at the Ecole du Louvre in Paris.

In our days of strife and upheavals, losses are numerous and cruel, and all the more cruel they are when difficult to replace among the not too numerous band of scientific and cultural workers.

5. Articles by J. Hackin on the explorations in Afghanistan: "The Eastward Extension of Sassanian Motives." Bul. of the American Institute of Persian Archæology, IV, p. 5 ff.; "Repartitions des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan" J. As. CCXXVI, pp. 287-292; "L'art bouddhique de la Bactriane et l'origine de l'art greco-bouddhique." Bul. archeologique publie par la section historique de l'Academie Afghane, fasc. I, Kabul, 1937 (Persian and French texts). "Archæological Explorations of the neck of Khair-khaneh (near Kabul). J. Gr. India Soc. III, 1, p. 23-35. "Les Fouilles de la Delegation Archeologikue Francaise a Hadda. Mission Foucher-Godard-Barthoux (1923-28). Revue d. Arts Asiatiques, 1928, V, II, pp. 66-76. "The Colossal Buddhas at Bamiyan; their influence on Buddhist sculpture." *Eastern Art*, Vol. I, p. 108-116. "Sculptures greco-bouddhiques du Kapisa." *Fondation Piot*. Vol. XXVIII, 1, Paris, 1925-6. "Le site archeologique de Bamiyan." *Guide du visiteur*, Paris 1934.

THE VITALITY AND PERSISTENCE OF INDIAN CULTURE

By SUKUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A.

It was a remarkable speech which Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan delivered in opening the Educational and Cultural Exhibition at the Asutosh Hall in Calcutta on the 21st December last. In speaking of the uninterrupted period of continuity of Indian culture for over fifty centuries, he referred to the singular phenomenon that

"While so many other civilizations which arose after the Indian civilization—Greek, Roman, Byzantine, had all perished, this particular culture and civilization still survived and was still growing from strength to strength."

In Sir Sarvapalli's opinion, the explanation is to be sought in the fact that those civilizations were based on aggression and power-politics, while the Indian civilization was based on gentleness, tolerance, understanding and endurance.

"Here in India," he continues, "they had put the values of spirit above the values of politics, commerce and economics. . . . . The spirit of India was something which was larger than Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Buddhist. Here was a culture to which all races and communities had contributed. It had the power to save not only India but to save the world."

The conviction that the Indian culture is a fusion of all that is best in the different cultures and civilizations of the world and the faith that India has a mission to fulfil in a world, torn asunder by the disruptive forces of Imperialism and Capitalism, has found frequent expression in the writings of Rabindranath Tagore. One of his most brilliant political essays, written as early as 1905, ends with a peroration of which the following is an imperfect and inadequate translation:

"It is because thou hast an important mission to fulfil in this world that thou (India) hast survived in spite of many sorrows and tribulations. It can never be true that thou hast lived so long merely to enact an historical farce by trying to imitate the externals of other nations. The histories of other nations afford no example of what thou wilt achieve; in thy own place, thou art greater than the rest of the world. My Motherland, thy seat is spread at the foot of the lofty mountain ranges and girt round by the mighty seas. Drawn together by a divine destiny, Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and Buddhists have been waiting for a long time before thy seat. When thou wilt again resume this seat of thine, I am confident that, by thy wisdom, will be solved many an intricate problem of human knowledge, human activities and hnman religions; and at thy foot will be humbled and subdued the cruel political serpent which today raises its poisonous hood in arroganee to strike the world. Do not be agitated, do not be swayed by greed or fear, आत्मानं

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विद्धी, know thyself : उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्यवरान्निबोधत, arise, awake and having received what is best, be enlightened : क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गंपथस्वत कवयो वदन्ति, for the wise have said that the true path is difficult to traverse like the edge of the razor.*

Often and again has the poet referred to this theme, expounded it with his wonderful power of expression and all the beauty of his poetic imagery. It is not merely a flight of fancy, but a settled conviction, a truth which, as a seer, he has realised. It would fill a small volume to quote all that he has said on the subject, but I shall refer to a few well-known poems in which these ideas find a forceful expression.

The *Naivedya* contains a series of sonnets, written about 1900, when the Boer War was raging, expressing the agony of the poet's soul at the mad and barbarous fury, masquerading as civilization and nationalism. "The deep crimson which suffused the western sky," said he, "should not be mistaken for the light of the new dawn. It was merely the glow of annihilation of the dying day," and with great modesty and hesitation he expressed the hope that the light of the real dawn might be hidden under the darkness which enveloped the east, waiting for the auspicious hour to reveal itself.†

The volume of introductory poems published under the title of *Utsarga* contains a poem on India in which the Lord of the Universe appears to the poet in the guise of his motherland. He listens back through the veil of past centuries and hears the recitation of the *Gāyatrī* from throats long since hushed into silence. He looks forward through the mist of unborn ages and hears the conchshell of peace and universal welfare sounded by India-to-be, drowning the yells of warfare and piercing through the jingle of the capitalist's wealth.‡

One of the most popular poems of the *Gitānjali* (in original Bengali) is about the "Shrine of India," where at the call of the unknown, diverse streams of humanity, the Aryan and the non-Aryan, the Dravidian and the

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* "हे आमार स्वदेश, महापर्वतमालार पादमूले महासमुद्रपरिवेष्टित तोमार आसन विस्तीर्ण रहियाछे—एइ आसनेर सम्मुखे हिन्दू मुसलमान खृष्टान बौद्ध विधातार आह्वाने आकृष्ट हइया, बहुदिन हइते प्रतीक्षा करितेछे, तोमार एइ आसन तुमि यखन पुनर्बार एक दिन ग्रहण करिबे, तखन तोमार मंत्रे कि ज्ञानेर, कि कर्मेर, कि धर्मेर अनेक विरोध मीमांसा हइया याइबे एवं तोमार चरणप्रान्ते आधुनिक निष्ठुर पोलिटिक्याल कालभुजंगेर विश्वद्वेषी विषाक्त दर्प परिशान्त हइबे।"

—*Raja-Praja*, "Rajbhakti," p. 104.

† "शताब्दीर सूर्य आजि रक्तमेघमाझे अस्त गेल ;—हिंसार उत्सवे आजि बाजे अस्त्रे-अस्त्रे मरणेर उन्माद रागिनी

* * *

स्वार्थे-स्वार्थे बेधेछे संघात, लोभे-लोभे घटेछे संग्राम,—

* * *

स्वार्थेर समाप्ति अपघाते। अकस्मात् परिपूर्ण स्फीति माझे दारुण आघात विदीर्ण विकीर्ण करि चूर्ण करे तारे।

* * *

एइ पश्चिमेर कोने रक्त-राग-रेखा नहे कभु सौम्यरश्मि अरुणेर लेखा तव नव प्रभातेर! ए शुधु केवल संध्यार प्रलयदीप्ति।

* * *

एइ श्मशानेर माझे शक्तिर साधना तव आराधना नहे, हे विश्वपालक! तोमार निखिलप्लावी आनन्द-आलोक हय त लुकाये आछे पूर्वसिन्धुतीरे बहु धैर्ये, नम्र स्तब्ध दुःखेर तिमिरे।"

—*Naivedya* (published 1901). Sonnets 64, 65 and 66.

‡ "नयन मुदिया शुनिनु, जानिना
कोन् अनागत वरषे
तव मंगल-शंख तुलिया
बाजाय भारत हरषे।
डुबाये धरार रण-हुंकार
भेदि बणिकेर धन-झंकार
महाकाशतले ओठे ओंकार
कोनो बाधा नाहि मानि।"

—*Utsarga*—16.

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Chinese, and even the Sakas and the Hunas, have commingled into one : and unto which the West has today opened its doors and has brought its offerings.**

The conviction that Indian culture was a synthesis of all that was best in contemporaneous life with which the Indians came into contact is so strong and deeply rooted with Rabindranath that his lifes' work, the Institute of International Culture at Santiniketan, is based on two fundamental ideals : (1) the recognition of the unity and common basis of the different cultures and (2) an attempt to synthetise all that is best in them.

At a time, when our ears are deafened with the din of war and our vision is dimmed with the smoke and dust that seem to blot out the light of God, we may derive some consolation from contemplations such as these, and with the poet firmly cherish the hope that the light of the real dawn may be hidden beneath the darkness of the much-despised Orient and that, from the India-to-be, will be given the message of a world-peace.

The hope which the poet expressed in many of his works four decades ago he has reiterated in his last birthday address on the *Crisis in Civilization* in the following passage :

"As I look around I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises. A day will come when unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage."

** "केह नाहि जाने कार आह्वाने
कत मानुषेर धारा
दुर्बार स्रोते एलो कोथा ह'ते
समुद्रे हलो हारा ।
हेथाय आर्य, हेथा अनार्य
हेथाय द्राविड़, चीन—
शक - हून - दल पाठान मोगल
एक देहे हलो लीन ।
पश्चिम आजि खुलियाछे द्वार
सेथा हते सबे आने उपहार
दिबे आर निबे, मिलाबे-मिलिबे
याबे ना फिरे,
एइ भारतेर महामानवेर सागर-तीरे ॥

—*Gitanjali*, 106.

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SOME ALLEGATIONS AGAINST INDIAN OFFICIALS

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.,
Organising Secretary, All-India Conference of Indian Christians

III

The Question of Efficiency

So deep-rooted and, at the same time, so widely held is the conviction that Indians as a class, no matter to what part of this great land they belong or to what particular stock, are inefficient that Mr. Winston Churchill in an address he delivered at a meeting held on March 18, 1931, under the auspices of the Indian Empire Society with the Duke of Marlborough in the chair observed :

"In India far more than in any other community in the world moral, political and economic considerations are outweighed by the importance of technical and administrative apparatus. Here you have nearly three hundred and fifty millions of people, lifted to a civilisation and to a level of peace, order, sanitation and progress far above anything they could possibly have achieved themselves or could maintain. This wonderful fact is due to the guidance and authority of a few thousands of British officials . . . who have for generations presided over the development of India. If that authority is injured or destroyed, the whole efficiency of the services, defensive, administrative, medical, hygienic, judicial, railway, irrigation, public works and famine prevention, upon which the Indian masses depend for their culture and progress, will perish with it. India will fall back quite rapidly through the centuries into the barbarism and privations of the Middles Ages."

It has been stated in this connection that, next to the security services under which come the Indian Civil and the Indian Police services, the three departments which have benefited the masses to the largest extent are the Irrigation, the Agriculture and the Co-operative departments none of which has any oriental counterpart. They are entirely the creation of the brains and organising powers of British officials who "are steadily training their Indian colleagues and helpers to carry on the good work."

We are told that many British officials in charge of these three beneficent departments have expressed the view that when these services are manned solely by Indians "the initiative necessary to plan and carry out the great schemes still awaiting execution will disappear"; and that in the case of the Irrigation department "the existing works will deteriorate from lack of supervision and efficient maintenance."

So far as the Education Department is concerned, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and specially the recommendations of the Lee Commission practically stopped British recruitment into it from about 1920. It is held by one retired member of the Indian Civil Service that this has been a great mistake as all the best Indians of the older generation "were the product of early teaching by notable missionary principals of colleges as well as by a few outstanding men in Government service." It may well be pointed out that the number of colleges under missionary control, whether Catholic or Protestant, has increased slowly but steadily. The Missionary principals and the Missionary professors are still with us and unless they, unlike the European members of the services, have deteriorated, they are still free to benefit India to the same extent and in the same manner as their predecessors. Today in Bengal, I personally know hundreds of leading public men, a majority among whom are nationalists, frankly acknowledging the debt they owe to these gentlemen. Names such as those of Dr. Henry Stephen, Dr. W. S. Urquhardt, Rev. Fathers Lafont, O'Neile, Crohan and Roeland, Dr. George Howels, Principal A. E. Brown, are on their lips whenever there is any discussion on this matter. If I have not mentioned the names of Missionaries who are today with us, it is not because they are rendering less valuable services but only because I do not regard this as quite graceful.

With Indian professors being rewarded with knighthoods and with honorary fellowships in various learned societies in different parts of the world, some of which are well-known for their exclusiveness, critics of this type have been compelled to recognise the Indian claim to the possession of scholarship. The ground has been shifted and the charge now is that politicians "may find talent in Indian lecturers perhaps, but few like the old principals who were builders of character." The grudging way in which the achievements of scientists like Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray to mention the names of two teachers only are referred to is significant. This retired British official may be unaware of it, but it is an undeniable fact that teachers of this type are indeed builders of character though it is admitted that the shape they are giving to their handiwork may not be liked by members of a bureaucracy.

It is not denied for one moment that the English official is perfectly honest in his belief

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that the Indian is by nature apt to do his work inefficiently and to permit his subordinates to follow his example. Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., who among other things was Professor of Modern Indian History in the Allahabad University from 1914 to 1919 in his thought-provoking book *What About India?* referring to this bias against the people of our country says :

"The British officials then as more recently, tended to hold a low opinion of the executive capacity of the educated Indian, whom they regarded as better at talking about a thing than at doing it. They knew themselves to be accomplishing much for the material development of the country as well as for its peace and order; they were genuinely apprehensive lest the interests of the masses should suffer if this work, now performed by a *corps d'elite* devoting every ounce of its skill, *nerve*, and determination to the job, should fall into less competent hands."

The writer, however, has the fairness to admit the injurious results which have followed the adoption of this attitude by the British official. Continuing he observes :

"It was this consideration which accounted for the comparative failure of the attempt made by Lord Ripon to institute a formal system of Local Self-Government for India on the English model. The skill and experience of the British officials who presided over the Municipalities and District Boards overawed the elected members, whose influence was accordingly small. Men of local rank and substance soon became reluctant to offer themselves for election; and in practice the British officials continued to administer local affairs much as before."

And the explanation according to him for this interference which Lord Ripon had never contemplated and which he had tried to eliminate, according to Professor Rushbrook Williams, is that "the British could not bear to stand aside and see their work done less efficiently by some one else."

India does not deny the benefits she has gained from her connection with Britain and the presence of British officials in India. What she maintains is that she has outgrown tutelage and wishes to manage her own affairs. It would be a mistake to think that this implies that she is ungrateful for what has already been done for her. The prophecy that the work of these and other beneficent departments will flourish only under English supervision has, on experience, been found to be a wrong one. There is no proof that the work of these departments has suffered since the entry of larger numbers of Indian officers into their cadre. Assertions however vehement can not be regarded as equivalent to proof. The correctness or otherwise of the other prophecy that existing Irrigation works would go to rack and ruin as soon as European control is withdrawn has yet to be tested in the light of actual experience. India thinks that, just as the toddler learns to walk only when it is permitted to do so unassisted by leading strings, similarly, India claims the right for her sons and daughters to acquire experience even at the cost of some mistakes.

Mahatma Gandhi had this in his mind when, in a talk with the late Lord Lothian reported in the *Times*, April 2, 1937, he is reported to have stated :

"You English committed one supreme crime against my people. For 100 years you have done everything for us; you have given us no responsibility for our own government, nor enabled us to learn by making mistakes. If we are deficient in the character and experience necessary to enable us to take over the control of our own affairs, it is because you have never given us the opportunity to develop those qualities in practice. We demand responsibility at once."

The Alleged Lack of Initiative

Commenting on the lack of initiative which is regarded by many European officials as a fundamental defect in the Indian character, Sir Reginald Craddock in the course of his observations on the work of the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service has said :

"In scholastic honours they can hold their own, but in the stress and strain of an official life they fall below standards. . . On the Executive side, where driving power, initiative, and rapid decision in an emergency are essential, they do not hold their own with their British colleagues."

As for those Indian officers who show some promise of developing initiative, Sir Reginald says that they

"lose their fitness for leadership just when they reach the age at which they should be ripe to assume it. Even among the British there are men who do not last the course, and who become stale and unprofitable. With them it is the exception : with the Indians it is common. They cannot stand up against the atmosphere around them."

Whatever the correctness of these opinions, the conclusion is that it is the climate which is responsible for this defect in the Indian character. This is a consolation but only partly so, for, if the explanation advanced is correct, India will continue to enjoy the doubtful privilege of always having her administrative work done by non-Indians—a state of affairs to which India will never agree.

There are, however, other officials who, while agreeing with the views of Sir Reginald, ascribe the lack of Indian initiative to an altogether different cause. Their opinion is that by reason of according blind obedience to his religious teachers, priests, the character of the Indian has developed in such a way that he feels happy only when he is working under a superior who shoulders all the responsibility.

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As he lacks leadership and initiative, he is unable to grapple with any unexpected situation which may arise. In other words, even with general principles before him, he is so stupid that he is incapable of applying them to these individual cases which fall outside his experience. In illustration of this view, an English writer has said :

"A functionary (an Indian is meant of course) finding a boy roasting a purple cat alive, will turn up his book of regulations and find that his duty is laid down only in the cases where the victim is a black, a white, a yellow, or a tabby cat. Being a human man he will sigh and will shut the book with the remark. 'The case is unforeseen,' and return to the filling up of his forms."

This may be humour though not of a very high order but the retired official who said this with all his long experience behind him forgot, that just as the affairs of India are directed from Whitehall and the Viceroy has to take his orders from the Secretary of State, just as, till the other day, the affairs of the provinces were controlled from Simla or Delhi, just as the affairs of the districts are controlled from the provincial capital, in just the same way the work of the Indian official is controlled by his English superior. The reluctance to display initiative on the part of the Indian is more often than not due to the fear of receiving a snub from his superior who, in his turn, has always the same fear within him. This psychology is one of the objectionable consequences of centralisation perhaps the greatest exponent of which was Lord Curzon.

Then again, the Englishman has strong objections, probably subconscious, to initiative being taken by the Indian for it would imply that, like Othello, his occupation is gone—the reason namely for his presence in India. Under these circumstances, is it any wonder that the Indian official, if he is ambitious and desirous of getting on, is obliged, through a sense of discretion, to hide his light under a bushel? Any one in his position would argue that if the English official requires that his subordinate, the Indian official, should do nothing without consulting him, the latter should give in to his superior if only to please him. I personally know of Indian officials who, in trying to demonstrate their possession of initiative, managed to incur the displeasure of their English superiors with its contingent disadvantages. That the average Englishman finds pleasure in governing the so-called inferior races was acknowledged long ago, in proof of which I shall quote here a short extract from a speech made in London by Mr. Seton Kerr, at one time Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. He was attacking the Ilbert Bill which proposed that Indian judges should try Europeans and said that it outraged

"the cherished conviction which was shared by every Englishman in India, from the highest to the lowest, by the planter's assistant in his lowly bungalow and by the editor in the full light of the Presidency town —from these to the Chief Commissioner in charge of an important province and to the Viceroy on his throne —the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue."

These sentiments expressed more than half a century ago are still to be found among many Europeans, official and non-official, though one has to admit that they are not so frankly and frequently expressed as in the past.

Referring to the necessity of maintaining a preponderating British personnel in the different services, Sir Michael O'Dwyer who believed that Indians lack initiative and that they are capable of good work only when acting as subordinates, observed about twenty years ago :

"Though there are many able and gallant men among the Indian police officers, the fact remains that the Indian policeman, like the Indian soldier, does his best work under British leading."

National India does not admit that leadership is the monopoly of the Englishman or that Indians cannot work satisfactorily under Indian leadership. If that were so, how does the British official explain the good work done in some of the more progressive Indian States where all the officers are Indians and some departments of which are admittedly more efficiently organised than the corresponding departments in British India? Or again, how is it that, under Indian management, the State Forces have been organised as efficiently as the units of the Indian Army? The regrettable thing is that Indians in anything like sufficiently large numbers have not, in the past, been allowed adequate facilities for acquiring the qualities of leadership and they are today denied the right to manage their own affairs on account of its supposed lack. The only solution of this problem is to let them have a free hand and there is little doubt that they will, in time, be able to develop these qualities to the same extent as the British officials.

The British Official of the Future

It is the conviction of National India that the British official is more doubtful about the ability of the Indian than is warranted by actual facts. The former unintentionally or, as some uncharitable critics would suggest conveniently, forgets that the affairs of nearly a third of India are administered by Indians and that in the Indian States at least law and order

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are maintained. This feeling of doubt on the part of the English official is reinforced by that very human weakness to which the European no less than the non-European official is a victim—that he is indispensable. And let us admit that, with the record of the splendid work done by him and his forbears, the British official has some justification for believing that he and he alone can conserve what is in existence and add to it from time to time.

There is the further fact that there is a certain amount of disbelief in the abilities, if not jealousy, of those Indian colleagues who are replacing the British officials. And they are keen critics of the work done by these Indians and probably feel some amount of malicious delight when they find anything to criticise in their official activities. All these factors combine to influence the British official to believe that it is his presence alone which is preventing India from relapsing to the state of confusion and anarchy from which she had been rescued. The British official, however, should not allow himself to forget that an unyielding attitude in a matter like this is likely to be interpreted as being due to his anxiety to hold on to his position for purely selfish reasons.

The consolation of those British officials who prefer that Britain should continue to govern India for the latter's benefit and who, India is certain, will, in the long run, be disappointed in their expectation, should be that the training of Indians as good administrators demands far higher qualities than being good administrators themselves and further that the duty of imparting this training is the immediate task before British officials. They must, in future, justify their presence in India by the ability they display in this new and unfamiliar departure from their old policy. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the majority of the members of the different services are honest, clean-living Britons but they have to forget their memories of their own countryside, probably somewhat idealised, ruled patriarchially by its squires and must be prepared to face the hard realities of present day India insisting on her right to rule herself and help her to do so as far as lies in their power.

National India would remind British officials of what India's great friend Lord Ripon said to their predecessors when launching scheme of self-government. He asked them to be more concerned about the encouragement of the beginnings of independent political life than about efficiency and concluded by saying that the system he was introducing would open to them a larger and more fruitful field for the exercise of administrative power and tact than the autocratic system it was superseding. This was envisaged by Mr. Edwin Montagu and Lord Chelmsford when in Para 324 of their joint report they observed that

"the utilities of the European official in India will gradually undergo a change; that instead of continuing to the same degree as now as the executive agency of Government, he will stand aside more from the work of carrying out orders and assume the position of a skilled consultant, a technical adviser and an inspecting and reporting officer."

The reason given for this attitude was as follows:

"We are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services; we are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing."

Continuing they said:

"Those who think that the opportunity of the Indian Civil Service is over are mistaken. Life will indeed be more difficult; it will not be less worthy. It is harder to convince than to direct; to prevail in consultation than to enforce an order. But can there be a higher calling for the service than to train in the years that are to come men who are to relieve them of much of their burden? . . . . In future there must be more partnership, which means for the official extra work, explanations, consultations and attempts to carry with him those who will one day do the work themselves. It is a task that will, we believe, add to the repute of the service; but what will be a matter of more satisfaction to that body is that it will improve relations with educated Indians."

But in order that the British official may be successful in the new sphere of service to which he is called and which is gradually opening before him, he must either trust the Indian fully or not make the experiment at all. It is not denied that, now and again, he will meet with disappointments but it is also equally true that today he has, thanks to the national movement, a larger number of unselfish and devoted patriots to draw upon than in the past and therefore the measure of success his efforts will call forth will be much larger than what those who had preceded him in the same field could expect. Above all, he must have faith in himself and must believe that he will be as successful in this new line of work as he, his colleagues and his predecessors have been in administrative work. And finally, he must have faith in the Indian that he too is capable of developing into as good a man as the non-Indian he will be replacing. As for those officials who cannot trust Indians and have no faith in them, National India would remind them of the very wise saying of Mother Carey in the *Water Babies* who observed:

"Any one can make things if they take time and trouble enough; but it is not every one who, like me, can make things make themselves."—(*Concluded*).

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LONG-STAPLED COTTON CULTIVATION

Its Present Condition in Bengal

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRAVARTTY,

Agricultural Officer, Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd.

All interested in the revival of long-stapled cotton cultivation in Bengal are aware that the success of its cultivation by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd. encouraged the Mill-owners Association, Bengal, to try its cultivation in different parts of the province. With funds contributed equally by the Association and by the Government, the Agricultural Department has been for the last three years trying its cultivation in six different districts, every year, Considering the ideal aimed at, as the fund (Rs. 4,000/- a year) is hopelessly inadequate for the purpose, the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills have been doing their best by maintaining an Agricultural Officer, and lending his services to the Government whenever required, and have been helping growers in Bengal and Assam who have been cultivating cotton outside the scheme. Of the five years' scheme contemplated, this year 1940-41 is the third year of its working. It is most encouraging that the Secretary, Central Cotton Committee of India, Mr. D. N. Mahta, B.A. (Oxon.), visited a few places grown with cotton, this season, in October 1940. He was convinced of its immense possibilities in Bengal and as a sign of recognition, helped the further working of the scheme by contributing funds necessary to maintain a qualified supervisor. He recommended to grow Dacca American (289F) variety for the present. The Dacca Egyptian variety, grown very successfully by the Dhakeswari Mills, was tried in different places in Bengal by the Government and the Mills. In the first two years of the working of the scheme, growers were so satisfied with its cultivation both regarding quality (fine-silky strong staple about 1½″ inch) and quality of yield (6 mds. of seed-cotton per bigha or 1/3rd acre), that it was considered one of the most profitable crops in Bengal. The Government was kind enough to sanction an annual grant of Rs. 2,500/- for three years for manural and seed-multiplication works of this particular variety, and work was started in April, 1940. Unfortunately, the crop of this variety failed this season almost everywhere owing to fungus attacks known as Anthracnose and Rust. It is to be hoped that the Government will, in this connection, try their experiments, on different seed treatments and soil selection in different places and try not to restrict the same in a particlar soil type. In agricultural pursuits it is not unlikely that for reasons beyond one's control, in spite of every precaution crop may fail in a particular locality. The truth of this statement will be borne out by the fact that Dacca Egyptian crops grown under Government supervision failed everywhere, whereas those grown under the supervision of the Mills or outside the scheme, succeeded in a few places and were not so heavily affected. Cotton has been obtained this season from the Mill compound, (100 pounds from 10 kathas of 1/6th acre) Ichhapura, Demra in Dacca district and Jhargram, Basudebpur (Midnapore), but for which the seeds of this important variety would have been almost extinct from Bengal. The Agricultural Department has recommended one line of treatment of seeds, *viz.*, with mercuric chloride solution (1 in 1000 parts of water) a few days before sowing. There is however no reason for disappointment for its failure this season, as the seeds were not this year treated before sowing. This is indispensable for successful growing of a crop, specially when it is foreign to a place. Further it is inexplicable why such treatments were not made or suggested by the Department though there was provision for the same in the Dacca Egyptian scheme. It has however been decided by experts to restrict its cultivation until effective measures have been found out for its healthy growing. Dacca American cotton has succeeded well in all centres, though places in West Bengal have been found more suitable. The cultivation of this variety is not so profitable for middle class youths, who have to do all works by hired labourers. The profits, however, can be increased by growing the same on plantation scale. The cost of cultivation here is much more than what is spent in foreign cotton growing countries, though labour rate is more costly. Abundant growth of Motha grass and other weeds in the rainy season become difficult and expensive to

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Dacca American Cotton. Staple length $\frac{7}{8}$" to 1-1/16"

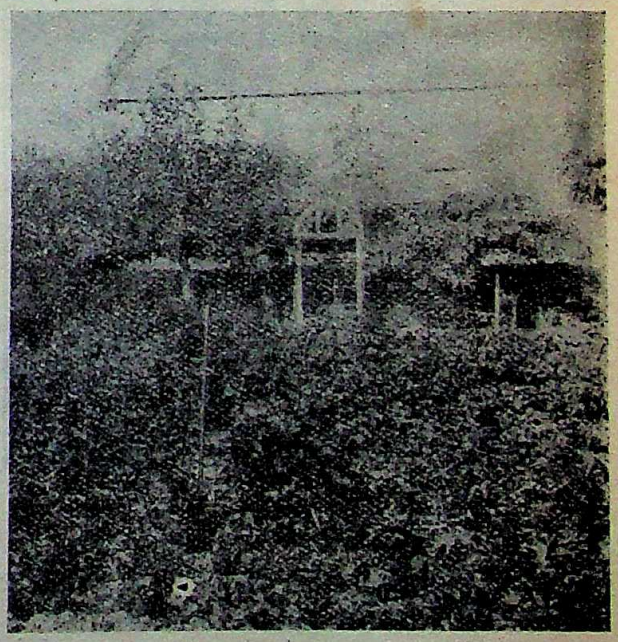
control by hand labour. Labour is difficult to procure and expensive due to their demands at this time in jute and paddy fields. Even when procured the work has often to be stopped due to sudden appearance of rains. In periods of long protracted rains the weeds grow uncontrolablly and soil becomes stiff, thus the growth of cotton plants becomes stunted. According to C. W. Barker in his *Cotton Farmers in America*, it is possible for a man with one-mule-driven plough, hoe, etc., to work 10 to 20 acres of cotton. There is no denial that all plants like cotton, which have a deep tap-root system with comparatively few surface-roots sown in lines, will be economically and efficiently grown by the above implements. For want of a model such indispensable implements as can be purchased by ordinary cultivators, have not come into use in Bengal. I could not see their demonstration in the Dacca Central farm even.

The experiences of different cotton fields have shown that local conditions play an important part as regards the time of sowing, spacing of plants, growth and yield of cotton. Cotton requires sufficient moisture in its growing period and dry condition when bolls begin to develop. The following particulars may be followed everywhere regarding cotton-cultivation :

Soil.—Well drained high lands, clay or sandy loam, are most suitable for cotton.

Preparation of Soil.—Cultivation should begin at least two months before sowing—cotton like other crops do not grow well in readily prepared soil—without allowing time for weathering. Thoroughly prepare the soil after repeated cultivation and laddering. Our old cultivators of cotton knew the importance of such tillage.*

Manures.—Application of well-rotten cow dung and ashes at the rate of 20 maunds per bigha and green manuring is desirable. After further ploughing make four or more lines and put powdered oil-cake in the lines at 1 maund per bigha and half-a-maund of bone dust.



Dacca Egyptian grown by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, Narayanganj, Dacca

* "शनेक चाषे तुला, तार अर्द्धेक मूला। तार अर्द्धेक धान, विना चाषे पान।"

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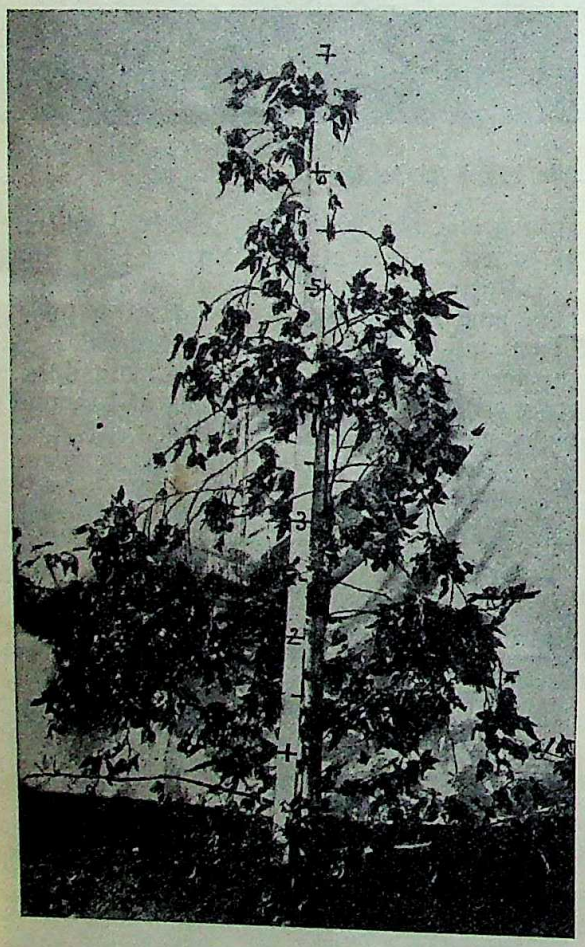
Sowing.—With the appearance of rainy season sow at intervals of 18″ inches in the lines 2 or 3 seeds in a place. The seeds must be 1″ inch below soil. The distance between lines is to be ascertained from local experience and of the variety to be planted. The height of the plants varies from 3′ to 8′ ft. according to the nature and fertility of the soil. Thus the distance between lines depends on those two factors. Excessive rains after sowing prevents germination. After 10 days of the first sowing, sow again in places where plants have not come out. Repeat the same every 10 days for a month. Filling by transplanting should be avoided.



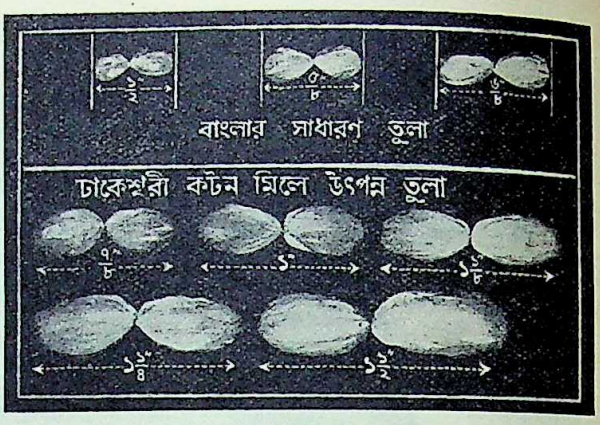
Dacca Egyptian grown in the fields

Treatment of Seeds.—It is advisable to treat the seeds before sowing by

(*a*) dipping them in ½ p.c. copper sulphate solution for 5 minutes and then drying them in the sun.

(*b*) dipping in sulphuric acid for a few seconds till the fuzz is removed.

(*c*) dipping them in 1 to 2 p.c. formalin solution for 10 to 30 minutes. The latter two should be done under expert supervision.



Top : Comilla Cotton. Indegeneous variety in Bengal. Staple length ⅓″ to ⅝″
Bottom : Dacca American and Dacca Egyptian as grown in Bengal

Care of the Plants.—The land must be kept loose and free from weeds throughout the period of the growth of the plants. For a month or two after sowing, when there are sunny days at frequent intervals, Peterson's hand-hoe (worth Rs. 10/-), Planet Junior hoe (Rs. 25/- each) or similar instruments are very useful and economical. If such implement is worked by two men, one pulling from the front and the other pushing from behind, these two can in 8 hours work 5 bighas *i.e.*, hoeing per bigha cost 0-6-0 in place of Re. 1/8/- by hand. If weather condition permits, by the frequent working of this hoe, the soil can be kept loose and free from weeds for about 2 months. Later during the rains when work cannot be done for a fortnight or more, for constant rains, the soil becomes stiff. In that case hoes and cultivators as can be drawn by one bullock are to be used twice or thrice every month. *Never work the soil when it is wet.* Begin first ridging by such ploughs as are hand or one-bullock-driven, or by hand when the plants are 6″ inches high, and complete the final ridging of the lines of plants before regular monsoon sets in. In places where there are two or three plants together keep one healthy plant in a place and remove others. After final ridging the spaces between the lines of cotton plants may be utilised by growing an early variety of ground-nut which takes only 80 days, from sowing to harvesting. The seed is available in Nagpur farm, C. P. Ground-nuts often invite rats which injure cotton bolls. The spaces may also be utilised by growing *Palval*, Raddish, Winter vegetables or some Rabi-crops. Plough and ladder several times with one-bullock-driven implements after harvesting ground-nuts. The soil must be kept

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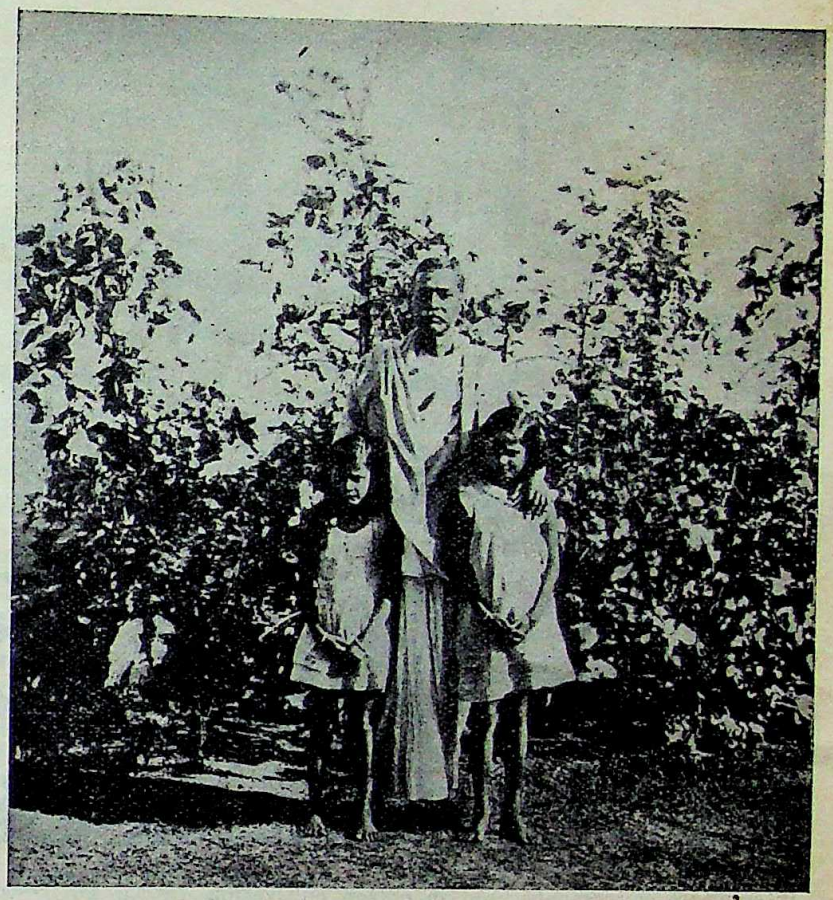
loose after autumn by working with one-bullock-driven harrows, which conserves moisture in the soil in dry weather and prolongs the period of harvesting of cotton and thus increasing the yield. Cultivation must cease when the bolls have fully grown as the plants at this stage have fully covered the ground.

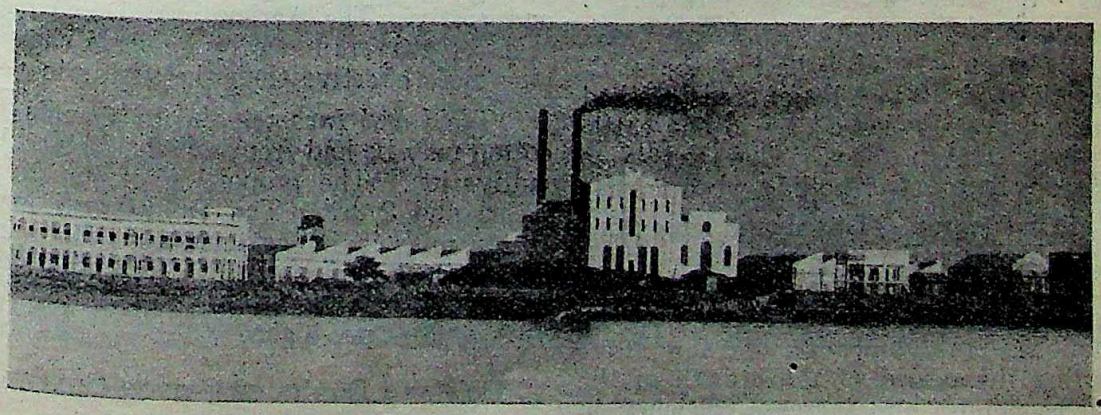
Insect Pests and Diseases.—Attacks must be remedied early when first noticed. Late action towards its precaution, when the pests grow uncontrollable, is dangerous. Stemborers, bugs, leaf rollers, red bugs, boll weevils have been by timely action effectively controlled. Stemborers may be traced inside the stems and branches. Hand-picking the pests and killing them by throwing into kerosene mixed water placed in empty cigarette tins etc., appears to be the best method.

Picking.—This should be done when the bolls are fully opened and the cotton protrudes freely. Never pull cotton from partially opened green bolls. Cotton collected in the first period are better than the succeeding ones. It must be kept scrupulously clean and free from soil particles and leaves, as these foreign bodies must be removed before spinning; soiling lowers the price.



Dacca Egyptian Cotton. Staple length 1¼" to 1-9/16". Each plant has more than 150 bolls yielding an average of 1½ lb. of seed-cotton. Writer of the article standing by the cotton-plants to indicate the height of the plants

Selection of Seeds for Multiplication.—Healthy plants bearing best and profuse cotton should be selected for the purpose and the best cotton collected from them. For purposes of



Dhakeswari Cotton Mills. No. 2 on the western bank of the river Shitallakha. It has 20,000 spindles and 500 looms. No. 1 on the eastern bank opposite No. 2 has 30,000 spindles and 800 looms

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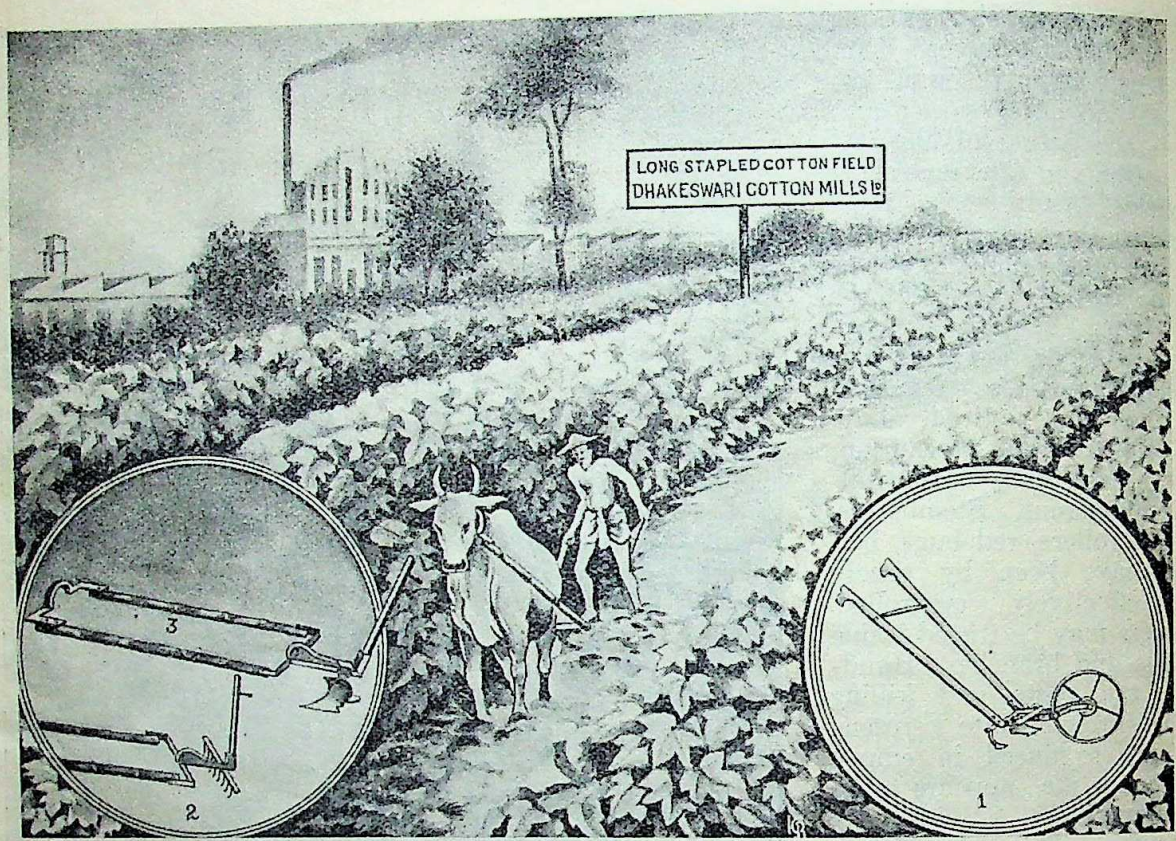

Intercculture implements used in cotton cultivation by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills : (Fig. 1) Hand hoes and cultivator. (Fig. 2) One-bullock-driven harrow, 30" wide. (Fig. 3) One-bullock-driven light plough

early crops, select cotton from early bearing plants.

Rotation.—Though cotton is not an exhaustive plant it should not be grown in the same soil for more than two years. The seeds in the second year should be sown in the furrows of the previous crop which will gradually be turned into ridges in the following year.

Uses of Cotton.—Besides the lint the seeds are good cattle food. 2 to 4 lbs of seeds crushed and boiled and given twice a day to one cattle keeps it strong and healthy. The food is to be given 5 to 6 hours after boiling when cold.

Cost of Cultivation.—This should not exceed Rs. 30/- per bigha or Rs. 90/- per acre. There are difficulties in the cultivation of crops that are new in a place. The introduction of one-bullock-driven ploughs, hoes, and harrows for interculture during the period of the growth of the plants will economise and increase efficiency in production and also increase the yield. The cost of picking in Bengal is much greater than that in some other cotton growing coutries. One man in America will pick 50 to 100 lbs of cotton in a day of 8 hours whereas the average picked here by one person is only 10 lbs. This is natural when introducting a new crop. When the workers gain in experience the cost of collection is bound to fall. In the absence of modern gins among the present growers, ginning is difficult and costly. The Agricultural Department will help the growers much by devising cheap cotton gins more effective than the kerkis in use.

Yield and Income.—4½ to 6 mds of seed cotton may be had from a bigha of land by good cultivation. The proportion of lint to seed is 1/3rd and 2/3rd. The Dhakeswari and other cotton mills in Bengal guarantee a minimum of Rs. 30/- per maund for lint produced from approved seeds. There is thus a profit of Rs. 16/- to 20/- per bigha.

Do's and Don'ts of Cotton Cultivation

(1) Cotton cannot stand water-logging.

(2) Avoid growing cotton as a pure crop; grow it along with suitable mixtures of groundnuts, cowpeas and other crops mentioned before.

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(3) Always use interculture implements in Cotton cultivation, as hoes, cultivators, etc., twice every month till bolls appear.

(4) Never neglect pests and destroy them whenever found.

(5) Pick cotton clean.

(6) Treat seeds before sowing. For advice refer to the Second Economic Botanist, Bengal.

(7) Cultivation should be neat and clean.

(8) Uproot or remove the affected portions of diseased plants. Remove emaciated and dying plants and always burn them.

(9) Phosphate manures are indispensable for the increase of yields.

Statement of Income and Expenses of Cotton-Cultivation in a Bigha of Land (1/3rd Acre) in Bengal

The account shown here is based on experiments made by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills in different places in Bengal.

Income

Lint 1½ md. at Rs. 30 a md.	.. Rs.	45-0-0
One md.=82 lbs.		
Seeds 3 mds. at Re. 1-8 a md.	.. „	4-8-0
In a bigha of land (120 ft. by 120 ft.) 2,000 plants may be obtained. Lines 6 ft. apart and plants to plants 3 ft. in the lines, i.e., 40 by 50=2,000 plants. Each plant will bear 2 chhataks (¼-lb. of Kapas seed cotton) thus 250 seers or about 6 mds. of kapas or 2 mds. of lint may be obtained. Where spacing is more wide due to plants growing healthy and long, yielding of kapas will increase proportionately.		
Total	Rs.	49-8-0

Expenses

2 mds. of lime	.. Rs.	1-0-0
When necessary to be applied with first ploughing.		
Ploughing and Laddering	.. „	2-8-0
from January or earlier after a shower or after Rabi crops have been harvested.		
Green manuring	.. „	0-8-0
Cost of manuring (in case of exhausted soil)	.. „	6-8-0
Cow dung and ashes—20 mds. Rs. 2-0		
Oil cake 1 md. „ 2-0		
Bone dust ½ „ „ 2-8		
	Rs.	6-8
Cost of seeds and their treatment before sowing—3 lbs.	.. „	0-8-0
Cost of sowing (4 labourers)	.. „	1-0-0
Cost of hoeing with Peterson's or Planet Junior hoes and hand weeding	.. „	1-8-0
Cost of ridging and thinning of plants	.. „	1-8-0
Shallow interculture once every 10 days until bolls begin to open with one-bullock-driven ploughs, harrows	.. „	2-0-0
Kerosene and labour to kill pests, 3 rounds	.. „	1-4-0
Picking, jinning, packing and despatching	.. „	10-0-0
Rent of land	.. „	1-0-0
Other expenses	.. „	1-0-0
Total	Rs.	30-4-0

In case of Dacca Egyptian variety the value is not less than Rs. 40 per md. Cost of production and yield are the same. Further income may be had from groundnut and other crops grown in spaces between lines of cotton plants.

Cultivating cotton with "Planet Jr.," single-wheel hand hoes in the Punjab.
(Taken from the Catalogue of T. E. Thomson & Co., Ltd.)

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Jain pilgrims climbing up the rocky hill to the temple of Gomatesvara for the Mahamastakabhisheka ceremony. During the ceremony held last year, more than 500,000 pilgrims assembled at Sravanabelgola

SRAVANABELGOLA

A South Indian Town of Archaeological and Religious Importance

By N. N.

A most important town of South India, from the archaeological as well as the religious point of view, is Sravanabelgola, in the Hassan district of the Mysore State. It is important as a Jain pilgrim centre of great sanctity and more important still, archaeologically, because it contains that wonder-sculpture of India, the statue of Gomatesvara and a number of Jain temples.

Sravanabelgola is but a little town, built in a valley between two tiny hills, the Vindhyagiri and Chandragiri. The sculptural and architectural remains of the place are scattered over these hills and the valley between them.

On the Vindhyagiri hill is the celebrated Gomatesvara statue and a couple of *bastis* or Jain temples. On the other hill are a dozen temples, many of them fine examples of South Indian architecture. In the valley is the beautiful *Kalyani* or sacred pond and the sleeping little town with another generous sprinkling of temples, monasteries and *mantaps*.

The Statue of Gomatesvara

The first object that deserves one's attention in Sravanabelgola is Gomatesvara, of course. It was in 1028 A.D. nearly a thousand years ago, that this fifty-seven feet high colossus was carved and set up by an unknown sculptor under the commands of Chamunda Raya. Chamunda Raya was a minister to Rajamalla, a king of the Ganga dynasty, who ruled parts of the Mysore State at that time.

Gomatesvara is on the top of the Vindhyagiri hill. The hill itself is almost one single rock and the statue is carved out of a boulder on the topmost point. A high wall surrounds it, but even that is not enough to cover up the giant and Gomatesvara is visible all around the hill for many miles of country.

Carved in light-grey granite, this colossal image is perfectly proportionate except for a slight dwarfing of the legs. Standing nude, as befitting a Digambara saint, Gomatesvara, though gigantic, is not lacking either in beauty or in shapeliness. Its face is serene and the sly smile that a saint has for the affairs of "this illusory world of ours and the the childishness of our actions" is carved out perfectly well.

Though ten centuries old, the image is as fresh and as well polished as it was when that devout Jain sculptor's hands passed over it when he gave it its finishing touches. Neither

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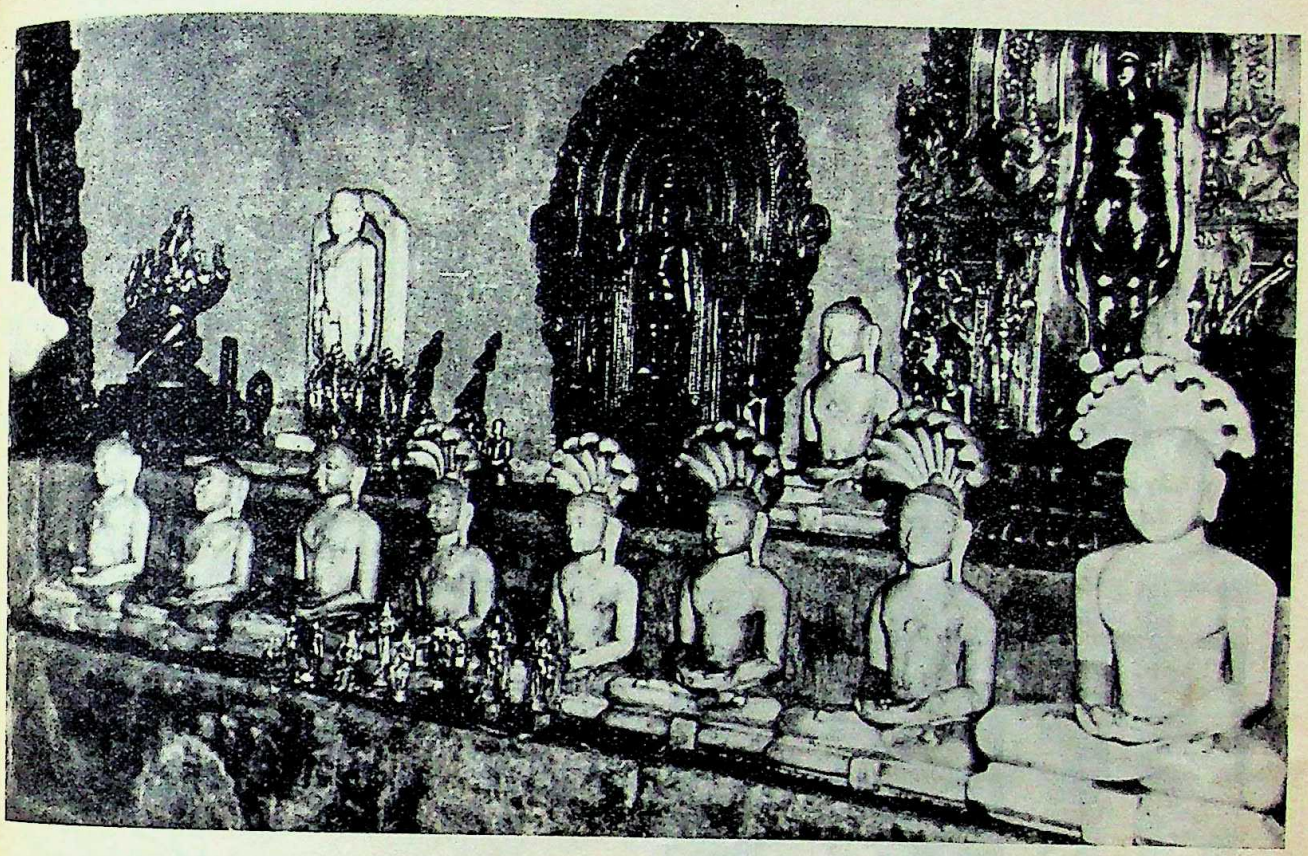
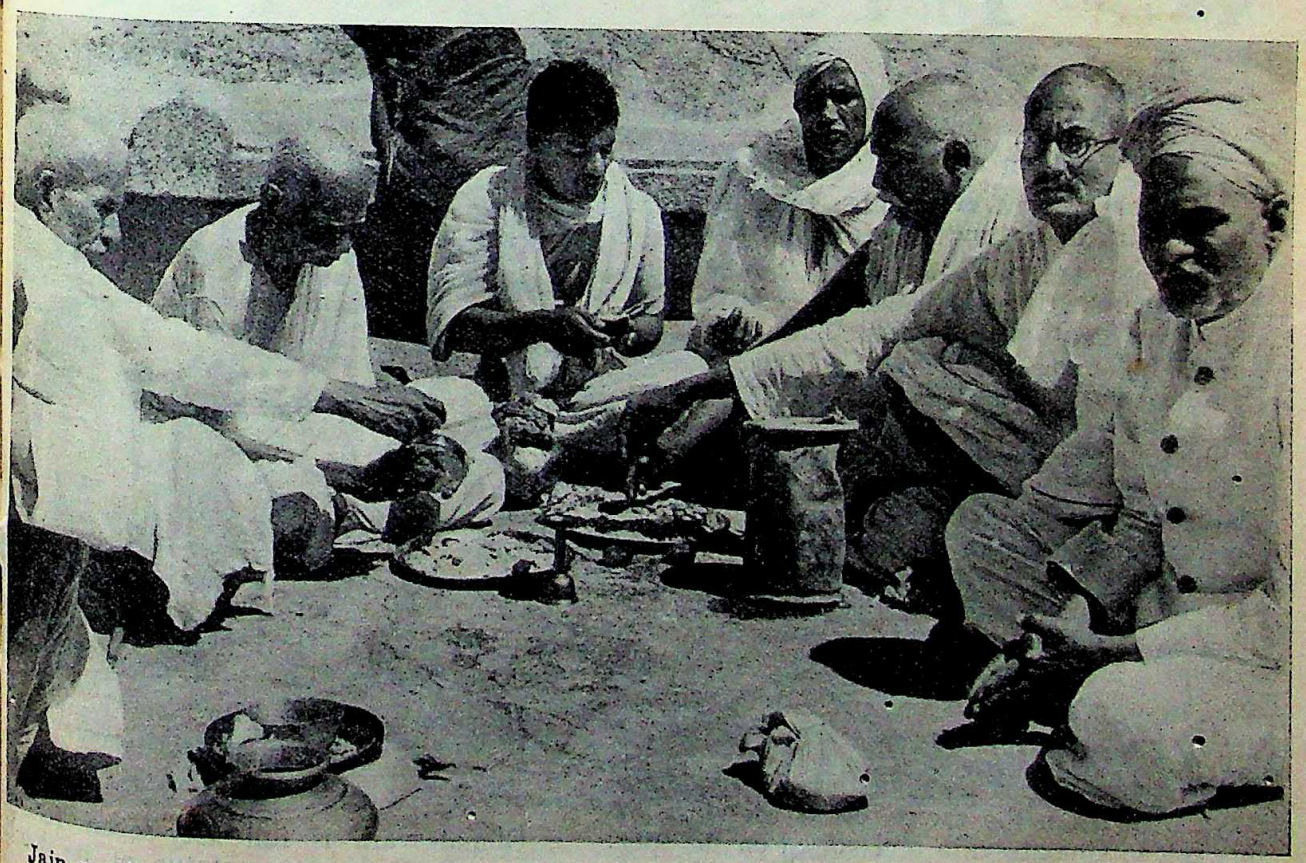


Image of Jain Tirthankars in the monastery at Sravanabelgola



Jain worshippers worshipping in the temple during the Mahamastakabhisheka ceremony. There will be hundreds of such groups in the temple on that day

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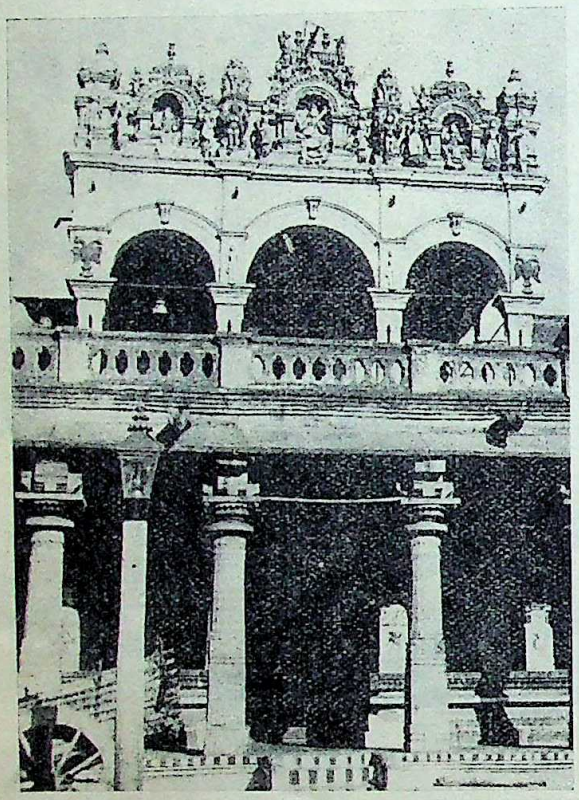
rain, nor wind, nor sun has in any way affected this silent sentinel of Sravanabelgola.



The Jain monastery at Sravanabelgola

THE MYTH OF THE COLOSSUS

In common with every other God of India, Gomatesvara has a myth attached to him.

Gomatesvara was the son of Purudeva of Paudanapura. He was engaged in a bitter war against his step-brother, Bharata. Success after success followed Gomatesvara and in the end, Bharata was crushed. But the victorious prince, instead of occupying the throne he had so ably won, renounced it in favour of his vanquished step-brother and became a *sannyasin*. The grateful Bharata, in order to perpetuate the memory of so generous a man, set up his image in the forests of his kingdom. The image, "the most beautiful thing in all the seven worlds, a thing coveted even by gods" was made out of solid gold and was 2000 feet high.

Many years rolled on and this wondrous statue was lost in the forests of Paudanapura.

One day, Kalala Devi, mother of Chamunda Raya, read from the sacred books the story of this golden Gomatesvara and vowed on the spot that not a drop of food or water would pass into her body until she had seen it. Chamunda Raya, a dutiful son as he was, prepared immediately for an expedition and accompanied by his fasting mother, went on searching the elusive golden Gomatesvara.

For many days they wandered and in many places did they search, but no Gomatesvara was visible. At last desperate with disappointment, Chamunda Raya slept in the village of Sravanabelgola. During that sleep, he dreamt a dream wherein his gods came and told him that the golden Gomatesvara would not be visible for any mortal and asked him to leave off his quest. But they also advised this to him to "shoot an arrow into the topmost boulder of Vindhyagiri from the top of Chandragiri" and to watch the results.

Chamunda Raya did as he was told. "As soon as the arrow struck the boulder, the head of Gomata revealed itself. When the officiating priest placed a diamond chisel on the boulder and struck it with a jewelled hammer, the layers of the stone fell off and the full image became visible."

The Bhandari *basti* or Treasurer's Temple, in the town of Sravanabelgola

Gomatesvara is full fifty-seven feet tall, taller perhaps than any statue of its kind in

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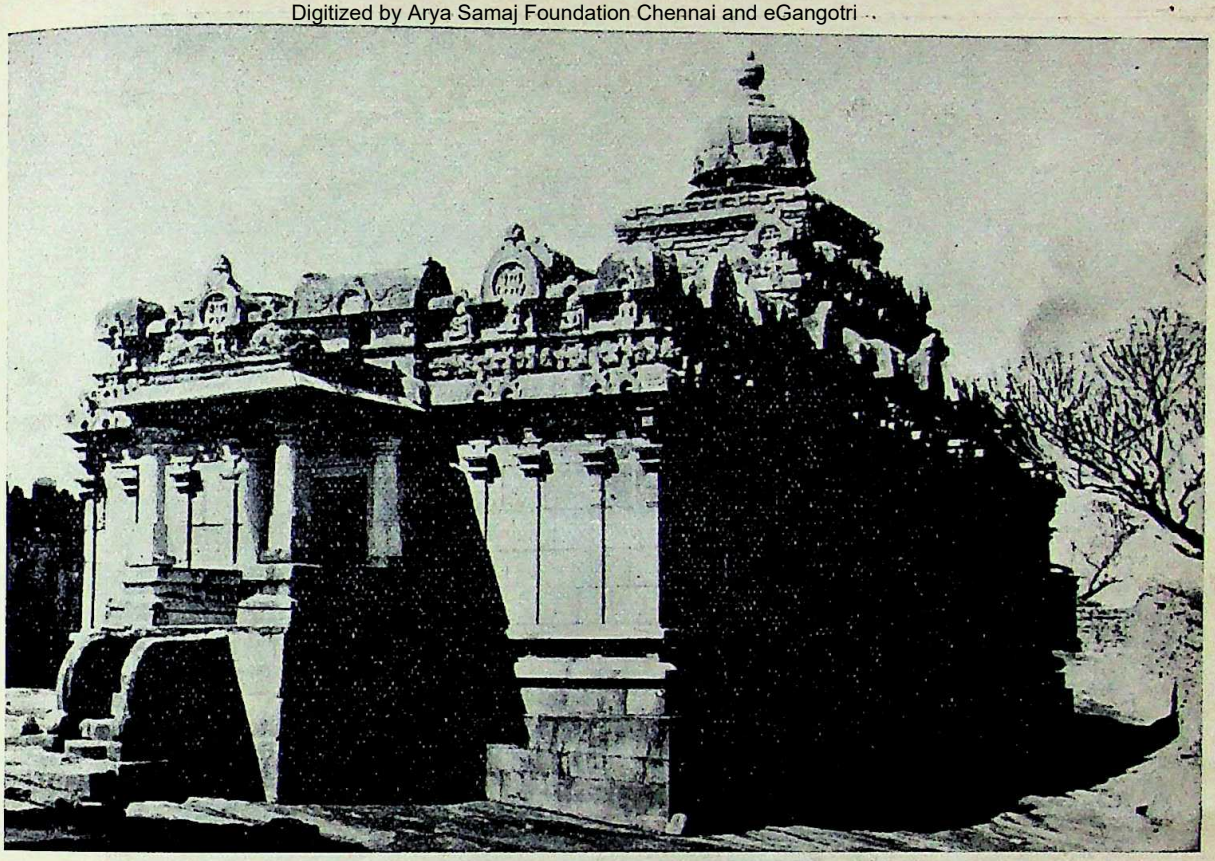
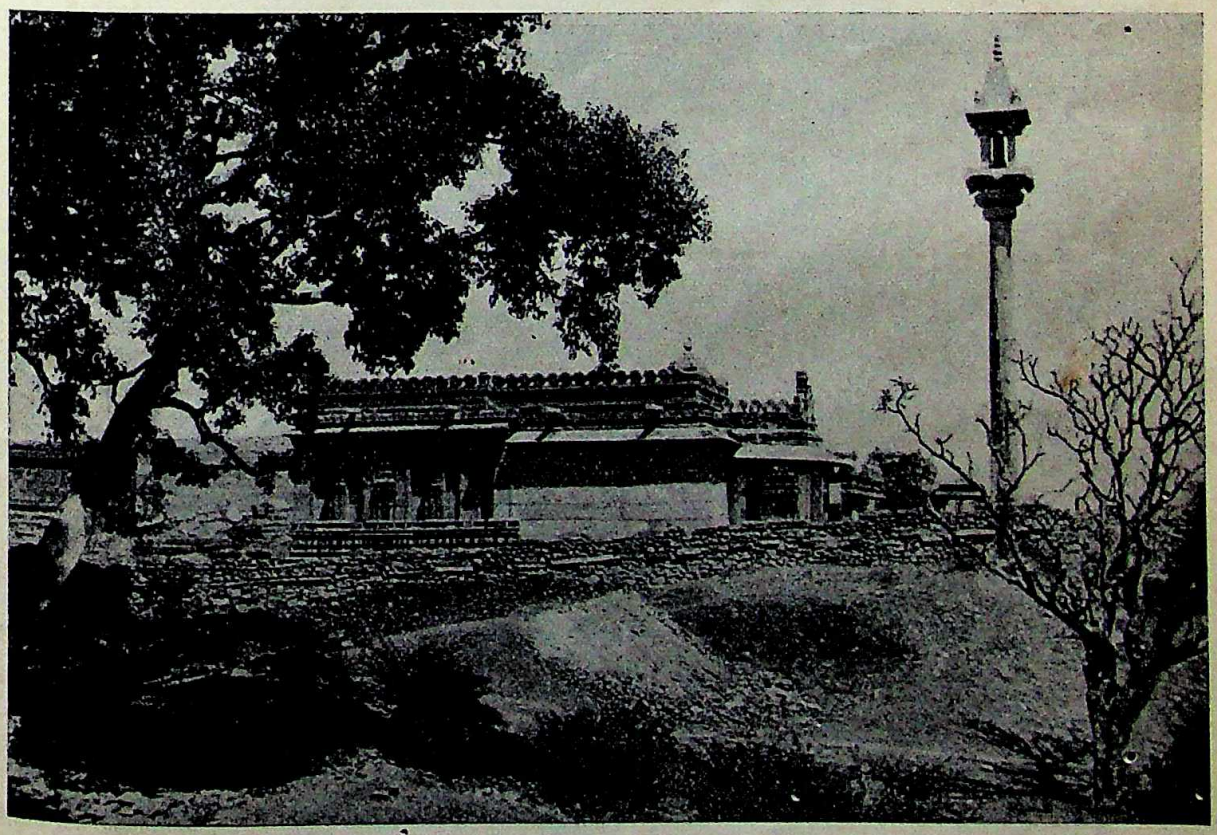


The Chamunda Raya temple at Chandragiri



The Parsvanatha temple at Chandragiri

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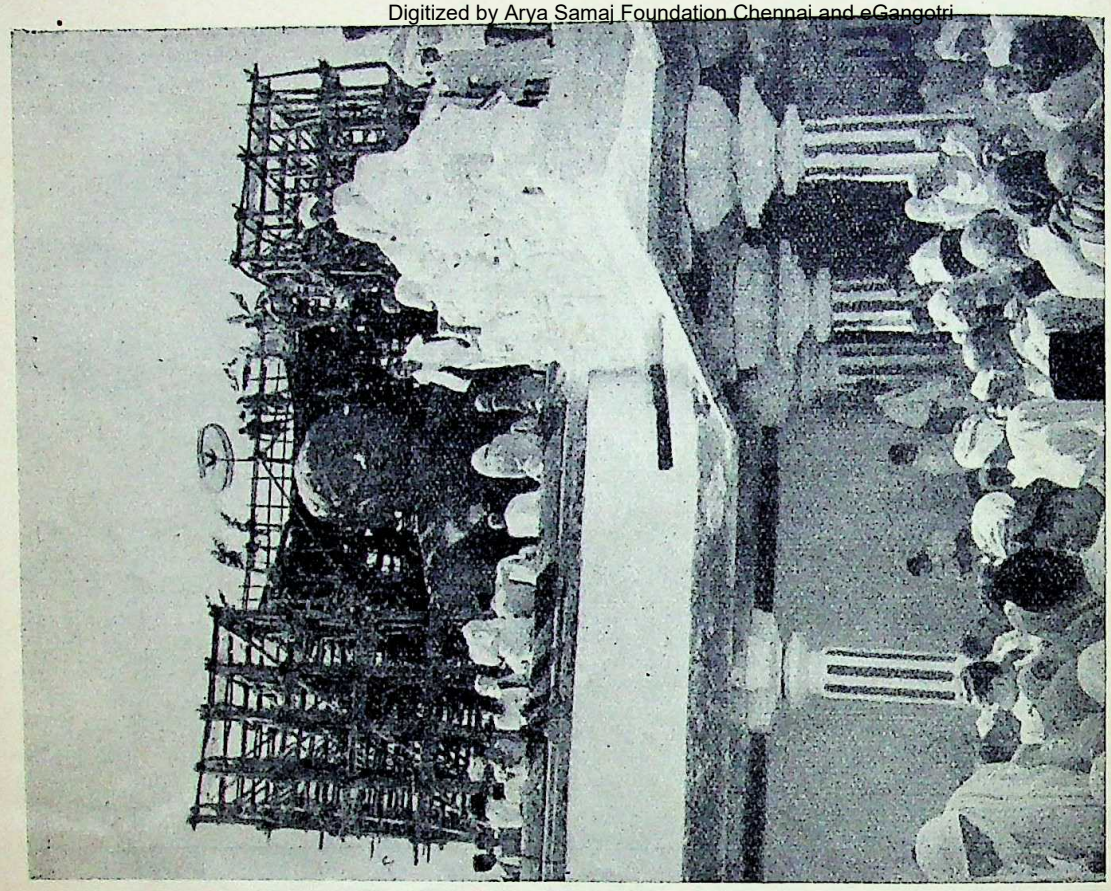
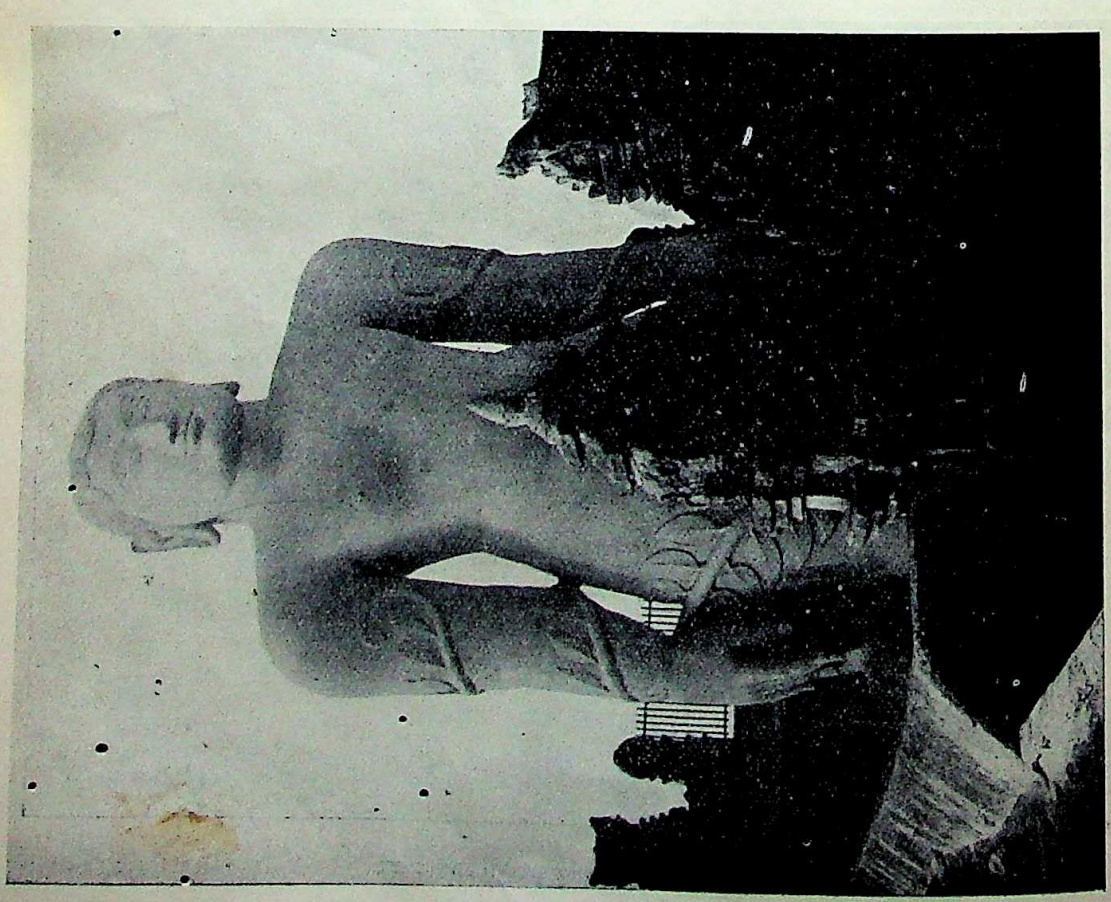


The bamboo scaffolding is to enable the priests and pilgrims to pour over the statue the Abhisheka on the occasion of Mahamastakabhisheka



The graceful statue of Gomatesvara. It is carved in light-grey granite and appears quite fresh and well-polished

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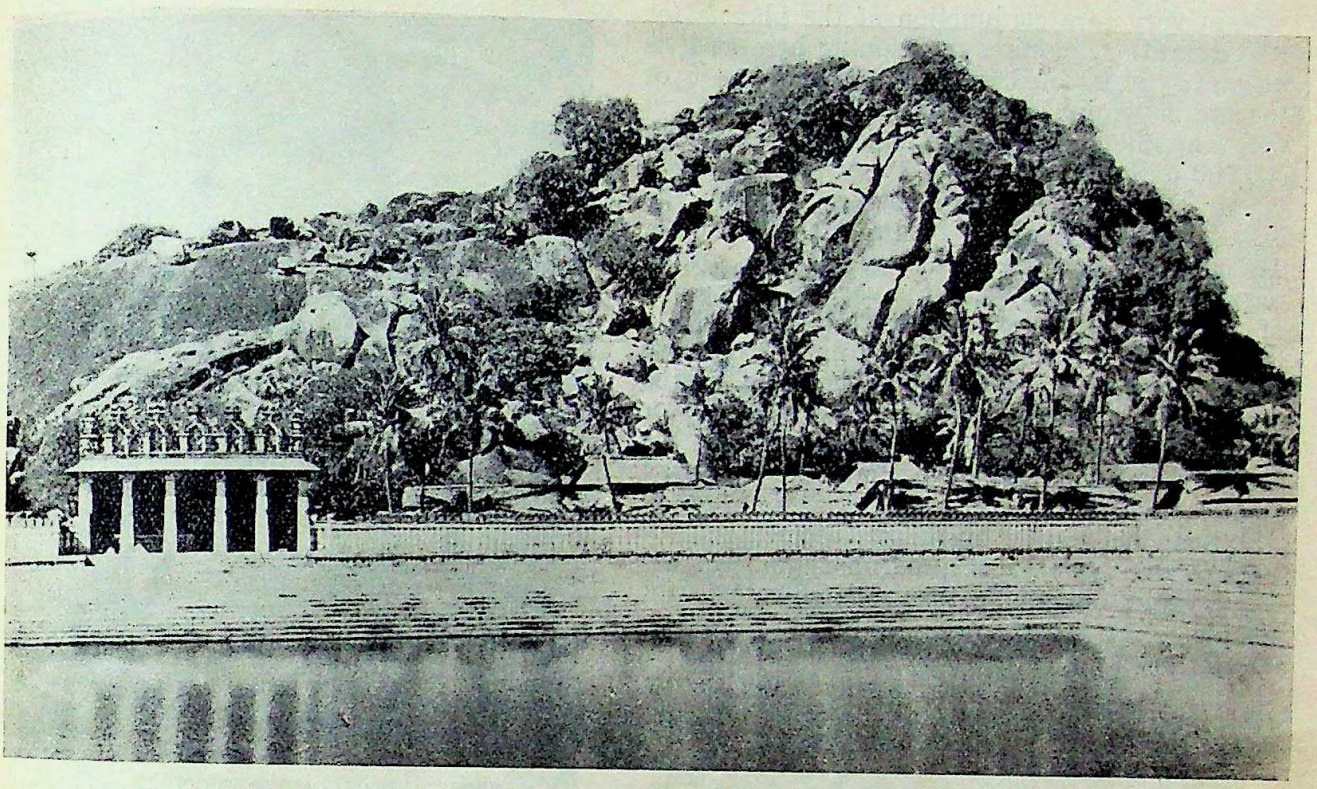


Chandragiri, one of the two hills of Sravanabelgola. It contains a large number of Jain temples

the world. Here are a few of its interesting measurements :

Height ..	57 feet.
Height of head from bottom of ear to crown ..	7 feet.
Length of each foot ..	9 feet.
Length of a great toe ..	2¾ feet.
Breadth at the waist ..	10 feet.
Breadth across the shoulder ..	26 feet.
Length of middle finger ..	5¼ feet.

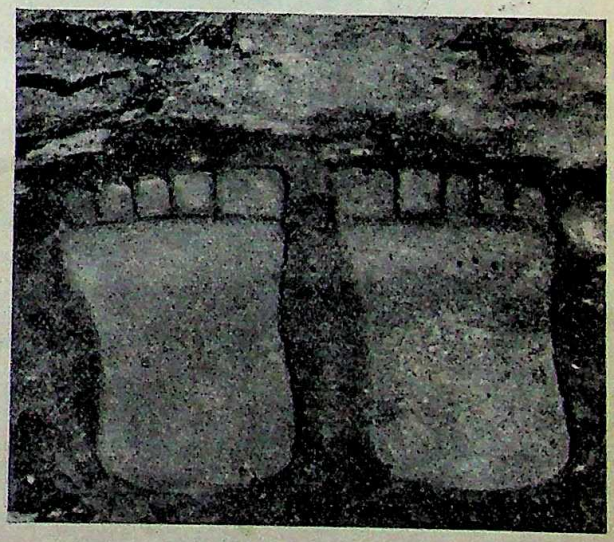
Workman's Tribute

An eloquent tribute to Gomatesvara is paid by Workman, the famous traveller, in his book *Through Town and Jungle*. He says, in course of a description :

"The figure is standing with shoulders squared and arms hanging straight. Its upper half projects above the surrounding ramparts. It is carved in a fine-grained, light-grey granite, has not been injured by weather or violence, and looks as bright and clean as if just fresh from the chisel of the artist.

"The face is its strong point. Considering the size of the head, which from crown to the bottom of the ear measures six feet six inches, the artist was skilful indeed to draw from the blank rock the wondrous contemplative expression touched with a faint smile, with which Gomata gazes out on the struggling world. Gomatesvara has watched over India for nearly 1,000 years, whilst the statues of Ramseses have gazed upon the Nile for more than 4,000. The monolithic Indian saint is thousands of years younger than the prostrate Ramseses or the Guardians of Abu Simbal, but he is more impressive, both on account of his commanding position on the hill overlooking the wide stretch of plain and of his size."

A rare and picturesque festival, called as "Mahamastakabhisheka" (the Great Head-



A pair of feet sculptured on a rock. It indicates the spot where a Jain observed the Sallekhana vow

Annointing ceremony) is often celebrated around the image of Gomatesvara. This festival, which occurs but once in fifteen years and requires a

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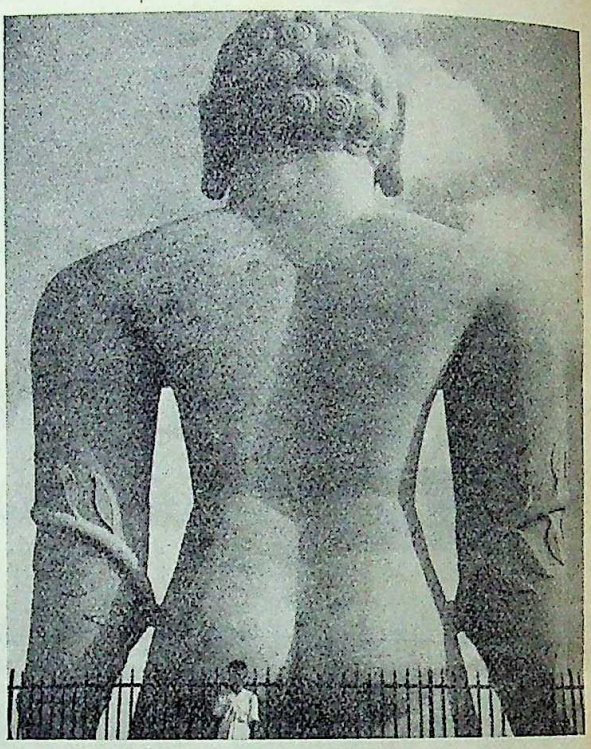
certain very rare conjunction of the planets for its celebration, requires mentioning here as it is intimately connected with the religious side of the statue of Gomatesvara. One such festival was celebrated an year ago and attracted nearly 500,000 Jain piligrims from every part of India.

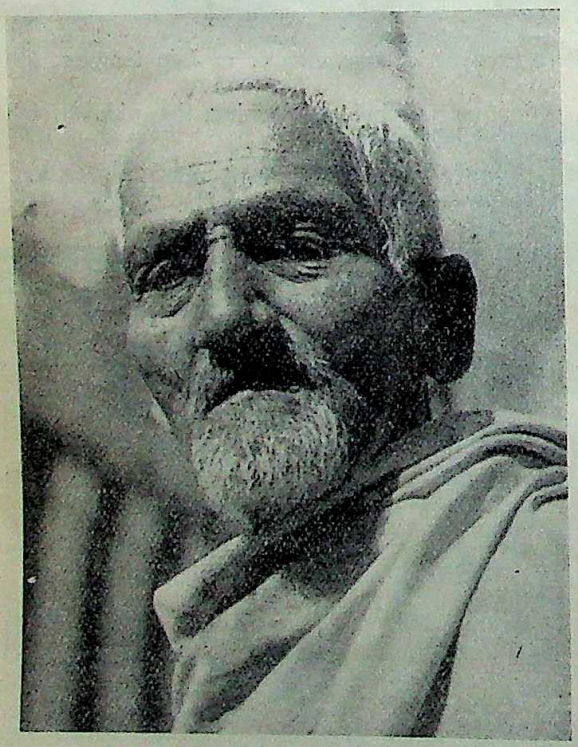
In the Mahamastakabhisheka ceremony, the colossal Gomatesvara is given a ceremonial bath. To enable the vast assemblage of Jain priests to pour over the giant-god the various substances of which the consecrating bath is made of, a huge bamboo scaffolding, beginning from the ground and rising well above the head of the statue, will be built. The priests gather over the platform that has been constructed on the top of the scaffolding and perform the necessary rituals from that place.

Long before the auspicious moment of the bath arrives, the eager piligrims climb up the Vindhyagiri hill and gather in and outside the temple.

The court-yard before the statue of Gomatesvara will be strewn with fresh paddy. On this are placed a thousand beautifully



The gigantic back of the monolith. The man standing gives an idea of the immense proportions. The breadth across the shoulders is as much as 26 feet. The head itself is 6 feet in height



A Jain monk from Sravanabelgola

coloured earthen pots, all filled with sacred water. At the mouth of each of these thousand pots will be sticking out a consecrated cocoanut and a bunch of the auspicious mango leaves.

The Abhisheka

At the approach of the time for the Abhisheka, the hundred and odd priests that have come for the ceremony mount up the scaffolding and take up their positions. The master of ceremonies then gives the signal for the beginning of the rituals by the chanting of a Jain hymn. A thousand Jain priests and pandits simultaneously recite verses in priase of Gomatesvara, numerous musical instruments, of every shape and variety are played upon by the temple musicians; lady-piligrims gather in front of the statue and sing religious songs; and the assembled crowd shouts in one unified voice, "Jai, jai, Gomatesvara Maharaj!"

While these are going on, the priests on the scaffolding pour on the colossal Gomatesvara the sixteen substances that make up the Abhisheka. The substances are water, cocoanut meal, plantains, jaggery, ghee, sugar, almonds, dates, poppy seeds, milk, curds, sandal, gold flowers, silver flowers, silver coins and nine varieties of precious stones.

After the ceremony is over the individual pilgrims climb the scaffolding and pour over the statue potfuls of milk, ghee and curds. The whole festival lasts for three more days, until everyone of the 500,000 Jain piligrims has worshipped and annointed the image of Gomatesvara.

Of Sravanabelgola's innumerable temples

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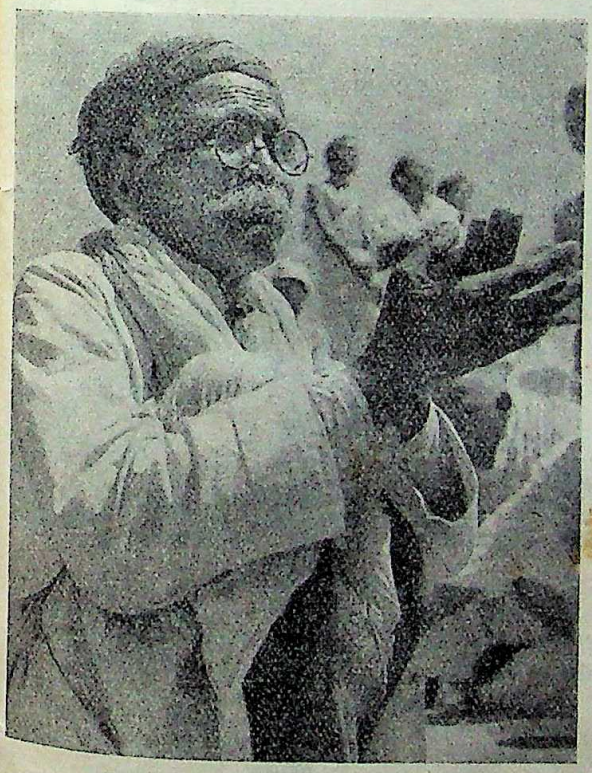
Chandragiri, the smaller of the two hills, contains twelve, all built in a broad courtyard enclosed by a high wall.

The Parsvanath Temple

The most important temple on Chandragiri is the Parsvanatha *basti*. It was built at about 1000 A.D. and is very elegantly decorated. The image inside, made out of black stone and more than fifteen feet high, is that of Parsvanatha, the 23rd Tirthankar of the Jains. This temple has a finely chiselled pillar in front of it. This *manastamva* has four lovely figures representing Jain deities at the top, while four more decorate the base.

From Parsvanatha *basti*, the Kattale (or Dark) *basti* is only a few yards away. This is the biggest temple on the hill. The complete darkness of its interior gave it its name, the Dark Temple. This was built by Ganga Raja, the distinguished general of the great Hoysala king, Vishnuvardhana.



A devout Jain pilgrim gazes with rapt admiration at the ceremony of Mahamastakabhisheka

Near this huge dark temple, almost attached to it, is a tiny shrine called the Chandragupta *basti*. Though tiny, this temple has quite a history behind it, a history that takes one back to the day of Chandragupta Maurya, the emperor of India who lived and reigned during the third century B.C.

His pot of milk for Gomatesvara

Though many scholars dispute it, Jains contend that this temple was caused to be built by Chandragupta Maurya. It houses an image of Parsvanatha Tirthankar. The temple has a finely carved doorway. Two stone screens stand on either side of it and in each one, in 45 tiny but elegant panels, are carved scenes from the life of this emperor from his birth onwards to his last day, when, renouncing his magnificent empire, he became a simple Jain ascetic and attained salvation on the Chandragiri hill.

The story of Chandragupta's residence and death at Sravanabelgola, according to Jain books, is this :

"Chandragupta Maurya, the Emperor of India, dreamt one night a series of sixteen dreams. He was greatly disturbed by them and went to the sage Badrabahu who was at that time in his capital and asked him to interpret them. All the dreams were explained, but in the sixteenth dream, where the emperor saw a twelve-hooded cobra, the sage foresaw calamity—for, according to his interpretations, the last dream indicated a terrible famine that would rage in the empire for twelve years.

"True to Badrabahu's words, the famine broke out the very next year. Thousands were dead in the streets and thousands more were dying every day. Chandragupta's ministers went to their temples, propitiated their gods and killed hundreds of animals to appease them. But all was in vain.

"The horrid corpses of the hundreds of mutilated animals, the dead bodies of his famine-stricken subjects and the dying agony of the survivors sickened the

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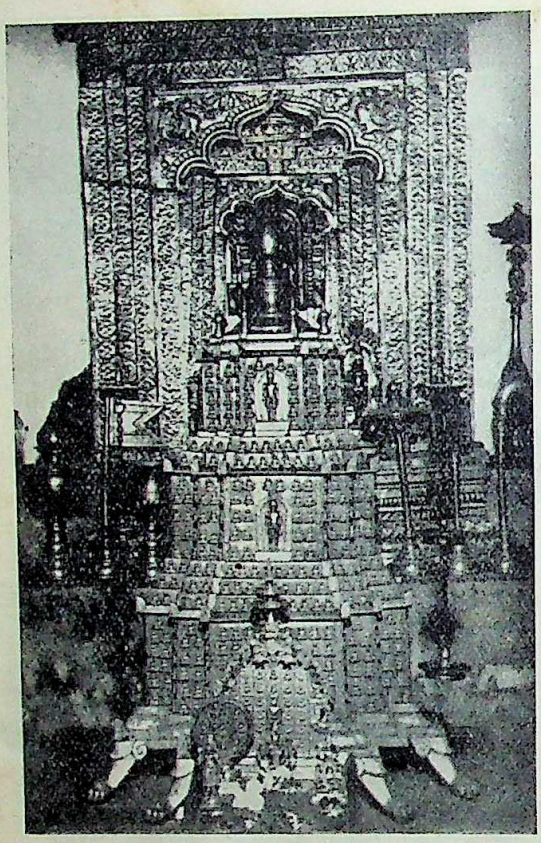


The shrine at the Jain monastery, Sravanabelgola

heart of Chandragupta. He immediately called forth his ministers and abdicating in favour of his son, Simhasena, became a disciple of Badrabahu. Badrabahu, accompained by Chandragupta and followed by twelve thousand other disciples, travelled south in search of more prosperous lands. Sravanabelgola, 'green as an emerald, beautiful as the Milky Ocean and as invigorating as a drink of nectar' attracted him at first sight. When Badrabahu approached the twin hills of Chandragiri and Vindhyagiri his divine vision revealed to him that his end was near. So, keeping only his royal disciple to attend him, he directed the rest of his company still southwards into the Chola country and choosing a small cave on the hill, 'left his earthly remains' by Sallekhana or the vow of fasting. Chandragupta remained near the cave for twelve more years until he too left the world by the same vow of fasting."

The Chamunda Raya temple, built by Chamunda Raya (who was responsible for the colossal image of Gomatesvara too) is a handsome structure, with a good tower. It was built about a thousand years ago.

Temples of Feminine Interest

The next temple of importance and (also of great feminine interest) is the Eradukatte *basti*. Built in 1118 for Lakshmi Devi, the much loved wife of Ganga Raja, this temple is full of praise for her virtue. One of the inscriptions in it records that she was the "consort of Ganga Raja; a royal swan to the lake of his mind, praised by the blessed, a treasure of her lineage, an equal of the goddesses Lakshmi and Rukmini."

In the same *basti* is another inscription, also, in praise of an woman. It says

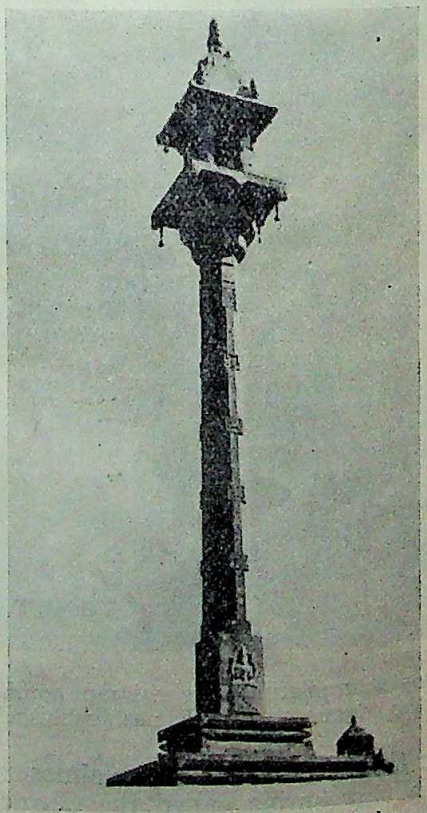
"The Lady Demati, the dear wife of the merchant Chamunda; possessed of remarkable and stately loveliness, who, on account of her merit and her beauty was looked upon as a celestial woman descended from heaven . . . a liberal bestower of gifts of food, learning, shelter and medicine on the four castes; always giving refuge to the frightened."

The last temple of any importance on the Chandragiri hill is the Savatigandhavarana *basti*, built by Queen Santala Devi, wife of King Vishnuvardhana. Of Santala Devi's virtue and loveliness, an inscription set up by her royal husband says :

"O, Santala Devi, which poet on earth is able to describe adequately the wealth of your beauty . . . . the renowned Santala-Devi who shines as a royal lioness at the side of King Vishnuvardhana. . . ."

Another records :

"Dear to the heart and eyes of the famous King Vishnuvardhana, Santala Devi with locks black as moving bees and face resembling the moon was in every way equal to Rati. . . . Who can describe the growth of the fortune of Santala Devi, whose greatness was superior to goddess Lakshmi ? How can the panegyrist adequately describe her ? Inconceivable the greatness of the liberality of Santala Devi; inconceivable the



The lovely pillar in front of the Parsvanatha temple

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virtues of Santala Devi; inconceivable the pure conduct of Santala Devi."

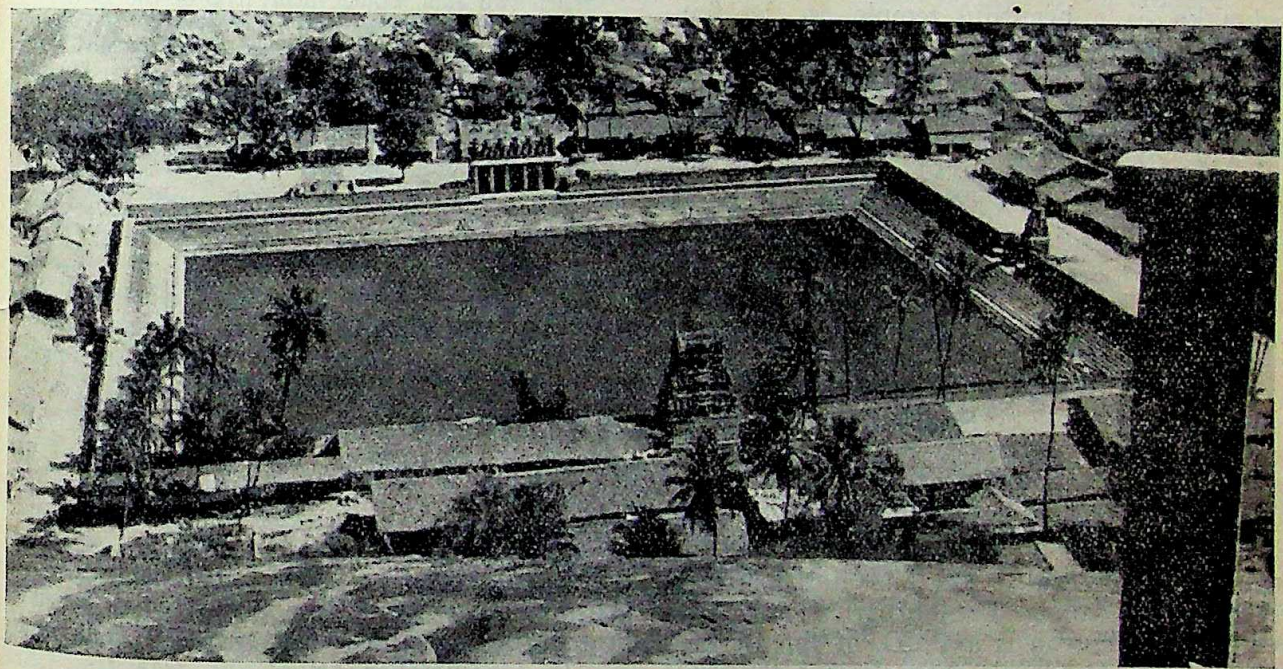
Before we pass from Chandragiri to the other places of interest in Sravanabelgola, one strange custom, the Jain rite of Sallekhana, deserves mentioning. Practical evidences of this rite stand in the shape of numerous pairs of feet, carved on the bare rocks of the hill.

The rite of Sallekhana, which seems to have been a very common practice with the Jains of old India, consisted in gradually giving up food until the performer died out of starvation. Not only men, aged and weary of life, did sit on those rocks and meditate away their lives, but women, girls and boys—kings and queens—warriors and peasants—all "quitted their mortal fetters by the vow of Sallekhana and obtained eternal bliss."

tions and pairs of feet testifying that this or that man, this lady or that maiden, performed on a certain spot Sallekhana "until they existed in this sinful world no more."

As related already in this article, it was on this hill that Badrabahu and after twelve years, his imperial disciple Chandragupta were 'liberated.' In another spot on the hill, an inscription of 600 A.D. tells to the world in a simple manner that more than 700 Jain sages "left the world by the vow of Sallekhana."

Not only men, but women also observed this vow. One inscription says that Lakkavve in 1121 became a *sannyasini* and ended her life by the vow. Another says that a royal lady, Demati, observed the rite of fasting and "entered the high heaven as if her own home." Still one more inscription, tells us, in pathetic



The sacred pond, Sravanabelgola. It is constructed in a perfect square

The Jain work, *Ratna Karandaka*, contains instructions for the practice of Sallekhana. It makes interesting reading.

"Having purified his mind by the renunciation of friendship, hatred, ties and acquisitions; having forgiven his relations and dependants and with kind words sought forgiveness from them; viewing with a strong mind but with aloofness all that he does, causes to be done or desires—so shall a man enter the performance of this great vow, not to be completed save by his death. He should take only rice and milk; then gradually reduce himself to a handful of water and then abandoning even this, with his mind intent on reverence, should by every effort quit his body."

Instances of Sallekhana

Chandragiri contains hundreds of inscrip-

words, that Santala Devi (about whom, such beautiful words have been written in the inscription of the Savatigandhavarana temple) "hearing the divine call," went and sat on a rock on the Chandragiri and after thirty days without food "left this abode of dust."

The temples of Sravanabelgola's other hill, the Vindhyagiri, number four. Of them, only two, the Siddhara and the Trikuta are of importance.

The Siddhara *basti* is famous for its two inscribed pillars. Each pillar, about six feet in height, is of nice workmanship and is fully covered with minute writing and are complete

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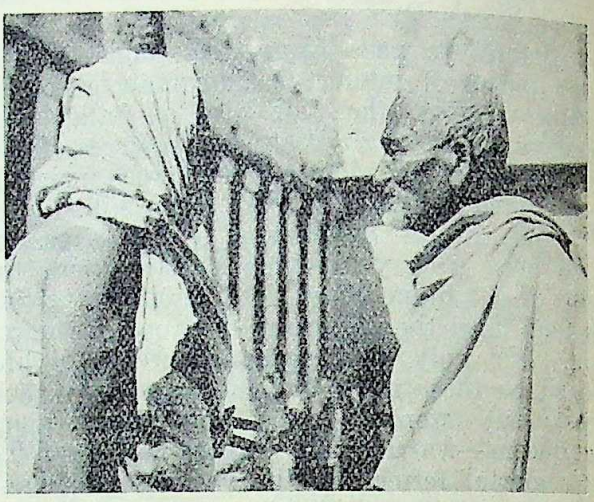
books in stone. One of them records the life of Panditarya and the other that of Srutamuni, both two great Jain teachers.

The Trikuta *basti*, instead of having the usual one cell of a *basti*, has three cells. The central cell enshrines a figure of Adinatha Tirthankar while the shrines to the left and the right contain images of Neminatha and Santhinatha.

In the town of Sravanabelgola is the huge Bhandari *basti* or the Treasurer's Temple, so called because it was built by Hulla, the treasurer to Narasimha II, a Hoysala king. Instead of housing any one of the Tirthankars, it houses all the twenty-four of them. There is not much of sculptural beauty in this except massiveness.

The Akkanna *basti*, built by a lady named Achiyakka, is a beautiful temple, in the fine Hoysala style of architecture. It has an excellent tower, complete with ornamental works and a ceiling two feet deep carved out in perfect detail. Four lovely pillars support the tower, while a perfect specimen of sculpture on an ornamental stone slab describes in detail the building of the temple and the gifts that were donated for its maintenence.



When two Jain monks meet, it is of the glories of Gomatesvara they speak

'ARSENAL OF LIBERTY' IS ON TRIAL

"People of Aryavarta—Not Aryans"—said British-born Judge

Story of the Fight That Was Won and Lost

By CHAMAN LAL

Author, "Hindu America"

AMERICA, the arsenal of freedom and liberty, is on trial. A young Punjabi friend of mine Doctor Samras, who is a Ph.D. of the Berkley University in California, has claimed the right of American citizenship. It seems strange that so far our countrymen should have been denied that right in the United States, which enshrines the largest and most imposing statue of the goddess of liberty outside the gateway to America (New York Harbour). I have personally seen many a shrine of the goddess in Philadelphia, San Francisco and many other American cities. Yet the American Government has persistently denied us the right to be citizens of the United States—that melting pot of all European, African and Asiatic races.

"Why do you complain of America's attitude in the matter, when you are treated like a Pariah in Canada, Australia and other dominions and are not allowed to enter most of the hotels and clubs in London itself?" was the pointed reply given to me by a leading editor in Washington, when I discussed the subject with him during my third visit to the U.S.A.

If I remember aright, he was the Chief Editor of the *Washington Post*, a liberal daily. I replied to him that it was all true about Britain treating us as outcasts, but Britain never believed that the Englishman and the Indian were born equal, while the American Declaration of Independence clearly lays down, "All men are equal." I told the editor that the American Government had swallowed that declaration by refusing Indians the right of citizenship and that too under a most ridiculous finding of a Supreme Court judge who held that Indians were not Aryans. He retorted, "But you forget that the judge was also a British-born and so it is the British who deprive you of equal rights."

"But the British don't rule America", was my prompt reply. The discussion went on until

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he finally concluded, "Get rid of the stigma of British subjection and America will welcome you as equals."

This undoubtedly presents the crux of the struggle which our brave compatriots in the U.S.A. have waged since the early twentieth century. They had actually won the right of citizenship during the last war by their heroic services, but a British-born judge of the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Indians (whose very country is called *Aryavarta*, Land of the Aryans), were not Aryans and therefore not entitled to the rights of citizenship in the so-called Land of Liberty. The details of that struggle will be read with interest. I am very thankful to Lila Chandra (a talented daughter of the late Pandit Ram Chandra of Peshawar, who was shot in San Francisco for his patriotic activities) for preserving the whole history of the subject.

The reader can see how our countrymen struggled for their right and how they actually won it without any aid from the mother-country, whose leaders never think of the several thousand Indians settled down in America, except when some subscriptions are needed.

Detailed History

The following is the detailed history of the efforts made by the Hindus twenty-five years ago to win the right of citizenship in America :

I. Appeal to U. S. Secretary

The following is a copy of a telegram sent to the U. S. Secretary of State by the Indians in California :

"The Hindu residents of California hope that some way may be found to prevent passage of pending legislation to exclude Hindus from entry into this country. The legislative enactment contemplated is unnecessary and unworthy of the traditions of this great republic. Hindu immigration has ceased to be a problem since 1910, without any prospect of revival in future.

"The few Hindus that now come are only in search of better conditions and to learn the ways of Western civilization. To exclude them would be unjust. People of India entertain feelings of warmest friendship for this country.

"For the sake of cultural, commercial and trading ties which link them to the people of the United States we request that steps be taken to prevent the exclusion of Hindus by legislation."—*New York Sun*, May 1, 1916.

II. The Protest

The following is the full text of the protest against Exclusion Law sent to the U.S. Government by the Hindus in California :

"The Hindus of California beg to record their protest against the proposed legislation to exclude Hindus from this country. Comparatively few Hindus are able to come here. There will be some students, a few political refugees who will seek asylum in this country, and some laborers.

"Those who have already come here have proven themselves peaceful, industrious and law-abiding. They came to escape the unspeakable poverty under British rule and in the hope of bettering their condition in this land of freedom and opportunity. To exclude them would be unjust. A few thousand laborers and students are not enough to make an immigration problem, and as for the future, Hindu laborers are in such poverty that it is impossible for them to come here in great numbers. The average income of a Hindu is $ 9·00 a year. How can they come here? It is not worthy of the traditions of this great country to exclude the few who may be able to get here."—*San Francisco Examiner*, June 26, 1916.

III. Haven for Refugees

The following telegram in protest was also sent to the Secretary of State on August 12, 1916.

"The United States is looked to by the oppressed, the poor, the suffering throughout the world, as a haven of refugee, the land of freedom and opportunity. On behalf of our brothers in India, millions of whom are now suffering from famine and plague, under a foreign government we again beg of you to use your influence to prevent closing the door to Hindu immigration, as is proposed under the pending Burnett Immigration Bill. At the present time there is great political prosecution in India, hundreds have been executed and thousands interned for activity in behalf of Indian independence; the voice of Freedom is being silenced. Do not close your doors to any that may be able to escape to this country."

IV. Indians Win Citizenship Right

"Five thousand Hindus, residing now in California, and as many more in other Pacific Coast States, are eligible to American citizenship," according to a ruling made today by Superior Judge Franklin J. Cole of El Centro, Imperial Country.

Judge Cole's decision in effect declares that if the Hindu applicant for citizenship can prove that he belongs to a certain caste recognized as "white" he is eligible to become an American.

This decision was in part based upon the decision already made in the United States

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Court of Washington and by Federal Judge M. T. Dooling of San Francisco. *S. F. Call and Post*, October 16, 1916.

Better Class Eligible

Judge Dooling and the Washington Judge both held that a Hindu of the better class, who can prove that he is a member of the Aryan race, is eligible of American citizenship, and so ruled in the particular cases before them.

"We accept a Hindu application for citizenship precisely as we would that of any other white foreigner," the naturalization bureau said. "Each application is then submitted to the court, and the question of admissibility there determined."

Ethnologically, all the upper classes of India are Aryan and therefore eligible to American citizenship. All the Hindus who are now here are Aryan. They are white people in the same sense as are Greeks, Italians and Spaniards, according to Ram Chandra, a prominent San Francisco Hindu. He also says, "The Hindus of Cashmere and of several other parts of India, are as white as the fairest brunette type of any Caucasian native."

During and after the Great War many Hindus were granted the right of citizenship, but the British Government did not feel happy about it. And ultimately this right of the Hindus was taken away by a British-born judge of the U.S. Supreme Court.

V. British Imperialism to Blame

In a letter to the *New York Times*, September 14, 1916, the late Pandit Ram Chandra ably proved that it was the imperialist policy of the British Government to keep Hindus out of America. He wrote:

"The Hindu believe that agitation for the exclusion from the United States and the British colonies is largely due to the influence of the imperial government in England; that it is the imperial policy to keep the Hindus at home in order to prevent them from acquiring ideas of political liberty. The treatment of the Hindus in the British colonies differs from the treatment accorded to other Orientals. This can only be accounted for by the influence of the imperial government. In Canada restricted immigration of laborers from China and Japan is allowed. The law concerning the Hindus is peculiar, not permitting them to enter except when coming direct from India. There is no line of steamers direct from India. Hence the Law amounts to complete exclusion. Sirdar Gurdit Singh, in order to test the law, chartered a steamer and took some 350 Hindus direct to Canada; they were not allowed to land, nor to dispose of their cargo, coal, etc., and were forced to turn back. This conclusively shows that the intent of the law was complete exclusion. There is no possible social or economic reason to exclude Hindus, any more than the Chinese and Japanese. Hence we must infer an imperial policy based on political reasons."

VI. Aryan Origin of Hindus

The following four authorities (all white) will suffice to refute the ignorance of British-born judge Sutherland who declared Hindus as Non-Aryans:

(*i*) Dr. W. Z. Ripley, the highest American authority on Anthropological questions, says in his *Race of Europe*, that there could be no doubt of the Hindus belonging to the same racial type as the Mediterranean European group—Greeks, Spanish, etc.

(*ii*) From Professor Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of the Language, First Series*, pp. 211-12:

"There was a time when the first ancestors of the Indians (Hindus), the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Celts, and the Germans were living together within the same enclosure, nay, under the same roof."

(*iii*) From Prof. Max Müller's *Survey of Languages*, p. 29:

"There is not an English Jury now-a-days which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek and Teuton."

(*iv*) Prof. Huxley, the famous British scientist, writes:

"So far as India is concerned, the internal evidence of the old literature proves that the Aryan Invaders were 'White Men,' and that the High Caste Hindus are what they are in virtue of Aryan blood which they have inherited. I am unable to discover good grounds for the severity of criticism, in the name of the Anthropologists, with which Professor Max Muller's assertion that 'the same blood runs in the veins of the English soldiers as in the veins of the dark Bengalees,' and that there is a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek and Teuton, has been visited. So far as I know anything of Anthropology, I should say that these statements may be correct literally, and probably are so substantially. I do not know of any good reason for the physical difference between a high caste Hindu and a Dravidian, except the Aryan blood in the veins of the former; and the strength of the infusion is probably quite as great in some Hindus as in some English soldiers."—*Man's Place in Nature*, pp. 281-282.

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"SABALĀ"
(Strong-Souled Woman)

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Why will our Maker
deny us, women, the right
to fight for our own true place
under the sun ?
Why must I wait on the roadside
in wearied suspense
for the fateful day
when my hopes may be fulfilled at last ?
Why shall I look on
in empty gaze
and not discover my own self
in my own way ?
Why shall I not give rein
to the unruly steed
and ride free
on my adventurous quest ?
May I not wager my very life
on an invincible hope
and win my heart's desire
immured in the stronghold
of a thousand obstacles.
I shall not step shyly into my bridal chamber
to the tune of jingling anklets.
May he make me fearless
in the strength of my love.
Is the propitious moment
when I shall accept the garland
offered by heroic hands,
lost in the dim haze of twilight ?
Never shall I allow him to forget
my stubborn womanliness—
Never shall I don the garment of feeble shame
—soft and mild surrender
is not worthy of my man.
Our tryst shall be
by the storm-tossed sea—
and the roaring billows
will proclaim the triumph of our union
to the farthest horizon.
I shall tear open my veil
and tell him—my beloved,
he is mine and mine for ever
and there is none else for me.
And the great wings of the sea-birds
will sweep with a stormy sound
as they beat their way across the western wind
on their starlit course.
My blood throbs to the tune
of the Rudra's lyre,
and shall I stay content
silent and shy ?
When the great moment comes
may the noblest words of my soul
flow full and free.
What in me is ineffable
May my beloved find in my inner self.
May it be given me
to dedicate to my beloved
whatever is best in me.
And then, if the auspicious hour expires,
May that flow of soul calm itself
in the tranquil sea of wordlessness.

Translated by Kshitish Roy from Rabindranath Tagore's original Bengali poem entitled "Sabalā" in *Mahuā*.

"WOMAN THOU ART BLESSED"

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

My salutations to you, Women.
Through the gaps in your household work
You make time to attend
to the cry for help
from those that are helpless.
You offer him your healing care
—the gift of your generous heart,
because you listen to the primeval call
of the Power that upholds
and sustains the created world.
You share in the work of the Maker
as His very own comrade.
You fashion anew the worn-out world,
restore the sick to soundness;
boundless is your patience
towards the destitute clinging at your mercy
with infirm hands.
He who is disowned by life
as worthless, useless and abject,
to your gentle heart you gather him
and on his fevered brow
you lay the balm of your soothing touch.
Your god is the good-for-nothing
and service is your worship.
In your grace you conceal
the Power that upholds
and sustains the created world.
To the broken, the ugly and the worn-out,
you dedicate the dower
of your undying beneficence.

Translated by Kshitish Roy from Rabindranath Tagore's original Bengali poem.

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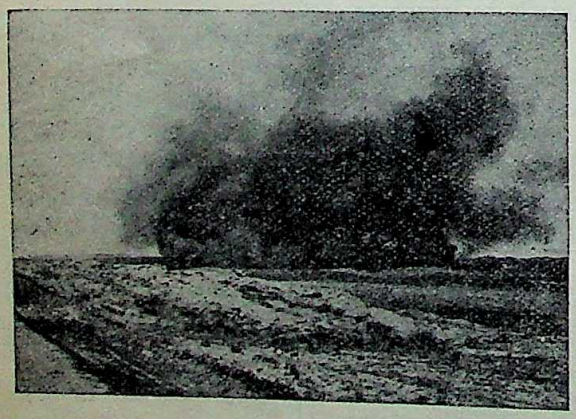
IRAQ

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI, B.SC. (*London*)

THE older historians of the ancient civilizations recognised several pools of culture from which flowed the streams that nourished and vitalized all those growths which led to the advancement of mankind. The valley of the Nile was one such pool, another was on the shores of Aegean Sea and a third was in the area known as Mesopotamia to the ancient geographers of Greece and Rome. To the older school historian and archæologist, almost all the elements that led to the formation of human achievement in the field of progress trace their origins to these pools or their neighbouring offshoots. Although later research has shown that the roots of civilization strike much further back in time and far wider afield in geographical area, still it can be maintained that the contributions of Greece, Egypt and that of the ancient and medieval peoples of Mesopotamia form the main bulk of progress as we know it now.

The boundaries of the modern kingdom of



Kirkuk oilfields. Natural gas and smoke

Iraq approximate in the main to that of the ancient land loosely termed as Mesopotamia. The area referred to is the great depression bounded on the west by the escarpment of the Arabian desert, on the east by the mountains of Persia, on the north by the mountains of Armenia and Asia Minor and the south by the Persian Gulf. The southern part of this area contains the alluvial plain of the twin rivers Euphrates and Tigris from which the name of the country is derived. This alluvial plain extends southward over an area of about 35 thousand sq. miles, and is exceedingly flat and on a transverse slope away from the rivers from the Persian hills to the Tigris. This flatness and the form of the slope combined to allow perennial irrigation on a large scale and so made it possible for the ancient civilizations of Sumer and Akkad to grow and develop on these plains.

Modern Iraq was formed out of the Turkish vilayets of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra after World War No. 1. It includes an area of over 125,000 sq. miles and has a population of about 3½ millions of whom about 50 per cent are Shiah Mahomedans, about 40 per cent Sunni Mahomedans; Jews, Christians and to a much lesser extent other religionists form the balance. The boundaries of the State run in the north now with that of Turkey, on the west, along an ill-defined line, with those of Syria and Transjordan, on the south and south-west with those of Kuweit and Nejd and on the east with that of Persia. The desert tribes, with their ancient traditions regarding water rights and their raiding proclivities have made the definition of the western and southern boundary lines extremely difficult in the past.

The Iraq Government was made into a "limited monarchy" on the Egyptian model, at the time the British placed King Feisul on the throne, with a king, a senate of 20 nominated members and a lower house with 88 deputies. The country was divided into three vilayets (provinces) comprising in all 14 liwas (divisions). The administrator of each liwa is a Mutessarif, assisted in each instance by a British official with advisory powers. Prior to the formation of this monarchy, the country was mandated to the British although the terms of the mandate were never formally laid down. Relations between Great Britain and Iraq were defined in terms of a treaty concluded on October 10, 1922, to have effect for 20 years. This was modified by a protocol on April 30, 1923 and by a further treaty on March 30, 1926. By this latter, the treaty period was extended up to December, 1950, instead of October, 1942 as in the first treaty, unless Iraq was admitted previously to the League of Nations. She was admitted in fact on October 4, 1932.

* * * *

From the dawn of civilization, as we know it now, the undefined country known as Meso-

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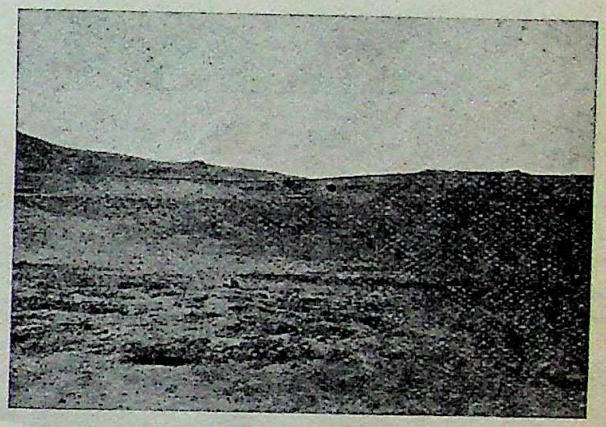
potamia to the western historians has had a very chequered and complicated history. Great nations have risen, overrun or suffered eclipse within the limits of this territory and for milleniums together on end Mesopotamia has witnessed the mighty struggles for supremacy amongst rival racial groups who wanted to impose their will, religion and stamp of culture on all who lived on the coveted realms stretching from the Nilotic Delta in the eastern Mediterranean littoral to the rugged mountainous plateux of Persia. By its geographic position Mesopotamia lay in the track of all the conquerors who moved from west to east or *vice-versa* in these lands and by its physical conformity and the enormous wealth begotten thereof, it was coveted passionately by all of them as a land for colonisation, a store of food and all the amenities of civilized life. A land of plenty surrounded by arid deserts and semi-barren mountains, it naturally witnessed all those violent and sustained cataclysms to which historians have given the exciting name of wars of conquests, but which in reality are but the mass exhibitions of the most evil passions to which mankind are subject. In spite of these terrible orgies of destruction, which lasted in some cases for entire centuries and more, a great deal of what is known as culture, in arts, crafts and learning, originated in Mesopotamia, and incomplete and imperfect as our knowledge is as yet of those regions, each new discovery tends to increase our amazement at the fertile creative capacity of those industrious people who inhabited the lands watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, two, three, four and more thousands of years ago.

It is futile to attempt to condense the history of five or six thousand fruitful years and the records of a dozen great civilizations within the compass of a newspaper article. Further, the writer cannot pretend to have the specialized knowledge that would enable him to give an adequate survey, even if the question of space did not arise. Therefore, the reader is requested to look-up for himself the authoritative treatises which deal with the histories of Sumer and Akkad, the empire of Agade founded by Sargon of Kish—with which began the consecutive history of Babylonia and Assyria—, the histories of the Hittite-Mittanies with their Aryan deities (Indra, Varuna, Mithra, etc.) and Aryan names like Dushratta, and that of the Aramian and Assyrian dynasties. Ur, Babylon, Assur, Ninevah and about a dozen lesser principalities furnish enormous and complicated chronicles covering a period of nearly four thousand years of struggle, warfare and progress in the face of difficulties. Contact with the Egyptians, peaceful as in trade and violent as in conquest or in the defence of subject territories is amply evident within the later two milleniums.

Annexation by Persia, under Cyrus the Achamaenian, gave a long period of comparative peace to Mesopotamia, starting from about the beginning of the sixth century B.C. to the end of the fourth, and then came Alexander of Macedon with his hard-fighting semi-civilized hordes



Kirkuk oilfields. Baba Gud-Gud

that destroyed so much that was good and thereby probably put back human progress by a century or more. And with this the last remnants of the greatness of the ancient Mesopotamians suffered an almost complete eclipse. Alexander's early death saved the world from further destruction but his successors the Seleucids were little better, and the Mesopotamians suffered accordingly. The Parthians of Persia followed the Seleucids, and with them came the eagles of Rome under Trajan. The Sassanids of Persia under Ardashir disputed the possession of Mesopotamia first with the Parthian governors and then with the Romans. A four century long struggle, with long periods of peace intervening, was ended by the Muslim Arab conquest, which was practically complete by 640 A.D.

The Arab conquest brought in the glories of the Caliphate. For nearly six centuries a transformed Mesopotamia again gave forth the bright light of civilization. The decadence of the Caliphate brought in the Seljuks and the Khwarezmite Caliphs, and this was followed by the invasion by the barbarian Mongol hordes of Hulagu Khan, who virtually destroyed Mesopotamia. Turkoman followed Tartar and destruction and plunder went on relentlessly. The Turks under Selim the Grim and Suleiman the Magnificent conquered the country by the middle of the 16th century A.D., but Turko-Persian rivalry continued for about three cen-

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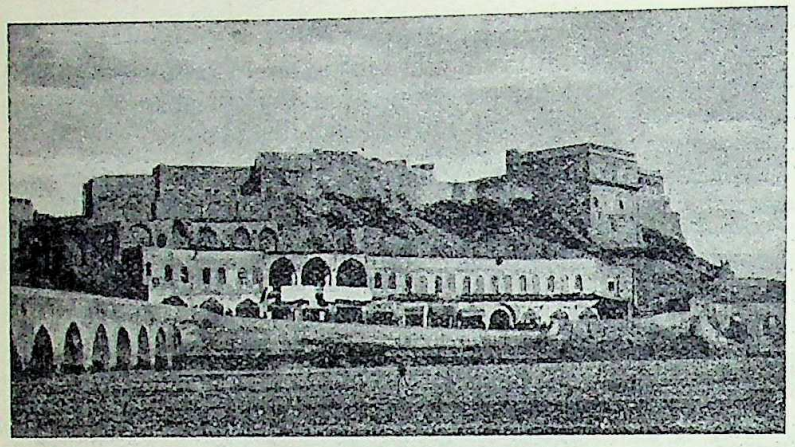

Kirkuk

turies more before the Turks finally took the countries under direct rule in 1831.

The great European powers had in the meantime begun to cast covetous looks on Mesopotamia in general and Iraq in particular, international communications and "warm water" ports being the chief attractions. Turkey made a belated attempt at reorganising the administration and improving communications. The World War came and with it ended the overlordship of the Ottoman Turks, and in those ruins sprouted the roots and branches of Arab nationalism. Great hopes had been held out to the Arabs who had revolted against the Turks, and promises were scattered broadcast without any thought as to whether they were all capable of fulfilment and with the end of the war came persistent demands from all quarters of the Arab lands for the redemption of the promises. French Imperialism attempted a ruthless stamping out of Arab nationalism in Syria, and the British were faced with almost insoluble dilemmas in Palestine, Nejd and Iraq.

The terms of the mandate over Iraq given to the British and the delay in pronouncing a definite policy by the latter resulted in an open revolt of the Shiah tribes in June, 1920. After a year of troubles and conferences, Amir Feisul offered himself as a candidate for the throne and was accepted.

King Feisul had very difficult times at the start. Turkish nationalism on the north and Ibn Saud's Akhwan leaders in the south were great sources of unrest and insecurity. Further the agitation against the mandate was still growing with the widening divergence of views between the British and Iraq Governments. King Feisul and his ministers wanted a complete abrogation of the unpopular "mandatory" relationship which the British wanted to keep on. The usual makeshift patching up policy failed to satisfy the demands of the nationalists. The British general election of 1922, in which the fulfilment of pledges to Iraq was a "plank," focussed attention to the State of affairs for a time, but in general no progress was made. Ministry after ministry tumbled down in the face of opposition, until a new (the fourth) treaty was signed between Great Britain and Iraq as equal and independent States in 1930 which took effect from the entry of Iraq in the League of Nations on October 30, 1932.

King Feisul died in 1933 after rendering the most devoted and substantial services to the country of his adoption. Ghazi I succeeded his father and from the beginning had to face the discontent of a powerful military group who on October 30, 1936 siezed the Government and established it on a Nationalist basis. After the tragic death of Ghazi I the country was being governed under a regent until the latest military coup.

* * * *

Iraq is not only a valuable source of petroleum to the British Empire, but it is also the venue through which easy transport of about 14,000,000 tons of this vital commodity is accomplished. The Shatt-el-Arab, the channel through which pass the 10,000,000 tons of oil from Iran, is in Iraq territory and the dredging of this is controlled by the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. by an agreement signed by Yasin Pasha's Cabinet (Iraq) prior to 1925. The oil pipe line to the Mediterranean starts in Iraq and runs through a considerable distance in Iraq territory. Iraq is also probably the cheapest source of petroleum to the British. Pipe line transport is extremely cheap and the royalties paid are very low in comparison to what has to be paid to Iran. According to the *Asia* magazine the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. had to pay £6,000,000, in royalties for about 10,000,000 tons of petroleum from Iran. Latest Iraq figures are not available but in 1935-36 about £600.000 was received by Iraq in oil royalties. The oil production figure for 1935 is 3,682,000 tons. Therefore the settlement of the present trouble in Iraq is of vital interest to the Empire.

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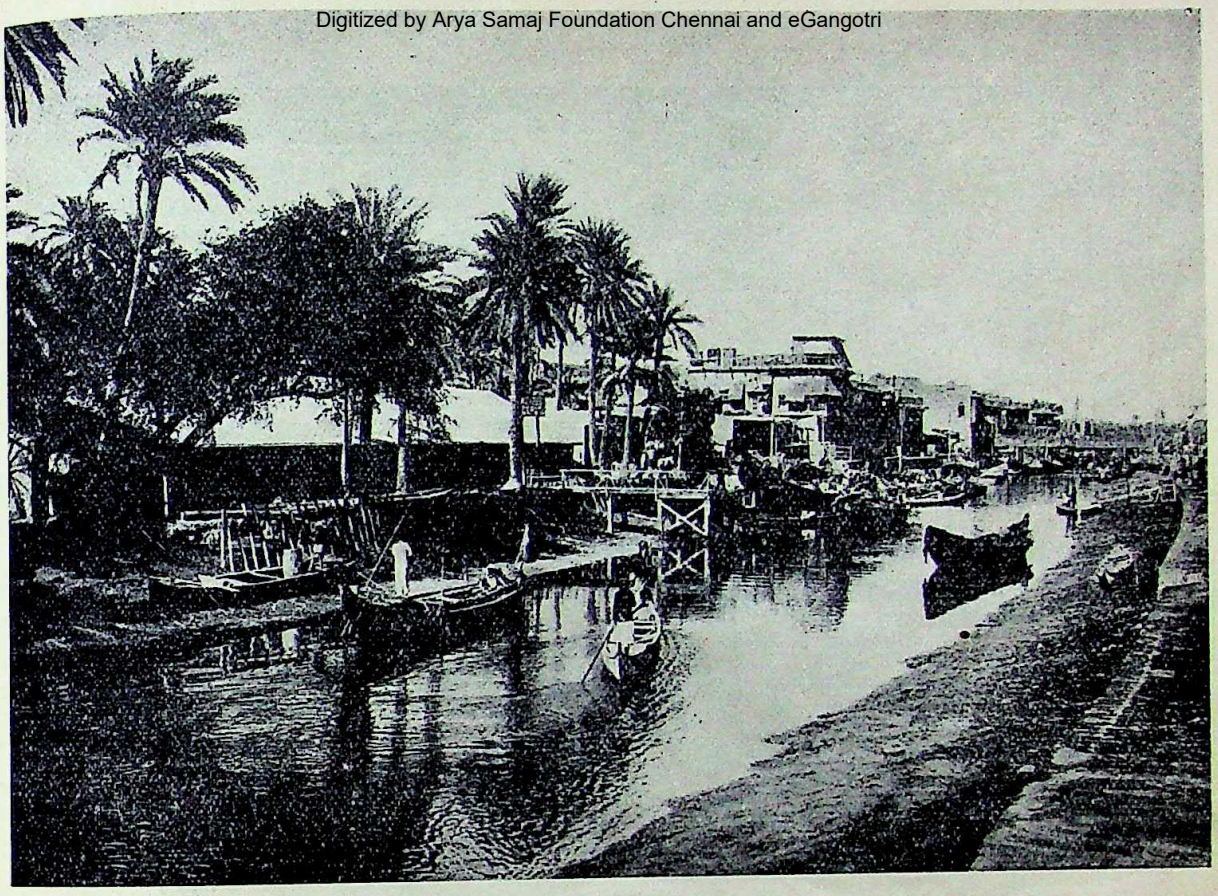
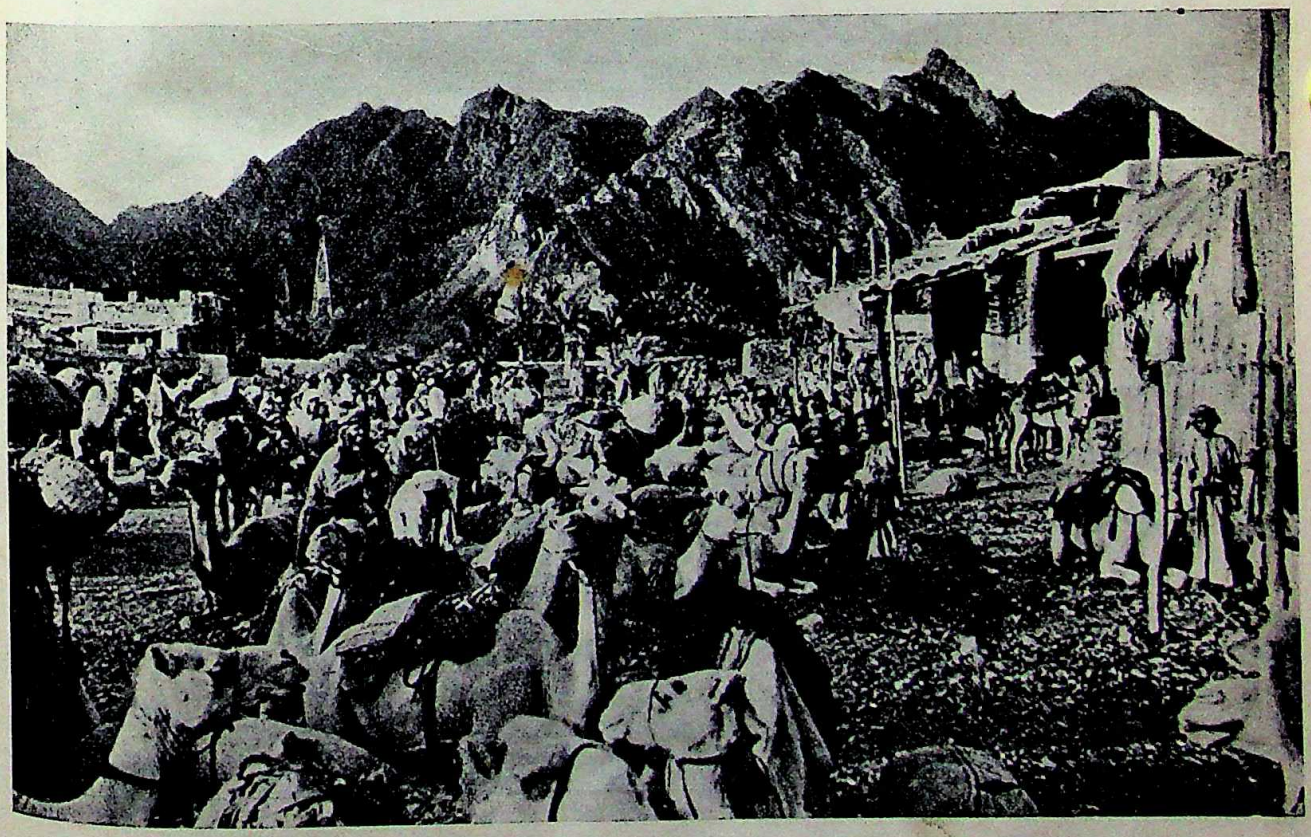


Ashar Creek to Shat-el-Arab, Basra



A typical tribal scene in the Persian Gulf oil region at Mattrah (Oman).

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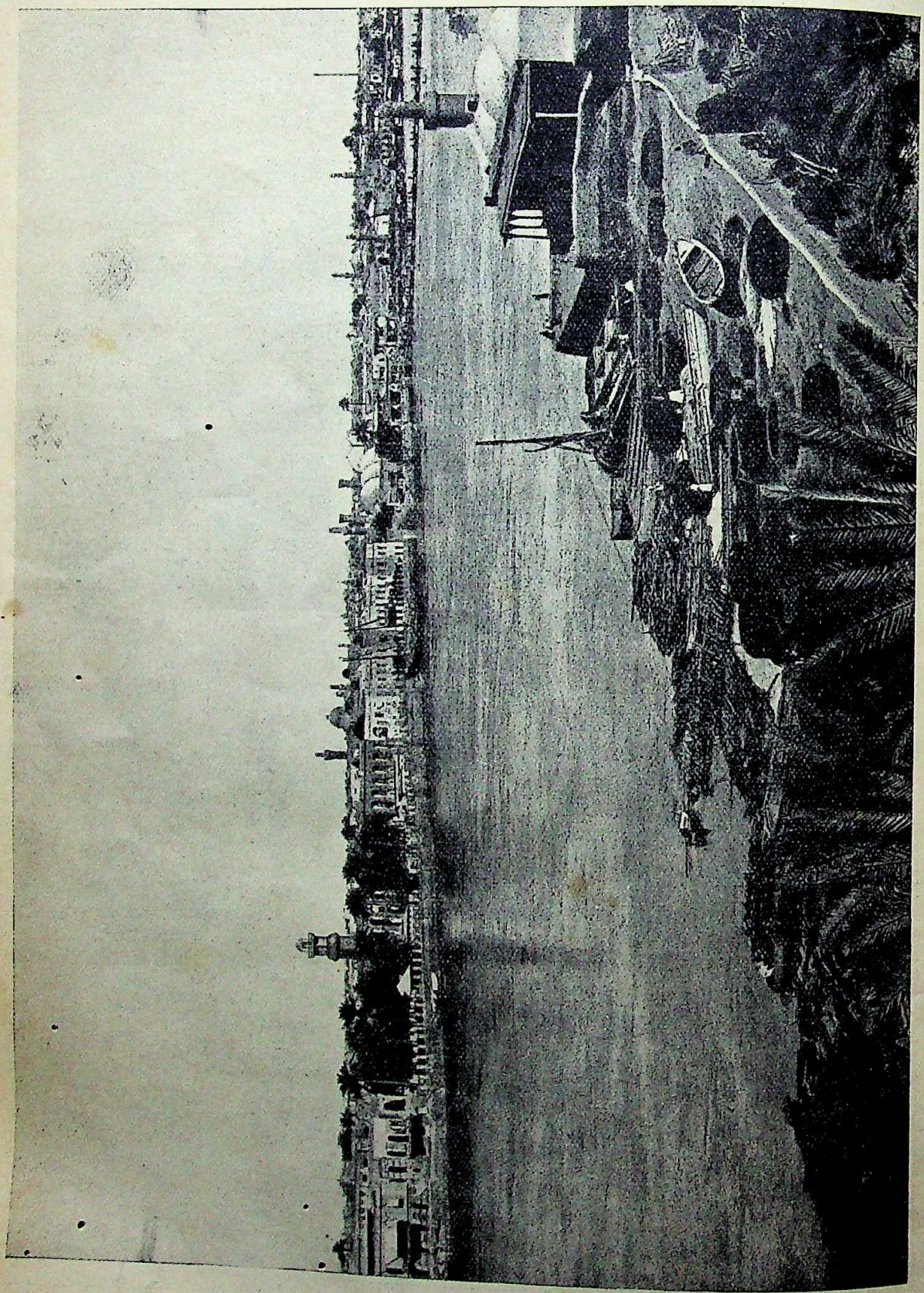

Bagdad on the Tigris. Troubles in Iraq originated from here

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SRI AUROBINDO AS A CRITIC OF POETRY

By DAYAMOY MITRA, M.A.
Lecturer in English, Lucknow University

Each nation has its own distinctive way of absorbing and assimilating ideas from outside—a way which has been developed from its own inner evolution through the ages. Though we Indians have already made our voice heard in the spheres of Religion, Philosophy and Art, and to a certain extent in Science, we have not yet been able to give to the West our own judgments on her literature, especially English Literature from which at least three generations of Indians have derived their inspiration and guidance. We are almost ignorant of the fact that there is an Indian outlook in literary matters. Our want of knowledge here has crippled our intellect and made us fumbling imitators only of Western critical schools of thought. The French, the Germans and other nations of Europe have their own way of evaluating the foreign literature they read. It is only we Indians who fight shy of appraising the great writers of the West from our own standpoint mainly because we hardly know what is our own. Comparative estimates of great literary masters of all ages and countries from different angles of vision are highly valuable for the internationalism of the future. But criticism in our country has not yet taken up this great task and yet, strangely enough, it is in India that we find a good deal of that wisdom in Poetics and Rhetoric that may enlighten even the analytic methods of those western scholars who are trying to disentangle the mysteries of word and thought and poetic diction and imagery in their part of the world.[1]

In the critical writings of Sri Aurobindo—signed A. G.—published twenty three years ago in his philosophical review *Arya*, a foundation has been laid of this kind of critical scholarship which is likely to have far-reaching effects if they are made widely accessible[2]. Sri Aurobindo is not only a great saint of modern times, but his education in England, his linguistic and literary training, his own accomplishment as a writer of English verse, his thorough knowledge of the great European classics, both ancient and modern, in their original, and his later addition to these, of a wide knowledge of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, modern Indian languages and Indo-Aryan culture in all its aspects give him a unique position in the world of letters and make his writings on literary criticism of great interest to the culture of the day.

Literary criticism is gradually taking a new trend in the West in keeping with modern mentality, which is pragmatic and intellectual. The words Mysticism, Spiritual or Higher Realities are much-abused words in English criticism[3], mostly because they are associated with 'Religion' in a narrow credal sense. The History of Religion in the West and the forces of obscurantism that were let loose there for centuries in the name of Religion can account for a great deal of this confused mentality, while perhaps the most significant fact to remember about it is that in however blatant a fashion the truths of Spirituality may be decried, they have a way of coming back unawares and reasserting their sway over all the intellectual categories of thought employed to explain them away.

For the man in the East it is easy still—unless he has very deliberately shaped his mind in the pattern of imported sceptical thinking—to recognise, especially through art and poetry, the existence of the unseen in the midst of the seen, the thing unfelt in that which is felt, the thing unheard in things that are heard. And that is why in our country Poetry, which in its essence is nothing but the realisation of the great truths of human life, is considered to be as powerful over man's mind as Religion itself, though its method of reaching the heart of truth is different from that of the latter.

1. In the opinion of Mr. Amaranath Jha who presided over the Conference, this is a desideratum of Indian critical scholarship. 'The correlation of Western and Hindu canons of criticism,' he said, 'is a task which can only be performed by the scholars of English working in this country.' Mr. Jha is right.

2. The first article of the series was published in the *Arya*, in its issue of 15th December, 1917, written as a Review of Mr. James Cousins' *New Ways in English Literature*. He broadened its scope and continued it to July, 1920.

3. Some of the finest introspective analysis of the nature of poetry written in our time like Yeats's 'Vision' or A. E's 'Candle of Vision' have not received much notice evidently because they are against the prevailing critical temper of the age.

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In his analysis of the essence of poetry, A.G. is seeking for its spirit, its inner aim, its deeper law. Pleasure, he says, we certainly expect from poetry as from all art, but the 'external sensible' and even the 'inner imaginative pleasure' in it are only the first elements. Imagination, intelligence or harmony of sounds (the ear) are not by themselves true creators of poetry, neither can these receive the true delight of poetry—they are only its channels and instruments. True poetry appeals at once to something deeper within us—our soul. The springs of poetry have their source here and it is the soul in us that responds immediately to the language that speaks to it in its own accents. Imagination, intelligence and the ear are only transmitting agents; if they thrust themselves into prominence they end only by obstructing the passage of the words to the soul within us. It is actually a case of deep answering unto deep. One famous modern poet and critic writes:

"In poetry something is imparted to the reader which in the first instance may defy analysis, even 'doesn't make sure' but is nevertheless recognised as the stuff of poetry."

In A. G's interpretation of it, we may say that this apparent incomprehensibility is the comprehensibility of the soul—that which stirs the deeps within us is instinctively felt as real poetry. Talking of 'interinanimation of words' Mr. I. A. Richards leaves ample scope for this element of mystery in poetry, though his treatment of it runs chiefly on what he considers to be purely intellectual lines.

This does not mean that poetry can forego technique. "In all good art technique is the first step towards perfection." It is necessary to insist that A. G. values this. But there are many other steps which poetry should take before it can claim perfection. Even apparent defects in technique, however, cannot prevent one who has the poet's supreme vision from creating poetry that posterity can never forget. As a matter of fact technique here does not occupy so high a place as it does in other arts because poetry has for its material audible sounds. Rhythmic sound in poetry does not produce its effect merely on the outer sense of hearing but it has subtler effects as well. First it has its sound value, then thought value, and over and above this, its soul value which is its absolute best. It is for the expression of this last that the feeling for poetry has been given to man.

"And through this comes to birth, with a small element in it subject to the laws of technique, a power, that soars up almost at the beginning of its flight, beyond the province of any laws of mechanical construction."

The language then serve as a mere vaulting-board for a leap into the infinite, creating what Browning says through his Abt Vogler: "Of three sounds he makes, not a fourth sound, but a star."

Since poetry is essentially Revelation or Vision, the right kind of poetry creates its own form. Language follows the stress of the Spirit. It is possible for man to express the best that is within him or in the world outside of him through its means. If we notice the speech of the great mystics both of the East and West we find that in their attempts to express that which is really inexpressible in words, their speech inevitably tends towards the rhythmic which is always the manner of speech characteristic of poetry.[4] The paradox of poetry lies in this that through it the indefinable is sought to be defined in words, sound and imagery. Through it the mystic tries to unfold his experience but his manner of vision and utterance are capable of being "extended to all experience, even the most objective"—in fact, without that, poetry at once sinks to a lower level. This is what I think we should remember now particularly when literary theory is trying to raise objective reality or thought forms that belong to the lower planes of consciousness, without the vision that makes poetry, to the pedestal of highest poetic utterances. To continue A. G's ideas, a poet should seek to go beyond and discover that intense illumination of speech, that inevitable utterance in which there is a combination of supreme rhythmic movement and depth of sense and power of infinite suggestion.

"The poet may not always or often find it, but to seek for it is the law of his utterance and when he can not only find it but can cast into it some deeply revealed truth of the Spirit itself, he utters (what we in this country call) the *Mantra*."

This theory of the 'Mantra' in poetry as the 'highest revealing word or the luminous word' and the inherent laws that govern the utterances of poetic sound is one of A. G's contributions of great value to the poetics of the day.

He is careful to point out, however, that this vision in poetry cannot be regarded in this age as 'mystic' or as 'something to be carefully shielded from the profane.' It should be approached and appreciated as a light on our path, a power born of that deeper way of living and expressing our ideas which will bring great

4. The words of Jesus in the Bible are throughout draped in the light of his vision. They bear the impress of one great personality therefore. If it is romantic madness of fiction there is surely 'method in this madness.'

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truths beyond our ordinary purview as far as possible into closer relationship with the facts of life. The theory here is based on the metaphysics of soul worked out in his famous book *The Life Divine*.

The mistake that we make in thinking about poetry is that it appeals to our surface mind, or our emotions only, whereas we accept emotions even, for the delight of the soul. If we connect it only with the surface mind, then it flits and goes—it can never remain a source of lasting pleasure, full of infinite possibilities, beckoning perpetually to worlds not yet realised.[5] The poet's act of creation is a process which duplicates the part that we attribute to the ever-active creator of us all, 'the Infinite I am.' The poet starts on his voyage of rhythmic self-discovery among the magic islands of name and form while his reader, too, is worked up to the same pitch and discovers himself through the creation of another, both "reproducing in the finite mind the eternal act of creation in the Infinite I am." (Coleridge)[6]. Where this can be accomplished, the seen and the unseen come together and the much-needed circuit is complete. The Poet Coleridge lighted upon this great truth but the explanation comes better from A.G.

For poetry to be 'Mantra' three things are requisite, highest intensity of rhythmic movement, highest intensity of verbal form (though the words may be very simple) and thought-substance, and the highest intensity of the soul's vision of truth. The paucity of one or other of these elements makes great poetry impossible. When these three in combination reach a particular stage of 'fused intensity' the 'Mantra' becomes possible. Rhythm, of course, is of primary importance in poetry. But by rhythm he does not imply mere material rhythmic beats. He stresses on the subtle 'rhythmical soul-movement' which should enter into the material form before the desired effect can be brought about and poetic achievement begins. Here he takes up the problem of metre and vers libre. By metre, he says, we mean 'a fixed and balanced system of the measures of sound'—'Mātrā'. This is not only the 'traditional physical basis of the poetic movement' but an essential necessity for it. Modern theorists err greatly in holding that metre is artificial and a limiting bondage to verse, without stopping to consider its psychological value. In practice, not at least until great poetry is produced in the 'free verse' style beside which the work of the great masters of poetic harmony shall dwindle into insignificance can we hold it in such high esteem. Even Mr. Herbert Read who is a great supporter of vers libre admits that the achievement is difficult. A G. points out that though it is true vers libre has done its best when it has limited its scope to a kind of poetical prose or else based itself on a kind of complex material structure resembling Greek choric poetry, except in its outward form, it has not yet been able to dispose of the great psychological law that is at the basis of metrical forms. The harmony of metres is the outer symbol of the harmony of soul. When men discovered that our feelings and thoughts thrown into 'forms of fixed recurrent measures of sound' produced more effect than mere words or sound symbols used for ordinary purposes, they did not discover a 'mere artistic device' but a great law of the inmost being of man's mind where everything is peace, harmony and order. And here, as everywhere, the like easily acts upon the like. Neither does mere force of language 'tacked on to the trick of metrical beat' serve the purpose of poetry. The French metrical romances and most of the mediaeval ballad poetry are cited as examples. The Victorian period of English poetry was rich in every kind of instrumental harmony. But it lacks—except in some odd moments—the stress of the inner soul of harmony, the 'soul behind creating and listening to its own greater movements.' It is lavish in forms but tenuous in spirit. Poetic rhythm begins to reach its highest level when the inner ear begins to listen. It is then that poetry gets farthest away from the method of prose-rhythm and

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5. Criticism errs greatly when it tries to apply purely intellectual canons in judging words of art or in evaluating a poet's attempt to embody in works his vision of the truths of life and nature. To mention a few examples of this kind: Shelley's Skylark and Keats's last stanza on the Ode to a Grecian Urn can be explained on a more satisfactory basis on A. G's view of poetry than on the view that is being taken of them by some critics now. Though there is a good deal of enlightened criticism of Shelley now-a-days than formerly, according to current standards Shelley's Skylark is still a mere rigmarole of similes and Keats's conclusion in the Ode 'a conclusion of ignorance.' A now famous critic goes to the extent of proving that Shelley's 'Flight of Love' is empty of sense altogether. He is perhaps right from his intellectual point of view. The better explanation will come if we recognise the stress of the inner spirit behind the words used in these poems. It is the 'spiritual excitement' that the poet's words afford us that has led to their permanence in spite of our vaunted 'revaluation.' We can only indicate the greatness of Shelley's conception of Skylark from the reaction it caused to another great Poet, Thomas Hardy. *Vide* Hardy's Lines written to Shelley's Skylark.

6. *Vide* also Croce: "In that moment of judgment and contemplation our spirit is one with that of the poet and in that moment we and he are one single thing. In this identity alone resides the possibility that our little soul can unite with the great souls and become great with them in the Universality of the Spirit."

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begins to talk in the language of Gods while the inspiration is borne on the wings of "Chhandas," the true accents of the soul.

His analysis of imaginative processes next attracts our attention. We have the objective imagination which visualises the outward aspects of life and nature; the subjective imagination which seeks to portray our mental and emotional impressions; the imagination which is mostly composed of play of mental fictions and to which we give the name of poetic fancy (this approximates Coleridgean fancy); the aesthetic imagination which takes pleasure in the beauty of words and images for their own sake and does not go any further; and at the top of it all the real creative imagination, which is possible if only the poet can enter into the Spiritual reality of things. Coleridge with his great metaphysical insight has called it the 'Esemplastic power.' A. G's view of it unfolds more of its implications than Coleridge could think of at the moment.[7] The former finds that there are many levels and stages of the mind that poetry may have to pass through before the real esemplastic power can begin to operate. Coleridge, trying to objectify it, aims more at a structural wholeness of Imagination rather than a Spiritual vision. The issues here are rather confused in *Biographia Literaria*, leaving room for any amount of speculation on the essence of Imagination and the nature of the work that it does. The fact that there are many planes of poetic creation or poetic imagination, rising from grosser to subtler forms according to varying types of poetic mind has been insistently held before us by A. G.

The poet's imagination may take either the actual or the ideal for its starting point and can rise higher and higher in intensity. A. G gives some examples contrasting the force of different kinds of style, 'vital,' emotional, intellectual, Spiritual. Byron's way of expressing his sense of world sorrow takes a rather cheap, sentimental form like this :

> "There's not a joy the world can give
> like that it takes away."

This may be taken as example of 'vital' poetry appealing to the imigination through the sense-mind. Then we have the "sprightly-forcible manner" of Browningian optimistic emotion (quite fit in its context, though it is not suggested that Browning has no deeper accents than these) :

> "God's in his heaven
> All's right with the world."

In the pointed, balanced, intellectual style of Pope, the phrasing of which is eminently neat and quotable, we find :

> "God sees with equal eyes as Lord of all
> A hero perish or a sparrow fall."

But all this is not the language of real poetic vision. Each may be justified in its own way, since each kind of style—vital, emotional, intellectual, has its own force. But they only brush the skirts of ideas whose deeper expression might touch the very heights of poetical revelation. Byron's line is the starting point in emotional sensations for that high world-pessimism and its spiritual release which finds expression in the Gita's '*Anityam asukham lokam imam prapya bhajaswa mam.*" ("Thou who hast come to this transient and unhappy world, love and turn to Me"). Leaving aside the substance in meaning they contain, we can easily see the distance traversed in the loftier intensity of rhythm. So far as the intermediate degrees in such intensity are concerned 'we can cite at will for one kind from Milton's early poetry, for another, from poets who have a real spiritual vision like Keats and Shelley'. In English poetry the deeper vision is more often than not obstructed by something more external either for showing forth the qualities of virtuosi, or, as now, for exhibiting intellectual or psychological tricks. In some recent poetry we have manoeuvring of words purporting to be truths thrown up by the sub-conscious. The higher vision finds its inevitable speech—and this, according to him—belongs to no particular style, neither does it depend on any particular theory of poetic diction. It is equally manifest in some of the 'highly decorative and imaged passages of Shakespeare or Kalidasa' as in the barest and simplest expressions of certain other poets. Whatever its outward form, where the inner fire burns and glows, it fills every word with the utmost possible rhythmic and thought suggestion. It becomes 'not a style then, but poetic style itself.'

Another point equally important is that this intensity of vision does not come through the power of the individual only but it depends also on the mind of the age and the country to which the singer belongs, the level of its spiritual attainment and its mastery of adequate symbols for the conveying of higher truths. This does not

7. There are some interesting parallelisms of thought in Coleridge, Mallarme and A. G's writings on poetry. The metaphysical foundation of A. G's thoughts is a surer one however, and where the two former talk equivocally and tentatively A. G's statements are firm and definite. It is possible, however, for critics of a certain temperament to level the charge of 'Mysticism' against him.

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mean that he pins his faith on the Historical school of criticism that considers the study of precedents, environments etc., to be all important. The age and environment are for our critic 'mere conditioning medium, crude materials' which the poet himself can transcend or mould or be shaped by according to the proportion of his own greatness. A study of the evolution of English poetry with reference to the national characteristics of the English people of individual poets and the place they occupy in the framework of the different historic periods to which they belonged, is therefore possible. And A. G. has done this in tracing the course of English poetry from the age of Chaucer to the age of the Victorians, and further down to the period which terminated the last great war. Before taking up his search for the revealing word through the different epochs of English Poetry, he has given us his opinions on the suitability of the English language to be a fitting medium for higher vision. The English language has this potentiality. Though the English national mind lacks fine play of emotion or quickness of sympathy, it has in it the Celtic strain which mostly remains submerged, 'with its inherent spirituality, its gift of the right word, strong emotional force and sympathy, natural love of the things of the mind and still more of those beyond the mind. In life, a subordinate element, it modifies the cruder Anglo-Saxon characteristics breaking across them or correcting their excess. We see it emerging in English poetry, coming repeatedly to the surface and working with a certain force and vehemence but embarrassed like an imprisoned spirit let out for a holiday. It works not within very congenial bounds and with an unadaptable companion.' From the inter-play of these two elements arise both the greatness and limitation of English poetry.[8] His analysis here yields three general characteristics of English Poetry. There is in it:

(1) A constant reference and return of the higher poetic motive to the forms of external life as if the enriching of that life were its principal artistic aim.

(2) A great force of subjective individuality and personal temperament as a leading motive of poetic creation.

(3) A great intensity of speech and ordinarily of a certain kind of direct vision.

A. G's study of the course of evolution of English poetry from this particular standpoint is a highly interesting and fruitful study, into the ramifications of which it is not possible to enter here. I can only make a few excerpts from this section. On Chaucer he writes:

"For Chaucer life is there with its familiar lines and normal colours to give it a shape in lucid speech and rhythm, to bathe it in the sunlight of his own happy poetic temperament. He has learnt much from the great Italians, but neither his poetic speech nor his rhythm has anything of the plastic greatness and high beauty of the Italians. (His style) has an easy, limpid, flowing movement. It is a stream rather than a well—for it has no depths in it—of pure English utterance at times rising into an apt and pointed expression, but for the most part satisfied with a first primitive power of poetic speech, a subdued and well-tempered even adequacy. Only once or twice does he by accident strike out a remarkable line of poetry; yet Dante and Petrarch were among his masters."

In our Universities we have hitherto lacked a proper Indian angle of vision from which to judge Shakespeare. It almost seems as if the great Shakespeare has not been able to cause even the faintest ripple of thought in the Indian mind in spite of all our grave thinking power. A. G's opinion on Shakespeare is not only characteristically profound but extremely important for the orientation we are seeking for.

"All Shakespeare's powers and limitations—for it is now permissible to speak of his limitations—arise from this character of the force that moved him to poetic utterance. He is not primarily an artist, a poetical thinker or anything else of the kind, but a great vital creator, and intensely, though within marked limits, a seer of life. His way indeed is not so much the poet himself thinking about life, as life thinking itself out in him through many mouths, in many moods and moments with a rich throng of the thought-effects, but not for any clear sense of intellectual vision or to any high power of either ideal or spiritual result. His development of human character has a sovereign force within its bounds, but it is the soul of human being as seen through outward character, passion, action, the life-soul and not either the thought-soul or the deeper psychic being or the profounder truths of the human spirit. Something of these we may get, but only in shadow or as a partial reflection in a coloured glass, not in their own action. In his vision and therefore in his poetic motive Shakespeare never really either rises up above life or gets behind it; he neither sees what it reaches out to nor the great unseen powers that are active within it. At one time, in two or three of his tragedies he seems to have been striving to do this, but all that he does see then is the action of certain tremendous life-force which he either sets in a living symbol or indicates behind the human action, as in Macbeth, or embodies as in King Lear, in a tragically uncontrollable possession of his human characters. Nevertheless his is not a drama of mere externalised action for it lives from within and more deeply than our external life. This is not *Virat*, the seer and creator of gross forms, but *Hiranyagarbha*, the luminous mind of dreams, looking through those forms to see his own images behind them. More than any other poet Shakespeare has accomplished mentally the legendary feat of the imperious sage *Vishwamitra*; his power of vision has created a Shakespearean world of his own, and it is in spite of its realistic elements, a romantic world in a very true sense of the word, a world of the wonder and free power of life and not of its mere

8. Among older critics Matthew Arnold pointed to this Celtic strain in English Poetry but the application of this in the detection of the stress of inward vision is A. G's own.

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external realities, where what is here dulled and hampered finds a greater, enlarged and intense breath of living, romantic play of beauty, curiosity and amplitude. * * * * Certainly he is no universal revealer, as his idolators would have him be,—for even in the life-soul of man there are things beyond him, but to have given a form so wonderful, so varied, so immortally alive, in so great a surge of the intensest poetical expression, to a life-vision of this kind and this power is a unique achievement of poetical genius. The future may find for us a higher and profounder, even a more deeply and finely vital aim for the dramatic form than any Shakespeare ever conceived, but until that has been done with an equal power, grasp and fulness of vision and an equal intensity of revealing speech he keeps his sovereign station. The claim made for him that he is the greatest of poets may very well be challenged,—he is not quite that—but that he is first among dramatic poets cannot well be questioned."

It is not possible to pick up the numerous gems of thought scattered all over his speculations on Future poetry for the purpose of presentation here; besides, his style of writing is of such concentrated energy and his ideas so interwoven that it is difficult to break into the full force of the tidal wave of his eloquence without injuring its even flow and power. His remarks on the big poets of the Romantic Revival are highly suggestive. The contrast that he draws between Wordsworth and Shelley goes against the conventional opinion held about these two great poets.[9] Of Keats's potentialities and Shelley's vision of Reality, A. G. has some very fine things to say. Summing up on Keats he writes :

"All the other high things that interested his great equals, had for him no interest, one godhead only he worshipped, the image of Beauty, and through this alone he wished to see Truth and by her to achieve spiritual delight and not so much freedom as completeness. And he saw her in three of her four forms : (1) Sensuous Beauty, (2) Imaginative Beauty, (3) Intellectual Beauty and (4) Ideal Beauty. But it is the first only which he had entirely expressed when his career was cut short in its beginning; the second he had carried far, but it was not yet full-orbed; towards the third and the highest he was only striving, 'to philosophise he dared not yet,' but that was from the first the real sense and goal of his genius."

Writing more than twenty years ago A. G, could hold out a hope in his later articles that the introduction of an other-world harmony into the strains of English poetry through Irish poets like Yeats and A. E., and secondly, the Indian element through Tagore, especially, might lead to important results so far as the poetry of the future was concerned. But he had apprehensions too, of a set-back, and these have proved to be true.

Post-war disillusionment, a sort of moral and political topsy-turvydom, distrust, scepticism and fear made their influence felt and poetry entered into the wasteland of doubt and despair from which perhaps it will take some time to emerge. Conceptual language is the only language used in much of modern poetry, and criticism, too, has begun to support it. A new language for the mind has been invented and poetry is being gradually burdened with abstract, ideational and scientific pharases and images. At the same time it will not be right perhaps to say that modern poetry in all its phases, is a poetry of decadence. There is at least a stern endeavour on the part of some modern poets to express much that older forms of poetry could not easily voice forth. It is poetry that has lost its way for a time in the arid sands of intellectuality and doubt while the spirit of its new endeavour seems to be guided by Polonius' suggested course of cautious life for his son, "by indirections finding directions out."

What then should be the ideal goal of this modern endeavour ? I can do nothing better in reply than quote the eloquent words of Sri Aurobindo again, words that are quite true now as they were when he wrote them so many years ago.

"But if the poets of our own day make the fullest and best use of the opportunities now afforded through new views in Philosophy, through a more intimate contact between the East and the West, a changed and extended spirit in science, and new revelations in the other arts, in music, painting, architecture, sculpture, a greater intuitive and revealing poetry may yet be possible and the poetry of the day would then voice a supreme harmony of the eternal powers—Truth, Beauty, Delight, Life and the Spirit—the five ideal lamps, or rather the five suns of poetry which we always expect poetry to serve. The new poetry will then take up and transform the secret of the older poets and find undiscovered secrets, transfigure the old rhythms and create new harmonies, reveal other greater powers and spirits of language and compass its own altered art of poetry. This at least is its possible ideal endeavour and the attempt itself would put the poetic spirit once more in the shining front of the powers and guides of the ever-progressing soul of humanity. There it will lead in the journey like the Vedic Agni, the fiery giver of the word, 'Yuva, Kavih, Priyo, Atithir' etc., the youth, the seer, the beloved and immortal Guest with its honeyed tongue of ecstasy, the Truth-conscious, the Truth-founder, born as a flame from earth and yet the heavenly messenger of the Immortals."

(A paper read at the first English Conference held at Lucknow, December, 1940).

9. It is remarkable that more than half-a-century ago, another great scholar of our country, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, in his work on Neo-Romantic Movement in Literature and a Psycho-genetic study of the development of Keats's ideas gave us a theory about these two poets that have since been corroborated by numerous recent writers on Shelley and Keats in the west.

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RURAL MARKETING

By Dr. SUDHIR SEN

The difficulties from which the village producer suffers in marketing his produce are in the main due to the dislocation caused by the impact of modern industrialism on a rural economy. To-day there is enough of modern industries to upset the delicate balance which the village had struck between agriculture and cottage industries, yet there is not enough of them to arrive at a new one; there is enough of modern communications to break down the isolation of village life, but certainly not enough to bring about a new equilibrium and turn the village into a unit of a larger and well-integrated system; above all, the farmer has been brought into contact with the world market, yet there has been no commensurate change in his moral and material equipment. We are, in short, passing through the painful stage of transition from the medieval economic system to a modern one. The process has been the more painful because we have all the while been drifting from the one to the other. In the field of rural marketing as in other spheres of India's economic life, laissez-faire has enjoyed an unusually long lease of life. Control, regulation, guidance have been conspicuous by their absence. There is a vast complexity of weights and measures, a jungle of rules and regulations written or unwritten. The problem before us is how to evolve a system out of the present systemless state in rural marketing.

In recent years there has been a pronounced change in the attitude both of the public and the Government. Both have become increasingly rural-conscious. Laissez-faire in this sphere is now visibly on the wane, as is reflected in the spate of legislation passed by provincial governments since the new Government of India Act came into force. In those provinces where governments constituted under this Act are still in power, new legislation for the betterment of the lot of the cultivating class has continued in spite of war conditions. Surely we can no longer speak of official inaction. Indeed one might almost say that today the danger seems to threaten from the opposite direction, that the government is doing not too little but too much, that it is going not too slow but too fast. The zeal for rural uplift has not everywhere been accompanied by an equal readiness to explore the factual background, to appraise the difficulties of giving effect to a piece of legislation owing to the shortcomings of the human factor, and, last but not least, to gauge in advance the possible repercussions of official intervention on other sectors of the economy. The policy of restricting jute production in Bengal and that of price-fixing for sugarcane in Bihar and the U. P. are cases in point. Both bear the impress of insufficient forethought and foresight. Both are pointed reminders of the fact that in the sphere of economic reform mere good intentions are an inadequate starting-point, that half-hearted planning can do more harm than good, that we can, only at our peril, ignore the inexorable laws of supply and demand.

With the growth of a rural bias in official as well as public mind it was but natural that stress should increasingly be laid on the problem of rural marketing. For there can be little doubt that the price which the village producer at present receives is unduly low owing to the high costs of distribution so that the income of the cultivator could be raised if the charges for the services involved in the process of distribution, *e.g.*, those of the middleman, railways, banks, were cut down to an irreducible minimum. Besides, in a rational scheme production and marketing must be correlated. Otherwise the income of the village producer can never be at a maximum as there would then be no guarantee that he would produce just the crop or just the type and quality of that particular crop, which would fetch him the highest price.

A better system of rural marketing will, however, benefit not only the cultivating class but also the economy as a whole. First, marketing difficulties are often a serious hindrance to an increase in the volume of production, for there can be little inducement to produce goods unless there are prospects of marketing them profitably. Secondly, the more efficient is the system of distributing goods, the lower will be their prices and, consequently, the greater will be the benefit to be derived by the consumer from a given money income. A better correlation between production and marketing which will benefit the cultivator, will also prove advantageous to the consumer as his scale of preferences will have a better chance to prevail. Thirdly,

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the present system of marketing, as has been emphasised in the reports of the Central Marketing Staff, operates with an unduly wide margin of waste so that there is considerable scope for economy. Such savings, taken in isolation, may not look impressive, but, when pooled, they are sure to reach an imposing total. To stop waste, it is well to remember, is also to add to the effective wealth of the country. Lastly, the development of industries which under war conditions is bound to receive a new impetus, presupposes a smooth and regular supply of the required raw materials which in its turn depends on the efficiency of the system of marketing.

In order to evolve a better marketing system which will be attended with all these advantages it is, however, essential to distinguish between what we should attempt to do and what we should not, and, equally, between what should be attempted now and what should be attempted at a later stage. If the reformist zeal is not to be largely lost, here as elsewhere the "ideal ideal" should be differentiated from the "practical ideal" and the first things must come first. What yields greater utility must have precedence over what yields lesser utility. This cardinal principle of economics is as much valid here as in other spheres of economic life. To leave it out of account while endeavouring to evolve a rational system, would be anything but rational.

Should a scheme for price control and revalorisation be included within the ambit of rural marketing? We have spoken above of ensuring to the cultivator the maximum share in the price paid by the ultimate consumer. Can we not go a step forward and determine what price the consumer should pay and try to keep it at a higher level so that the grower would automatically realise a higher value for his crop? In fact one frequently comes across the argument that agricultural prices in this country are much too low, that with the present level of prices agriculture cannot pay its way so that one of the major functions of rural marketing should be to secure a higher level of absolute prices for rural products.

We do not want to be dogmatic. There may arise occasions when it may be at least the lesser evil to attempt a control of the market in order to bring about a rise in the price of a particular commodity. In India sugarcane during the height of the depression provided an example of this nature. Besides, though the market price of a commodity is determined by the play of supply and demand, one side may be so organised as to prejudice the interests of the other. For example, it is a commonplace that after the onslaught of the last great depression, jute manufacturers were much more successful in adjusting their production to the lower level of world demand for jute goods than the jute growing interests who, being scattered over the province and ill-organised, were incapable of taking concerted action for a curtailment of production. In a modern economic system where interest groups have been organised with varying degrees of intensity, the greatest justification for state regulation lies, paradoxical as it may sound, in not ignoring economic forces, but in restoring as it were that very play of economic forces, on which the liberal economists depended for the realisation of their social objective.

Even when there is a strong case for State regulation it is in practice an unusually difficult task to steer clear of the twin rocks on which such attempts at regulation frequently founder. First, there is the practical difficulty whose full import is only too often imperfectly grasped, of making any scheme for regulating the volume of produce really effective. And, secondly, where an absolute fixing of the price level for a commodity is attempted, there is always the danger that the new level of prices will evoke an extension of production which will bring down the prices and thereby frustrate the scheme. Herein lies the chief explanation for the fact that many international projects to control market through restricting output, *e.g.*, wheat, coffee, sugar, have come to grief. What has happened in the international sphere may easily happen on a national scale. In fact, our experience with the price-fixing policy for sugarcane is essentially of the same character.

The rational objective in rural marketing in this country should in our opinion be more limited. Given a particular market price, there would still remain the very important problem of the share of the cultivator in that price. Rural marketing should be so organised that the gap between the price paid by the ultimate consumer and that received by the grower is at a minimum. Obviously, this objective will be realised only when the machinery of distribution functions with a maximum of efficiency. That there is a very wide scope for increasing this efficiency is admitted on all sides. As long as there are such safer and surer methods of helping the cultivator, it would, to say the least, be premature to think in terms of "revalorisation" or price control which are fraught with heavy risks and which are often more alluring than beneficial.

Co-operation, again, is widely regarded as

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a panacea for all the evils which beset the economic life of rural India. Rural marketing, it has been urged on all hands, can be best organised on a co-operative basis. If the promise of the millennium which co-operation held out to many nineteenth century thinkers, has been very imperfectly fulfilled in practice, its prospects in India can certainly not be regarded as brighter. The quality of co-operation is bound to depend on the quality of the co-operating units and this quality, as experience has abundantly shown, remains, in spite of the efforts of the last thirty-five years, dishearteningly poor. Besides, co-operative marketing is after all a business enterprise and a co-operative sale society must be run on business lines if it is to prove a success. Under the present circumstances it is very difficult to find the necessary business ability among the members of a society for the simple reason that he who possesses that ability, invariably prefers to work for his own private gain. The success in co-operative marketing presupposes a unique combination of idealism and business ability on the part of its organisers. That combination still remains the exception and shows little sign of becoming the rule.

The stress on co-operation reflects largely the antagonism to the middleman. The reasons for this widespread antagonism on the part of the public are not far to seek. The primary collector who often combines money-lending business with his assembling operations, not seldom succumbs to the temptation of exploiting the helpless state of the cultivator. Some of the practices in the market are tantamount to "common theft," as the Royal Commission on Agriculture pointed out a dozen of years ago. There are also too many persons to perform the functions of middlemen, owing to bad communications, chaotic conditions of marketing and excessive pressure of life.

Yet in spite of all his shortcomings, the service which the middleman performs is a real one. Communications are at times so bad that assembling the produce becomes a difficult task; the cultivators are small and scattered over a wide area; they lack both financial resources and storing facilities to attempt a regulation of their sales in accordance with the state of the market; both in quality and purity their produce, when marketed, are far from being in an ideal state. Unless middlemen step in to undertake marketing, in many cases it would be difficult for the cultivator to sell his produce and it is not at all certain that he would on the whole be better off.

Collection of produce, its distribution and the adjustment of supply to demand between locality and locality are vital functions without which no system can operate to the maximum advantage of all classes. The fulfilment of these functions, however, calls for a good deal of skill and specialised knowledge, and the presumption is that they can be best rendered by those who spend their lives in business. The Royal Commission on Agriculture deprecated "easy generalities suggesting that every ill from which the cultivator suffers is traceable to the existence of hordes of rapacious and unnecessary middlemen" and rightly observed that "the aim of better marketing is not necessarily to displace any unit in the existing machine but to enable that machine to function to greater advantage." Not to eliminate the middleman root and branch, but to harness him to the system in a more useful manner, should be our aim. In other words, our attack can be most fruitfully directed not against the middleman, but against the inefficiency of the present system. This will necessarily create those conditions in which the redundant middlemen will be automatically eliminated.

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BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIA

By BIRENDRA KISHORE ROY CHOWDHURY, M.L.C.

Mr. Amery has been the Secretary of State for India for the last one year (since the British debacle in Norway). The policy which he has pursued during this period in respect of the political aspirations of this country cannot be said to differ fundamentally from the policy which the British Government had adopted before his appointment as Secretary of State. India had been declared a belligerent in the persent war without her consent long before Mr. Amery came to preside over the India Office. The political demands, made by the Indian National Congress, had also been rejected before Mr. Amery could be said to have any influence over British policy towards India.

Why then is there such bitterness in this country at present about this gentleman and about his statements regarding India? This is to be explained partly by the emphasis which Mr. Amery has continuously laid upon the divisions in Indian opinion and by his ingenious efforts to make political capital out of it. True, the British Government has always harped upon the existence of divergent and mutually hostile interests in this country and made that an argument for not moving fast towards the goal of Swaraj. But, however that be, it should be admitted that at no time before Mr. Amery became the Secretary of State for India was so much encouragement given so openly, albeit so cleverly, to the fissiparous forces and at the same time was disagreement between different groups regarding our political demands and aspirations emphasised in so irritating and exasperating a manner. This certainly accounts largely for the bitterness of feelings, which the Indians now cherish towards Mr. Amery. But there is a second and not less important a reason for the present exasperation of the Indian public with this imperialist Secretary of State. The fall of Mr. Chamberlain last year was welcomed with relief in all Indian circles not merely as definitely marking the end of the policy of appeasement towards the Fascist Powers but as also marking the end of an epoch during which British approach to every problem, national, imperial and inter-national, was made from the standpoint of cut-throat capitalist economy. It was expected by the Indian public that the withdrawal of Mr. Chamberlain from the supreme position in British politics would be followed by a more sympathetic, more realistic, and essentially more liberal British policy towards India. But the accession of Mr. Churchill to the Premiership and Mr. Amery to India Office threw us from the frying pan into the fire.

The Birtish policy towards India was never very liberal. Only in some exceptional periods, some exceptional Secretaries of State might have chalked out liberal lines of action. We may refer in this connection to Mr. Montagu and to Mr. Wedgewood Benn. But they also, even with the best of intentions, were powerless to do any genuine good to India. At other times and with other men in charge of the India Office, the British policy towards India was frankly conservative, if not reactionary. It should also be known that this policy has at all times been influenced and even guided by the economic interests of Great Britain, particularly those of Lanchashire. It is known to every student of even elementary Indian Economics that the Tariff Policy of India was long determined by the dictates of the mill-owners of Lancashire. Nor was there anything very unexpected and surprising in this. The British Empire in India was to be maintained to a great extent, no doubt, for prestige but to a far larger extent, for economic gain. The utility of this country as a part of the British Empire consisted in the exploitation of its raw materials and in the use of its teeming millions as purchasers of the finished goods of Great Britain. It was inevitable on this account that the political policy towards India should be dictated by the economic interests of Great Britain.

It should also be borne in mind, as Professor H. J. Laski has emphasised in a recent pamphlet,* that without the domination of India by Britain the financing of the expensive social services in the latter country would have been difficult, if not out of the question. The status of India as a dependency made it possible for British industrialists and businessmen to exploit this country, as they have done, and only

* *Where Do We Go From Here* (1940), p. 112.

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because of such exploitation their taxable capacity increased several fold and it was by the yield of the taxes imposed upon them that the Government found it possible to meet the demands of the proletariat. It is but natural in view of this fact that the British policy towards India should be shaped very largely by the dictates of its economic exploiters. It should be noted that at no time has the Indian policy of the British Government been determined so exclusively by the demands of the British capitalists as during the twenty years which elapsed since the conclusion of the last great war. During this long period, conservatives of the capitalist brand were throughout in power except for the two short intervals of Labour ministries. Threatened by socialist and communist experiments in certain parts of the world, the British capitalists were now on the defensive and in organising this defence they decided to leave nothing to chance. They mobilised all their forces and proceeded to defend every inch of ground they occupied. In Europe they allied themselves for this purpose with all reactionary forces to crush socialism and communism. In respect of India they decided to leave no loophole through which liberal influence might percolate into the administrative organisation of this country. They were determined to defend every outpost of their influence and power and would allow nothing to be done which might hamper in the least their exploitation of the Indian raw materials and the Indian market.

In was with this motive that in the Second Round Table Conference disagreements among different groups of Indian delegates were skilfully manipulated and the stage was cleverly set for the infamous Communal "Award." which the weak and vacillating ex-socialist, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, was cajoled to sign and declare. It is significant that Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, was frank enough to boast in the House of Commons that the new Constitution was being so framed as to leave no chance for the Congressites to dominate the province of Bengal, where they had such a stronghold and which had given so much trouble to the British Government. It is not unlikely that the success which the British imperialists have achieved in Bengal, they may be ambitious enough now to attain in the Central Government and in other parts of India as well. Is it not in fact written on the wall that they are working at present to that end? It should also be emphasised here that the same Roman hand which is noticeable in the Communal "Award" was also behind the economic and commercial safeguards which abound in the Government of India Act, 1935. As one reads this document, one becomes conscious of the sedulous attempts made by the framers of the Act to stand guard over any and every privilege which the British capitalists had ever enjoyed in India.

We have pointed out above that the British capitalist class which was so unmistakably in power in the thirties made the new constitution of India as much after their mind as possible. Shrewd business men as they were, they made a parade of responsible government and provincial autonomy no doubt in the Act, but they neutralised every privilege so granted. There was, however, another group, small but compact, which opposed even the slightest concession to Indian demand. It was not satisfied even with the hidebound safeguards and other reactionary features of the new Act. In fact the opposition on its part to this reactionary measure was persistent and vehement in both the Houses. This group had for its leader Mr. Winston Churchill, the much applauded Premier of today. Another person who acted as the lieutenant and co-adjutor of Mr. Churchill in this regard was no other than Col. Amery, our present impartial Secretary of State.

There have been two outstanding principles which have determined the political attitude of Mr. Churchill and his group during the last twenty years. One of these was to the effect that Communism and Socialism must be fought at the point of the bayonet on all fronts and at all times. In fact in the middle twenties nothing was so much in Mr. Churchill's mind as a crusade against the principles which Karl Marx had laid down and which thousands even in Great Britain wanted to follow. Since the outbreak of the present War (for well nigh two years) Mr. Churchill has been in the Government, whose policy outwardly at least is to placate the Government and people of the Soviet Union. We do not know if on this account Mr. Churchill and his colleagues, like Colonel Amery, have given up altogether the idea of waging a holy war against Socialism. We should not of course be very certain about it. But while they may not have abandoned their inner hostility against it, the exigencies of war have compelled them half-heartedly at least to work in collaboration with the leaders of the Labour Party.

The second principle which has guided the political outlook and policy of Mr. Churchill and his colleagues was that of persistent hostility to Indian aspirations. Nothing was to be done by which British Imperialism in India

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might be affected not only materially but even in its external trappings. Mahatma Gandhi was to Mr. Churchill nothing but a half-naked fakir, whom it was an act of sacrilege on the part of the Viceroy to see and parley with. Colonel Amery, who has written so much on imperial problems and was for long on the staff of the greatest imperialist organ, *The Times*, has on all occassions echoed the voice of his present chief in regard to this country. It does not seem that this group is willing to modify, while in power, any of its principle, regarding Indian administration, which it upheld when in opposition. In respect of Home politics, it may have been compelled by the unfortunate circumstances of the war to defer to some extent to the views of the Labour Party, but in regard to the political aspirations of India it stands where it did when the Government of India Bill was on the Parliamentary anvil. Since Mr. Churchill became the Prime Minister one year ago, he has not made any statement in this regard nor has he ever referred to the question of the status of India in any of the many speeches that he has made either inside or outside the House of Commons. He has maintained a sphinx-like silence in this matter. But while he has regarded silence as golden in this respect, his trusted colleague, Mr. Amery has made many speeches on India and in every one of these speeches he has made communal rivalry in this country a handy pretext for making no response to the demands of the Indian National Congress. This would show that the Churchill group has not given up one iota of its former principle regarding the Indian demand for self-rule. It is unrepentant.

There are, or at least there were, basic differences in opinion about foreign policy between the group which Mr. Churchill represents and leads and the stronger group of hard-boiled industrial magnates and financiers whom Mr. Chamberlain led until his death. In respect of Hitler, for instance, while the latter was out for a policy of appeasement, Mr. Churchill and his friends championed the policy of fighting him and nipping him in the bud. But while in the field of foreign policy we notice differences between the two groups in basic ideals and principles, in respect of India the difference between them is, as we have seen, only skin-deep. The industrialists and financiers would agree to grant some semblance of reforms to the Indian people but they would see to it that these reforms did not affect their interests in this country in the least. The Churchill group, on the other hand, would not agree to grant even that semblance of reforms. While the former in other words would wield a sword covered with velvet, Mr. Churchill and his colleagues would prefer the naked steel. There would be in consequence no surprise that as a result of the formation of the Churchill Government and the accession of Mr. Amery to office the British policy towards India, instead of being liberalised, has become more reactionary than before.

It may be asked why the labour element in the British cabinet has given its support, either actively or passively, to the principles of action which Mr. Amery has followed so far in respect of India. There has been all along a misconception in the mind of the Indian people regarding the attitude of the British political parties towards India. In the last century and in the early years of the present century the leaders of nationalist opinion in this country pinned their faith to the Liberal Party. When the Conservatives came into power they became depressed. When on the other hand the Liberals came to office they became encouraged and enthused. Actually, however, there had never been any basic difference between the points of view of the two historic parties in respect of India. The Irish Nationalists showed in this matter more realism than the leaders of Indian patriotism. The former appreciated it fully that as both the parties in Great Britain had ultimately the same outlook and policy in respect of the Empire, it was futile to oppose one and cling to the coat-tails of another. In the British House of Commons they in fact joined hands now with the Conservatives and now with the Liberals according as political strategy might demand.

The Indian Nationalists were disillusioned, no doubt, on all occasions by the policy which the Liberals pursued in India. But still they did not learn the lesson as the Irish Nationalists had already learnt. They still pinned their faith to the party which appeared at a particular time to be more progressive in Great Britain. When in the beginning of the twentieth century the Labour Party became in England a political force to be reckoned with, many of our leaders became convinced that as soon as this party would come into power a more generous policy would be pursued by Whitehall towards India. They became considerably encouraged by the speeches and writings of some of the Labour leaders and thought that when these leaders would come into office the British dominion over India would entirely cease. It was particularly thought that socialism, which many of the

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Labourites espoused as a principle, would certainly be inconsistent with British exploitation of India. So, what was once expected of the Liberal Party came now to be cherished of the Labour Party. But it was soon proved that Labour in office was far different from Labour when it was only a small group in opposition in the House of Commons. The Labour Government of 1924 and 1929 gave no doubt a shock to the nationalist mind here but it was not really disillusioned about Labour until the Report of the Simon Commission was published with the signatures of its two Habour Members appended to its reactionary recommendations.

In fact it would be wrong to think that there is any basic difference between the viewpoints of the Labour Party and those of the Conservatives and Liberals in respect of Indian aspirations. Mr. C. R. Attlee, who by the way was one of the members of the Simon Commission, published a book a few years ago known as *The Labour Party in Perspective*. In this book a few paragraphs have been devoted to Labour policy towards India. These paragraphs not only do not breathe any new spirit towards India, but what is more, the opinions expressed therein, though rather sugar-coated, are as reactionary regarding our demand for Swaraj as the opinions of any Conservative leader may be expected to be. The Conservative imperialists like Mr. Amery emphasise the communal differences in this country and make them an excuse for doing nothing as to our demand for self-rule. The Labour and Socialist leader Mr. Attlee not only emphasises these communal differences, but he further emphasises that if Swaraj is now conferred upon India, there is every likelihood that the peasants and workers will be exploited by the educated capitalist class.* So Mr. Attlee sees eye to eye with Mr. Amery in respect of Indian aspirations. He only adds a 'labour' argument for doing nothing with regard to our political demands.

We have seen in the previous paragraphs that the different political groups in Great Britain are at one in regard to their policy towards this country. But of all the groups, it must be understood, the one which is represented by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery is the most intransigent. While the other groups may desire to make their policy at least outwardly attractive, this group is unwilling to bend even a little. It will depend absolutely upon the divisions in Indian opinion. By pitting the Muslim League against the National Congress, it will try its best to neutralize the political demands of the Indian people and set them at naught as long as possible. The question, however, is whether the policy which it is pursuing is ultimately good even for Great Britain. That it is unhelpful and even disastrous to India need not be emphasized. It is necessary for British statesmen to seriously consider whether it is not equally disastrous for British interests.

Divisions there are in every country either in an active or in a potential form and it is not difficult for a third party in power to take advantage of these divisions and jealousies which may exist between them. Even in Great Britain whose people are supposed to be the most homogeneous and united in Europe, it may not be difficult for a third party, if it perchance takes hold of power to create fissures in British opinion and pit one group against another. In Ireland, even in South Ireland where the Protestants and the Catholics were supposed to be at logger-heads and where on that ground the British Government refused to concede for long the political demands of the Irish people, we do not hear any longer of jealousies between the two groups. Again the relations between the North and the South in the United States of America were for decades as bad as they could be. During these unfortunate years the points of difference in regard to civilization between the two halves of the country were more emphasized than their points of union. And it was thought by many both in that country and outside that possibly it would be better for the two halves to become absolutely separated. But now that as a result of the Civil War the Southern pretensions were undermined and the Southern States were brought back into the union, the two halves are living in amity and concord. They now constitute one entity and a happy entity at that. In fact while there is diversity in every country, it is for the Government of the country to see whether this diversity overwhelms the basic unity or whether it is relegated to its proper and legitimate place within the bosom of National Unity. If the British Cabinet makes it a policy to keep different groups in India apart, we may take it that it will succeed. On the contrary if the British Cabinet desires that different groups should be fitted into one united fabric, there also it will succeed. Which of the two alternatives will the British Government accept?

Mr. Amery, we may repeat, has so far emphasised the communal differences in this

* Pp. 245-46. "There is no particular gain," he says, "in handing over the peasants and workers of India to be exploited by their own capitalists and landlords."

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country as an argument for doing nothing. Evidently it is his belief as it is the belief of most others in British public life that the transference of real power to Indian hands will be inconsistent with British interests. The question is whether this contention is really accurate. In the last century there was a persistent belief in British political circles that colonies were worthless adjuncts to the British Empire. They were like fruits, which when ripe would fall away from the mother tree. It was, however, not long before this theory proved false. The enjoyment of democratic and responsible government on the part of the colonists was found consistent with British connection. It is further to be emphasised that it was not merely in name that this connection was maintained. In Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand self-governing peoples have not only maintained their connection with the mother country but they have made themselves helpful in diverse ways to Great Britain. Even in the field of industry and commerce where rivalry is apt to be generated very easily and where bad blood may be created without difficulty, co-operation between the British and local interests has become possible and even fruitful.

It is true that the peoples of these Dominions are predominantly and in some places exclusively of British origin, and it may be argued that it is only because of this racial affinity that in spite of all odds such co-operation as has been referred to above has been maintained so far. But where the local people are not of the same race as the British, difficulties might easily emerge. In South Africa in fact such difficulties have already become noticeable. The Boers are not falling in with the British in the same way as their brethren of English origin. What has become noticeable on a small scale in South Africa may be apprehended on a vaster scale in India. Once the Indians are given real control over their own affairs, it may be argued that they will give no quarters to British interests. On the face of it this argument may appear to be plausible. But if Indian temperament is studied more deeply and Indian character analysed more carefully it will be found that in spite of the past relations which have not been happy the Indian people are not basically hostile to the British. On the contrary their inspiration in many respects is of British origin. In political, administrative and even in economic matters they have been imbued with British ideals. From this standpoint it may be concluded that even if the real control over their affairs is conferred upon the Indians they may not be as hostile to British interests as they may be expected to be by pessimistic British politicians. It is true that if the British are out for domination they will be disappointed in the new regime. If, however, they are to be content with partnership, their expectation will not be belied.

While by wise concessions in the nick of time the British Government may naturally look forward to a fruitful partnership with the Indian people, by withholding them on the ground of communal differences in this country, the Britishers will not improve their position here by one iota. It should be known that while by the policy which Mr. Amery is pursuing, they are alienating and exasperating the majority community of the Hindus, they are not thereby enlisting the permanent co-operation and help of the Muslims. Already it seems that by constant encouragement a large section of the latter has reached a political position in which it may be difficult for even the British Government to control it. Already from the Madras speech of Mr. Jinnah it seems possible that he is trying to look beyond the British Government and the British people for the achievement of his aim.

Elasticity is the most important factor of statesmanship. During the last few years the British Government has not been noted for this virtue. Accustomed to give its support to one power and to show its hostility to another, it pursued its sentiment and stuck to its policy even when circumstances became transformed and made obsolete its former feeling and attitude. Adjustment of policy to new conditions has been sadly lacking in the last decade. What is true of British policy in Europe in this respect is equally true of British policy in India as well. The British Government by changes in its personnel has tried to retrieve its position in Europe. By similar changes it should also try to retrieve its position in India. There is no virtue in being too late.

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THE ANSWER TO AIR MENACE

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Events in China, Africa and Europe have shown that modern cities are extremely vulnerable to air attack. Innocent men, women and children, the sick and the suffering have been killed and injured. Many who escaped unhurt have been rendered homeless. Buildings and structures are damaged and destroyed. Transport and communication facilities have been dislocated and water and gas mains damaged rendering the life of the survivors difficult. In extreme cases people have been compelled to change their mode of life and subjected to unimaginable physical and mental strain. Even the social and economic life of the nation subjected to extensive raids, have been affected. Time alone can reveal the consequences to society and civilisation from this formidable menace. But even what little that is obvious is horrible.

Prevention, the most desirable solution, seems impracticable. Protective measures for the citizens, city structures and essential services to resist the high explosive and incendiary bombs used become necessary. The high explosives bomb is formidable. A 500 pound bomb can penetrate the strongest of our buildings. Its blast can demolish any normal wall at 20 or 25 feet and its fragments can cause death to people even several hundred yards away. None of our buildings can stand a direct hit and nearby explosion. The incendiary bomb though less deadly is no less destructive. It can set an effective fire and destroy cities by spreading conflagration.

Protection to life can be ensured by bomb resisting accommodation, by massive structures carefully designed and built.

But air raid shelters capable of resisting direct hits of bombs are very expensive. Unless they are capable of being used in times of peace their erection is financially impracticable. A dual purpose shelter will solve the question of finance and economy. Modern cities however by their layout require too many than is absolutely essential, if our citizens should have ready access to them. To economise in the number of shelters it is possible only if business houses and residences surround dual purpose air raid shelters. An altered layout zoning and planning of residential suburbs become necessary to make protection possible to all. Initial outlay is of course a big problem but against this we must consider what it would cost for evacuation and medical aid. No financial outlay can be considered too big when it is a question of preserving life and morale of the people.

Regarding structures it is idle to recommend that every building should be bomb proof. But by avoiding congestion and by adopting an open layout we could minimise the chances of direct hits and by careful designing and construction the consequences of blast can be easily rectified and the edifices made fit for use. Framed structures can resist bombs better and if each building was at least 25 feet away from its neighbour destruction of structures by bombs would be very expensive if not almost negligible. If buildings are properly classified and if cities are zoned and the residential area separated from the industrial, commercial and other zones, the scope for casual destruction would be eliminated and destruction by bombing would become inadvisable.

Unless cities are planned and zoned we cannot prevent indiscriminate bombing and casual destruction. Unless we have space around buildings we cannot reduce the effect of vibration upon foundations, and until our roads are made wide we cannot hope to keep them free from debris blocking them and preventing the movement of fire fighting and salvage parties.

In conclusion it comes to this, that to resist the high explosive bomb our buildings must be suitably designed, our roads must be wide, there must be space around each building and that different kinds of activities must be separated. It is the lack of all these which makes our cities easy prey to raiders.

The kilo incendiary bomb can be prevented from penetrating into a building by a flat reinforced concrete roof, five inches thick. Fire brakes are also absolutely essential to prevent fires from spreading and confine destruction to the building actually attacked. Every building in the city must be detached from the rest, with sufficient space around, to prevent fire brands flying and spreading fire. Adequate water supply should also be ensured and to every part of the city to fight the fire.

Modern methods of production and distribution of essential services are extremely vulnerable to air attack. The underground system and drainage get shattered when the high explosive bomb hits the street. Even in times of peace the supply of essential services have been found inadequate and when the stress is greater in times of war they fail and destruction and dislocation caused by bombs, break the resistance of the people. Dislocation by a few bombs will be made impossible only if the sources of production and methods of distribution

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are decentralised and every unit or group of houses is rendered self-sufficient and self-reliant as far as possible. A single storeyed detached residence, with a little garden is essential to obtain optimum welfare for the human species. Such a system will admirably resist air raids.

In commercial and business zones of a prosperous city, water and drainage mains, electric and telephone cables, etc., could be run below the ground in a tube subway constructed of reinforced concrete and kept about 20 feet below the surface. The top surface could be of reinforced concrete made thick enough to serve as a detonating slab and prevent bombs getting in. "Nerve centres" could be housed in buildings of special design and construction located in parks or gardens and camouflaged very well. Gardens and pastures surrounding a city can obviate "digging for victory" in times of war.

To resist air attacks we must have, bomb proof shelters for all the people, buildings and structures, that would minimise the destruction by air raids and services the supply of which is immune to dislocation. We also require a suitable contingent of fighter aircraft, anti-aircraft guns, balloon barrages and other ground defence equipments. These are needed to force the raiders to attack the targets from a great distance and in great hurry—the two factors which render destruction very expensive. When these four features are carefully combined we would obtain a city which can protect the citizens and resist attack from the air to such an extent that would make air raids not worth while. This would undermine the enemy's incentive to adopt air raids as his method of aggression.

How will such a city be? There will be a large central park about half a mile in diameter around which civic buildings, stately edifices, temples and the like would find location.

A green belt would surround these to separate them from the city zones lying in the surrounding area—commerce, administration, trade, banking, insurance, etc., each zone separated from the other by parks, open spaces, gardens and roads. Buildings in these zones would be framed ones and not more than six storeyed and located around garages which could be used as bomb proof shelters in emergency. A green belt of gardens and parks 500 to 1000 yards wide would encircle this area and separate it from the surrounding residential suburbs. The residential zones would be in the form of townships and villages, self-sufficient and self-reliant in matters of water supply and drainage and lighting. Community centres, capable of conversion into bomb resisting accommodation for those residing around, would form the foci of each group of residences.

Pasturage and vegetable gardens will encircle the residential belt. In this pasturage will be housed cattle and live-stock catering for the dietary, transport and other needs of the city. Anti-aircraft gun positions would be in this area to check the raiders. The road encircling this pasturage would help to connect the anti-aircraft gun positions, and to defend the boundary better. Ammunition stores, telephone exchanges, broadcasting stations, electric power houses, etc., would be housed in carefully designed structures and located in the green belt. The trees and vegetation and parks would make identification of these very difficult. Aerodromes and railway stations are large and cannot be concealed in gardens and they therefore lie outside the city and away from residences. For the same reason factories are located outside the city. Tanks, ponds, wells, and bathing pools would be all over the city to provide dependable and copious supply of water for fire fighting, decontamination and normal peace time purposes. The entire city will be surrounded by a belt of agricultural land growing cereals and pulses. And it would be superfluous to "dig for victory" in times of war.

When we critically examine the potentialities of aircraft bombs the method of air attacks and the method of destruction and damage that a city like this will permit and the rapidity and facility with which it can recover from air attack, it will become evident that the destruction of city structures will be very expensive, dislocation of the supply of essential services will be nearly impossible, and citizens would be absolutely safe. These may not make air attacks impossible but would make raids not worthwhile and inadvisable. Herein lies the chance for cities and civilization to survive the air menace.

The expense and effort of preserving civilization and culture in its modern abode—uncontrolled agglomeration of men and buildings—is prohibitive. 360 thousand pounds a day are needed for partial evacuation and A.R.P organisation for England; not to speak of the 16 million pounds expended every day to resist agression mainly from the air. Is it too much to ask then to spend much less to obtain much more permanent abodes of peace and security for man and his material culture?*

* Extracts from the Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Madras University, at the University Examination Hall. The Lecture was illustrated with numerous diagrams and sketches taken from his recent publication, *Air Raids and Civil Defence.*

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

EMERSON AND HIS FRIENDS : *By J. T. Sunderland. Crown 8vo. Pp. xxii+289. Full cloth. Gilt-lettered. With a stout dust cover. Printed on good antique wove paper in clear big type. Price Rs. 2-8 and per V. P. P. Rs. 2-15. R. Chatterjee, 102-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*

Owing to the cultural and international importance of the English-speaking world, all progressive men require to come into contact with the better mind of the English-speaking peoples. Study of English literature is the most easily available means of securing this contact. For an adequate acquaintance with English literature as a whole, some knowledge of the best English books written in America also is necessary. Dr. J. T. Sunderland's present work introduces the reader to many of the foremost authors of these American books. It possesses the additional importance of giving the reader illuminating glimpses of the best American society and of the influence which the East has exercised on the farthest West.

In his Foreword to the book Rabindranath Tagore writes :

"Our universities in pursuing the study of English literature often fail to realise that the great continent of America has produced its own literature in English, and that acquaintance with American thought is necessary for our mental equipment. Emerson is sometimes studied, and Whitman is known to us, but our knowledge remains cursory, because it is not linked with the historical and cultural background of the United States.

"Dr. Sunderland's book will provide that background and help us in getting a human perspective of the times in which Emerson and his friends lived. . . . . I hope that its publication will stimulate the study of American literature, which will provide comparative values as also the inspiration of its excellence."

UNDER YOUR TIN HAT. EXTRACTS FROM FAMOUS WAR SPEECHES—Volume One : *Published by the Bombay War Publicity Committee Council Hall, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8 per copy.*

The book is well got-up and contains striking and well displayed extracts from the speeches of Mr. Winston Churchill, President Roosevelt, General Smuts, Mr. Ralph Ingersoll, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Dr. George S. Arundale, Dr. Charles Watson, Dr. Hugh Dalton, Mr. William Bullitt, the Viceroy, Sir P. Thakurdas and the Governor of Bombay. It contains a portrait of Mr. Winston Churchill, pictures of various kinds of British military aeroplanes, a pictorial presentation of the British fleet after a year's war, outstanding events 1938-40, and a map showing British bombers over Enemy Territory. Some of the extracts are about Britain fighting for freedom. It is certainly true that she is fighting for her own freedom and for that of some other free countries, but it is not true that she is fighting for the freedom of the subject peoples in her Empire. On the contrary, she is really fighting to keep them under *her* subjection and to prevent them from becoming the helots of some other Power.

X.

GERMAN ECONOMY, 1870-1940 : *By Gustav Stolper. Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 1940. Pp. 295. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

The author of this illuminating and original analysis of German economic developments of the last seventy years, is a noted economist and a former member of the Reichstag. He is now an American citizen. Recent critics of totalitarianism have been wont to point out that in the countries where this "philosophy" has got a foothold, individualistic and democratic forces have never been on the up-grade. Stolper shows in a convincing manner that for a long time past the main trends of German economy also had been towards centralisation and the Nazi party "had only to press the button to set the totalitarian State in motion." The prevalence of "Statism" from Bismarck to Hitler has been as much a characteristic of German life and thought as the series of compromise underlying the "liberal" State has been the basis of English socio-political development. Stolper emphasises that in "no nation's history are politics and economics so closely inter-related as in that of Germany." He dilates upon the theme that National Socialism as much as Bolshevism is "essentially an ascetic philosophy, an ascetism, though, generated and nourished by envy and hatred, a very worldly ascetism aimed at power." Hence his warning that National Socialism can not be bought off by a few economic concessions and this war cannot be won by economic means.

Stolper points out how the German economic machine was suitable to a rapid switch-on to wartime methods of production and distribution. A 'free economy,' on the other hand, had caused a good amount of friction and delay in securing this adjustment in the democratic countries.

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Many who have wondered at the management by Germany of her currency, banking, foreign exchange and foreign trade to her own advantage to an unbelievable degree will find lucid explanations in this book, and they are possibly the most interesting chapters. No less instructive are the chapters relating to the inflation of 1918-23, the "miracle of the Reutenmark" and the collapse which set the stage for Hitler. The chapters dealing with the third Reich might appear "scrappy" as more detailed information has been available to the student on the pros and cons of Nazi economics from competent scholars. Yet they offer a readable, fair and comprehensive summary. There is an useful bibliography and a good index at the end of the book.

RATLAM: *By Pandit Dwarkanath Kachru. Published by the All-India State Peoples' Conference Office, Bombay. 1940. Pp. 56. Price four annas.*

This report was prepared at the instance of the President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with regard to a small State in Central India where the inevitable reaction of the ruler to the popular demands was the inauguration of a policy of repression in 1940. The brief general and historical survey and review of the budget which precedes the results of local investigation of the cause of trouble, should be an eye-opener to the uninitiated. This small State with barely a lakh of people and one million rupees gross annual revenue spent half of its income on the ruler and his family; while only twenty-two thousand rupees was spent on an effete Education Department, twenty-five thousand were spent on State cars and seventeen thousand on the stables. There are, of course, smaller, worse-administered anachronisms, miscalled States, in India. But the Kachru report certainly furnishes strong support to the thesis underlying the All-India States' Peoples' Conference Resolution passed at its Ludhiana session in 1939, urging amalgamation of smaller States (*i.e.*, those with an income of less than 50 lakhs and a population of less than 20 lakhs each), either singly or by groups, "with the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of administration, with suitable provisions for the reasonable rights and privileges of the rulers concerned." The idea has generally been endorsed also by the paramount authority and should be enforced early.

THE ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES OF ADAM SMITH AND RICARDO: *By R. M. Agarwala. Available of Das Gupta & Co., Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 38. Price Re. 1.*

This brochure contains two short introductions to Adam Smith and Ricardo's writings. The price, however, is too high; the presentation of the subject is sometimes confusing and the prefatory announcements relating to his "published and unpublished works" disfigure the book.

BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA

STUDIES IN THE PURANIC RECORDS ON HINDU RITES AND CUSTOMS: *By R. C. Hazra, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Dacca. Published by the University of Dacca. Bulletin No. XX, 1940. Pp. 367.*

The University of Dacca conferred a doctorate on the author on the basis of this book in 1936. The book consists of three sections. In the first section Dr. Hazra has discussed the chronology of the puranic chapters dealing with ancient Hindu rites and customs. In the second he has tried to give an account of the evolution of these rites and of the forces that were at work to bring it about. The third section is an appendix in which Dr. Hazra has diligently traced all puranic passages that have been quoted by the writers of smirti books. Practically all the puranas, with the exception of certain upapuranas, *e.g.*, the Kalkipurana, have been laid under contribution by the author.

Unfortunately the first and the second sections of the book have lost much of their value owing to the author's loose deductions. A typical style of argument is as follows: because such and such stories and descriptions are found in one purana and not in another therefore the one must be of later date than the other; because descriptions of certain particular customs are found in certain puranas but not in smriti books of a certain date therefore these puranic chapters must have been written subsequent to the smriti books. The author has indulged in such arguments in spite of his knowledge of facts which point to their fallacy (see page 263). Again wherever in any purana he has come across passages the relevancy of which was not apparent to him he has come to the conclusion that dishonest interpolators have been at work.

Some of the puranic slokas have been wrongly interpreted in a manner that makes one feel that the author has no correct notion of the nature of the puranas and of the different topics discussed therein. The author's statement that 'the Buddha incarnation seems to have been unknown in the beginning of the sixth century A.D.', and that 'the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Visnu from about 550 A.D.', (p. 41) has not been substantiated. The appendix of the book will be found to be of great value to any one who intends to carry on any investigation on the lines followed by the author. Dr. Hazra deserves to be congratulated for having produced the appendix which must have involved an enormous amount of labour.

G. BOSE

RAILWAY RATES POLICY: *By R. D. Tiwari. Published by the New Book Company, Bombay. 1940. Pp. 81. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. Tiwari has been one of the very few who have tried to study the complicated problem of railway rates in India. His earlier work entitled *Railway Rates in Relation to Trade and Industry* has received recognition from all quarters, and it may be expected that the present book, though small, will enhance his reputation. As he writes within the small compass of about eighty pages, he does not try to be very intensely critical, but he succeeds eminently in what he has tried to achieve. His main thesis is that the railways in India have followed an irrational policy in practically every aspect of their rates-structure; this irrationality has been manifest in the earlier experiments, in the system of classification, in the increases made in 1936 and in the surcharges imposed this year. It is a creditable performance to give a good analysis of the rates problem in such a small book; and though one may disagree with Mr. Tiwari here and there, on the whole his conclusions are what an economist's should be.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN: *By S. Bagchi. Published by B. S. Bagchi, Berhampore, Bengal. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. Bagchi describes himself as an "Industrial Scholar, Calcutta University and International Scholar,

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Japan." In this joint capacity he seeks to present an account of the industrial structure of Japan, and the reader naturally opens the book with much expectation. The work, however, is disappointing; the whole book contains little more than a hurried collection of unconvincing conclusions derived from insufficient data. Mr. Bagchi's statistics are nowhere authenticated by a reference to the sources, and the way he writes seems to make him almost an apologist for every sort of economic policy followed by Japan. The ideas about the Japanese economic system that we get from him are very much different from what we have been told by Uyehara, Butler, Allen, Utley and a host of others. The industrial life of Japan is the resultant of two opposing forces—that of "monopoly capitalism" stimulated by the co-operation between the government and the famous financial houses or *zaibatsus* like Mitsui, Mitsubishi or Sumitomo, and that of the resistance offered by small workshops to the monopolistic trend. Mr. Bagchi gives a picture that is incomplete and superficial, taking practically no account of the main forces that are operating and refusing to examine any conclusion with critical reasoning.

BHABATOSH DATTA

MODERN BANKING IN INDIA: *By S. K. Muranjan, M.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), Professor of Banking, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay. Published by the New Book Co., Bombay. 1940. Pp. 422.*

The present volume as the author himself explains in the preface is an effort to portray Banking in India in the historical and contemporary context of those events and circumstances which had exposed the Banking system to severe tests and had left indelible marks behind. The book is divided into eleven chapters dealing with the history and functioning of banks of different description, tracing the circumstances under which bank failures were met with during the last three decades and explaining the requirements of short and long term capital market. The main theme of the author is to present a study of the growth, achievements and failures of the Indian Banking system with particular reference to the actual conditions prevailing in the country re: the state of the money market, banking habit of the people, legislative and administrative measures to further banking in the country and the relationship between different categories of credit institutions.

The book abounds in much valuable information and the author has taken great pains in compiling a number of instructive tables and graphs while avoiding lengthy discussions on theories of various descriptions. Dealing with the efficiency of Indian Banks, the author states that our banks have yet to develop a technique suitable to the conditions and banking resources of the country, and the main weakness lies in the quality of the personnel which our banks recruit. Moreover, little accurate or systematic thought has been devoted to the planning and execution of bank organisation, and modern devices are conspicuous by their absence.

The book will be studied with great profit both by students of Commerce and Banking as well as by those actually engaged in the business of bank management.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

HOW TO FORM A COMPANY, BEING LAW AND PRACTICE RELATING TO FORMATION OF COMPANIES UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT: *By H. R. Mehrotra, G.D.A. Published by the Progressive Publishing Co., Calcutta. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 3.*

LAW RELATING TO COMPANY DIRECTORS IN INDIA: *By H. R. Mehrotra, G.D.A. Published by the Progressive Publishing Co., Calcutta. Pp. 274. Price Rs. 8.*

The economic progress of India demands that more joint-stock companies should be formed; and Indian businessmen and economists should pay greater attention to the formation of companies. The Indian Companies Law has undergone drastic changes recently; and people should know what it is. The author, who as an accountant has quarter of a century's practical experience behind him, knows the subject and deals clearly and succinctly with it. He deals at length with both the practical and legal aspect of the matter. The references to the case-law are accurate and to the point. The Company promoters should know that there is no safety in ambiguous statements in prospectus; the disclosure of profits made by them from companies floated by them should be real—and not a mere sham. The Directors should remember that they are the agents and trustees of the shareholders, and that they owe them full information, subject to proper and commercial necessity; they are the people whose money they are using, and it is to be remembered that a joint-stock company is creation of law. All these the author tells in his books; he also tells how to avoid mistakes and pitfalls.

These two books are sure to prove of great assistance to the Promoters and Directors of Companies in India, and are very useful additions to the library of Company law.

J. M. DATTA

ESSENTIALS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT: *By E. V. S. Maniam. Published by Patt & Co., Cawnpore. 1938. Price not given.*

This is announced as the revised and enlarged reprinting of a paper submitted to the 13th session of the World Co-operators' Conference, Paris, 1938. We are not told what the author is, how he was a delegate to the said conference, whether the paper was actually read at the Conference, and what connection there could be between Co-operation and the contents of the volume under review. A careful reading of the pages reveals that sundry newspaper notes have been got together into the present form, and there is little continuity in presentation. There is little evidence of revision; for, the author speaks at many places "in the wake of popular ministries" when it is long after such ministries left office. This is indeed Rip Van Winklian. There are sundry notices of some Indian States with scanty study. The author has indeed some information, but he will do very well to revise the publication according to some well analysed plan, and first of all bring up his information uptodate. The urgency for periodical reviews of provincial developments in the matter of rural problems is great, and our author could do it with some more time and effort.

S. K. I.

TWELFTH HEALTH NUMBER OF THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE: *Edited by Amal Home, Central Municipal Office, Calcutta. Price annas eight.*

This is a neatly printed and well-edited special health number. Both the letter press and the illustrations are instructive.

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A PRIMER OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE: *By Tokuzo Saito, Instructor of Japanese Language in the Calcutta University. With an introduction by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Nippon Trade Agency, 135, Canning Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

We ought to have cultural intercourse and exchange with all great Asiatic peoples as well as with those of the West. This book will help those who wish to learn the Japanese language for cultural as well as commercial purposes.

X.

SAINT APPAR: *By M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A. Published by the South India Saiva-Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd.*

This small book of 96 pages (Double Crown) gives a brief and attractive account of the eventful life of the Tamil Saiva Saint Appar, as handed down by tradition. A short but critical analysis of the sacred and popular writings of the Saint is incorporated in the book. The dogmatic and philosophical implications of these writings are sought to be brought out in separate sections. Books of this type are invaluable in making correct appreciations of the religious and literary history of India through different ages.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A HANDY GUIDE TO MOTORING IN INDIA: *By P. F. Lally, B.Sc. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 210, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 170+1. Road Map. Price Re. 1-14.*

Those who intend to make a tour of India by motor car will find this book very useful as it gives the routes to different places of interest with detailed information of the roads, distances, halting facilities, petrol pump and other services, practical hints to motor tourists and a diagramatic road map of India. Twenty-four illustrations of sites worth visiting have also been incorporated in the book. The author who is a keen motor tourist himself and has done thousands of miles knows the peculiar needs of such a tour and he has spared no pains to make the book as useful as possible to his brother tourists.

100 MAGICS YOU CAN DO: *By P. C. Sorkar, Saraswaty Library, College Square, East, Calcutta. Pp. 161. Price Rs. 2 or 3s.*

There are many who have adopted Magic as a profession and others who practise it as a hobby. As a thrilling and amusing entertainment conjuring has a value of its own. The author of the book under review is a reputed magician who have toured extensively in Europe and Japan winning the applause of his spectators in these countries for his skill in the Black Art. In the book under review he has described the tricks of 100 simple magics which, we hope, will be helpful to those interested.

S. D.

NALANDA YEAR BOOK, 1941-42: *Edited by Tarapada Das Gupta, M.A. Published by the Nalanda Press, 204, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. xxviii+704. Ordniary edition Rs. 3 and special edition Rs. 5.*

Year books in this part of India are not plenty, and any addition to their number is to be welcome. This year book has got some special features. We find in it the description of the present Indian constitution, and its working in some detail. Such chapters as Indian States, India's Neighbours, Commercial Organisations, Education in India, Agriculture in India, Indian Industries, India's Foreign Trade, Labour in India, Indian Currency, Banking in India, Life Insurance in India, etc., will be of especial interest to publicists and business men. Some special articles by experts have been inserted in it. Articles on Small-scale Industries and Rural Reconstruction deserve particular mention. We congratulate the Nalanda Press on their bringing out this very useful and timely publication. In comparison to its bulk the price is moderate.

J. C. B.

ASTROLOGY FOR BEGINNERS: *By B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S. Raman Publications, P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1.*

In this little treatise the author has admirably arranged the essential elementary principles and explained them in the light of Hindu Philosophy in a lucid and concise manner. Any one who wishes to learn the Hindu Astrology should take this as his guide-book; being the most complete exposition of the whole subject that can be had in the English Language.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

BENGALI

GALPA-SALPA (STORIES AND THE LIKE): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street. Price Re. 1.*

Fascinating stories for children which will be appreciated by children of an older growth also, including grey-haired ones. They afford autobiographical glimpses, too. Those who will dive beneath the surface for something more serious than mere stories will not be disappointed.

JANMA-DINE ("ON THE BIRTHDAY"): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This volume contains inspiring poems by Rabindranath Tagore on "Birthday" and related topics, as well as contemporary events that have stirred his soul.

X.

BUDDHI O BODHI: *By Hirendra Nath Dutt, M.A., B.L. Published by the University of Calcutta.*

This is a short but interesting dissertation on the relative claims and merits of Reason and Intuition. The author agrees with Bergson and with the mystics of all times that Intuition is a higher faculty than Reason and that discursive reason is unable to grasp higher reality. In the domain of philosophy this is one of the theories which has been powerfully advocated in recent times by men of outstanding abilities. Of course, it is not the only theory in philosophy; and, besides, it has its opponents, too. But the author has done a great service in presenting to the Bengali readers the case for Intuition in an able and lucid style. Books like this are distinct additions to the slowly but steadily growing philosophical literature in Bengali. We welcome the book, coming as it does from the ripe pen of a ripe and erudite scholar; and, have no doubt that it will have an extensive circle of readers.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

RAN O RASTRA (STATE AND WAR): *By Digindra Chandra Banerjee. Foreword by Dr. B. S. Moonje. Published by the Kamala Book Depot, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Illustrated. Pp. 9+217. Price Rs. 2.*

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The State has striven to defend itself against the enemy since it has come into being. At different times, the work of defence has undergone changes, sometimes partial, sometimes complete, and now it has reached the present stage. The system will again change, into better or worse, nobody can say. In this book Mr. Banerjee has dwelt on the system of army and navy both of the bye-gone days as well as of the present time, as also the air-force that has developed lately as part of defence system. Today the aerial method of warfare seems to have surpassed every other in deciding the fate of a nation. It has become a power and a force now. Chapters on army, navy and air-force, tracing their history and method up to the present moment, will prove highly interesting. The author has also attempted at narrating the methods and tactics adopted in the last World War and those being adopted now. He has also devoted a chapter on Indian defence. Though India has little voice or part in the defence of India still it is meet and proper that we should make ourselves acquainted with India's defence system. It is a pity that even in these days when the fate of nations and countries is being decided before our very eyes by the sword, India and Indians have remained quite innocent of it. The book deals with but elementary matters regarding defence and may not satisfy those who wish to dive deep into the subject. But for the general public, this book will serve the purpose of a guide. Several illustrations have been given.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

RUPA-REKHA : *By Sri Binayak Sanyal. Published by the Bangali Book Depot, 16, Gobinda Sen Lane, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

A small volume of Bengali lyrics. In sweetness and dignity of language coupled with tempered emotion, the poems reach a high level of success. They are refreshingly simple and free from ultra-modern jargons.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MARATHI

MALHAR RAO HOLKAR (SHRI SAYAJI BALA JNYANA MALA, VOL. 163) : *By Keshav Mangesh Rangnekar, B.A. Published by P. A. Chitre, B.A., Khari Bar Road, Baroda. Pp. 51. Price annas six.*

Biographies of eminent historical personages are inspiring sources of juvenile inspiration and hence several great men of action and thought have been selected by the promoters of the series in question for delineation. The subject of the present booklet—Malhar Rao Holkar was indubitably one of such great Indians. Rising from the position of a menial to the great Mahratta Captain Baji Rao I, he rose by his own valour and intelligence to be the founder of the great Holkar Dynasty of Indore. The story of his rise, as rapid as it was deserved is an inspiring one and has been told by the author in this book, though not with meticulous historical exactitude. The book deserves to be placed in the hands of young children.

PRANA-SHAKTI-YOGA : *By Trimbak Bhaskar Shastri Khare. Published by Dr. G. T. Khare and Pandit M. T. Khare, Fareira Building, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. 98. Price Re. 1.*

The author has tried to elucidate in this book his idea of the meaning of Prana and its power. He has dealt with the meaning of Prana-tattwa, the Prana-maya Kosha or the material sheath of the soul and its relation to the vital sheath, the functions of Buddhi and their inter-relation to the vital power, and ultimately the emergence of knowledge from the interaction on each other of the spiritual and material sheaths enclosing the soul. Incidentally to the treatment of the main subject, the questions of psychic research and the disembodied soul have also been touched. Of course, the few pages of which the book is composed can but only touch the fringe of the subjects mentioned above and hence the author's treatment of them is neither full nor convincing. But the book may serve the purpose of evoking in those interested in these subjects a desire to know more of them from better and fuller works on them.

D. N. APTE

TAMIL

MICHAEL COLLINS : *By P. Ramasamy. Publication No. 4 of Navayuga Prasuralayam, Madras, G. T. Pp. 306. Price annas eight.*

This is an abridged adaptation of an English life of Collins, a modern patriot of the Irish Free State. The life is very interesting and inspiring; the style is simple and elegant and the price is dead cheap.

The country owes a huge debt of gratitude to the publishers for this and other similar patriotic literature. The Tamilians should not fail to make a good use of them.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION : *By A. Muthiah, M.A., Assistant Professor of Economics, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. Published by K. Palaniandi Pillai Company, Madras. Pp. 181. Price Re. 1.*

A comprehensive manual of reconstruction describing the real villages and planning agricultural, educational, industrial, sanitary, economic and other activities in detail for the betterment of villagers and their homes. The book deserves the study of all sincere patriots in the Tamilnad and the suggestions of their adoption.

MADHAVAN

PERSIAN-PUSHTO

KABUL : *Edited by Aqa Muhammad Qadir Frahaki, Kabul. Published on art paper with illustrations. Annual subscription 10s.*

A bi-lingual monthly journal in Persian and Pushto, the official organ of the Afgan Academy, Kabul, of which we have received Nos. 115 and 116. The journal is devoted to scientific, historical and literary subjects.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

URDU

SH'IR-O-SHA'IRI : *By Moulvi Mehdi-ul-Zaman, Advocate, Allahabad. Published by Barakat Akbar Press. Pp. 68. Price annas eight.*

A small tract on Urdu prosody with an introduction on some aspects of Urdu Poetry.

HUMAYUN : *Edited by M. Bashir Ahamad, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Lahore. Annual Subscription Rs. 5-8.*

This is the anniversary number of the Urdu journal, perhaps the only one in that language which has kept a very high literary standard ever since it brought out its first number in 1922. The present number contains very interesting articles and poems. Sa'adat Hassan's *Dihati Bolian* is very delightful.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

HINDI

KRANTIKARI : *By P. Devidutt Shukla. Pp. 266.*

RUSI KAHANI SANGRAHA : *By Sj. Kantichandra Sonriksha. Pp. 180.*

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SAMARKAND KI SUNDRI : *By Sj. Brajeshwar, M.A. Pp. 240.*
PRITHVI KA ITIHAS : *By Sj. Surendra Balupuri. Pp. 199.*
CHAKRABHED : *By Sj. Mahavir Prasad Gahamari. Pp. 208.*
DENIK JIWAN AUR MANOVIGYAN : *By Sj. Ilachandra Joshi. Pp. 194.*
MERA SANGHARSHA : *By Sj. Ganesh Prasad Dwivedi, M.A. Pp. 174.*
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SUR-SANDARBHA : *By P. Nand Dularey Bajpai. Pp. 164.*
RAMKRISHNA CHARITAMRIT : *By P. Lalli Prasad Pandeya. Pp. 192.*
MAHAN APRADHI : *By Sj. Rajeshwar Prasad Singh. Pp. 204.*
MRITYU-KIRAN : *By Sj. Rajeshwar Prasad Singh. Pp. 192.*
ABHISARIKA : *By Sj. Narottam Prasad Nagar. Pp. 205.*
MOPASAN-KI-KAHANIYAN : *By Sj. Ilachandra Joshi. Pp. 188.*
Published by Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Price annas eight each.

It is much gratifying to note that on the lines of the famous Penguin and Pelican Series, the Indian Press, Ltd. of Allahabad has undertaken the publication of the Saraswati Series in Hindi. The full set of this Series, comprising a "Home Library," will contain 500 books, each of 200 to 250 pages and uniformally priced at annas eight each.

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We heartily congratulate the publishers for this commendable and laudable enterprise. We are inclined to presume that the active support and sympathy, which is rather a pre-requisite for the success of such an enterprise, will not be wanting.

M. S. SENGAR

GUJARATI

CHITRALEKHA . *By Raman N. Vakil, M.A. Printed in the Tattwa Vivechak Printing Press, Bombay. 1940. Khadi cloth bound. Pp. 108. Price Re. 1-4.*

Mr. Raman Vakil, like Prof. Betai and Prof. B. B. Vyas had come in close contact with the late Mr. Devatia, and all three of them came under the spell of his inspiration. This collection of fifty-eight short poems is explained in an extensive note by Prof. Betai, just as the latter's output is explained by Prof. Vyas. The poems furnish very good reading, even though they consist of verses on a begging dog, a pig and a barber, etc. Reminiscences of his travels in Kashmir and Europe are versified. While some of the poems clearly betray inspiration from English poets. The verses dedicating the collection to his life-companion, Mrs. Pushpa, are feelingly written and give some autobiographical details.

LOK SAHITYA : *By Jhaverchand Meghani, B.A. Printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur. 1939. Cloth bound. Pp. 344. Price Rs. 2.*

So far as the folklore of Gujarat and Kathiawad is concerned, Meghani's place is like Devendra Satyarthi's, because just as the latter has taken a vow to collect and preserve the folklore of every province of India, Meghani has done so for his own province. In the first part of the book under notice, he has touched upon every phase of folklore not only of Gujarat and Kathiawad, but of Maharashtra, the Punjab, Greece, Russia, Finland, England and other countries. Its thirteen sections take a comprehensive survey of this fascinating subject, and having written about twenty-two books on this question, he handles it with the facility of an expert. It is not possible to touch here on every aspect of the folklore treated by him, but on perusal of the book we cannot help feeling that not only has the writer added a touch of romance to this little appreciated subject but at times etherealised it.

SAHITYA : *By Jayantilal Acharya. Printed at the Bombay Fine Art Printing Works, Calcutta. 1940. Cloth bound. Pp. 168. Price Re. 1-8.*

Lectures on *Sahitya* (specially Dr. Tagore's) delivered by Shriyut Kshiti Mohan Sen at Santiniketan have been translated into Gujarati by Mr. Acharya who had the benefit of attending and listening to them. Portions relating to Bengali literature have been omitted: the rest are such as would be of universal application. The theme is of great cultural value and can be appreciated only by cultured and highly educated people: thus it is of exclusive interest and importance only.

ARADHANA : *By Prof. Mansukhlal Jhaveri, M.A. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1940. Cloth bound. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 2.*

This collection of sixty-five poems of Prof. Jhaveri is the second of its kind. It is a reprint of the poems which has at different times appeared in monthlies. The topics inspiring these songs are extremely common-place, such as Pear's Soap, To a Boot-polishwala, If I were a Locomotive Engine, as well as grave, such as the Battle of Kurukshetra, and the Gayatri Mantra. Whatever the subject, Mr. Jhaveri has been able to lift it up and give it a dignity and seriousness, which makes one pause and look into the performance with interest and profit.

K. M. J.

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Bengali and English—Law

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Bengali and English—Miscellaneous

Convocation Addresses, University of Calcutta. Vol. VII. 1935-1938. Contains convocation addresses delivered during 1935-1938 with two appendices, the first giving an English rendering of the convocation address delivered in Bengali by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and the second embodying addresses delivered in 1935-1937 on the occasion of the Foundation Day Celebration. Pp. 2+164. 13th July, 1939.

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Mritunjay Granthavali. The works of Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, who was a man of great literary repute and sometime Head Pandit of the College of Fort William, and was born in Midnapore at about 1762 A.D. and died in 1819 near Murshidabad. Ed. by Brajendranath Banerji. Pp. 22+1+336+28. 14th July, 1939.

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——— 10th August, 1939. 49th ed.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF THE INDIAN SHIPPING INDUSTRY

By SAMARENDRA NATH SEN, M.SC.

The great maritime importance of India is as old as her civilisation itself. She flourished in the past as one of the most outstanding seafaring countries of the world and occupied a commanding position as a maritime nation, which she retained till the early years of the nineteenth century. It needs hardly be said that her peculiar geographical situation was largely responsible for her naval supremacy. The mountainous regions of her almost entire North, East and Western frontiers intercepted here and there by some of the world's highest peaks have always placed a natural barrier to the development of her land communication with the rest of the Asiatic countries. The warlike tribes of the Northern Asia seeking an entrance into the tempting Hindusthan as well as the great emperors of India always desiring to extend thier frontiers looked at these cold, bleak, snow-capped mountains of the North with disgust and disappointment. So with the exception of her comparatively accessible North-Western regions her entire Northern frontiers have suffered no vicissitudes through all these centuries that history has witnessed. On the other hand, her entire Southern region has tapered down into a peculiar peninsula developing a coast line extending over some 4,000 miles, a coast line of which any nation in the world might well be proud. The obvious and natural advantages of such an extended coastline with suitable sites for harbours were realised in very early times by the intelligent and enterprising Indians who were not slow to make the most of it. The result was the development of almost a monopoly in marine trade in the waters of the old world—monopoly which the Indians enjoyed even a century and half ago.

A few instances will clearly bring out the naval supremacy of the Indians in the past. The importance of Tamralipta, as a great harbour in the fourth and fifth century A.D. has been mentioned in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian. In the days of twelve Bhowmics there was much maritime development in Bengal which, as is well-known, swept away the rising tide of Portuguese piracy. Kedar Ray, Pratapaditya and Kirtinarayan Ray figure largely as outstanding naval masters of the 16th century. As a matter of fact, the navy and mercantile marine continued to receive regular attention in the times of Mahommedan rulers and even of the East India Company. One of the important features of Shaistha Khan's career as a Viceroy of Bengal was the development of a very sound and efficient navy in different naval bases of Bengal to suppress the Mughs. Bombay also acquired an almost equal importance with Bengal as a great maritime centre commending a large volume of sea-borne trade.

It was only in the course of a century and a half that not only did India lose her naval supremacy but she degenerated into the most backward maritine nation in the world. She is now completely at the mercy of the foreign shipping companies for almost the whole of her export and import trade. Even a very large fraction of her coastal trade is now being carried on in vessels owned and managed by non-Indian concerns. Leaving aside the question of shipping there is at present not a single ship building industry owned and managed by the Indians excepting of course a few repairing work-shop—an industry in which the Indians specialised and excelled from time immemorial.

Before we consider the various factors that led to the collapse of Indian shipping industry we like to examine the present position and state of India in the shipping industry in which her interest is directly involved. The sea-borne trade of any country may be divided into two heads : the coastal trade and the oversea trade. It is quite easily understandable that the volume of coastal and oversea trade of India possessing an extended coast line of 4,000 miles and rich in minerals and raw materials cannot be too small. Thus in 1928-29 the total cargo carried annually by ships engaged in coastal trade was estimated at 5,000,000 tons roughly; while the corresponding figure for her oversea trade as carried through the principal ports, Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon, was 12,000,000 tons annually. Out of this large volume of trade indigenous shipping companies could only attract 25 per cent of the coastal trade and only 2 per cent of the overseas trade. The total earnings of all the shipping companies have been estimated at 57 crores of rupees. Of this 50 crores of rupees go to the foreign

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shipping companies. Not only does this figure absorb almost the whole of her trade it includes some 9 crores of rupees involved in her coastal trade. The present position of India in shipping industry is, therefore, unmistakably clear from these simple figures. Besides this the following chart taken from the statistical year book of the League of Nations, containing an account of the relative shipping of the leading countries of the world throws more light on the miserable situation India holds today with respect to the growing shipping business.

CHART

Country	Population millions (000's omitted)	Total mercantile tonnage (in 1,000 tons)	Tonnage per head	Times India's average
U. Kingdom ..	47,288	17,544	·37	617
Denmark ..	3,749	1,118	·30	500
Norway ..	2,908	4,348	·15	250
U. S. S. R.* ..	168,000	1,258	·007	117
Japan ..	71,253	4,475	·06	100
Germany ..	68,072	3,937	·06	100
Sweden ..	6,285	1,502	·02	35
India & Ceylon	376,712	215	·0006	1

These figures speak for themselves and do not require any further elucidation.

Coming to the question of what led to the decline of Indian shipping industry one thing is certain that it has not been due to lack of initiative, enthusiasm or management or any fault on the part of the Indians. Her only fault was her political subjugation if that be called a fault at all. Unavoidable political circumstances to which she was put ever since the closing years of the eighteenth century, are responsible like many other things for her present deplorable position in the shipping industry. Besides this, the rapid march of science under the leadership of European peoples completely revolutionising the older methods of navigation has largely contributed to this decline. But still this argument is of secondary importance if we remember that the adoption of the new scientific methods of navigation thus avoiding the catastrophic decline of the shipping business due to this cause alone would not have been difficult had it not been for reasons too well known to us. If Japan could rise from the state of medieval backwardness to one of the leading seafaring countries of the world within half a century we could have at least done much to prevent Indian shipping from dwindling into the present insignificant position.

The history of the gradual decline of Indian shipping is a long story which we cannot introduce here owing to the limited space. In a nutshell that consists of a systematic policy of protection given to British shipping by the formulation of several shipping acts which only exposed the Indian shipping to the most unbalanced competition. The consequence was that not only Indian shipping was driven out from foreign waters till the last ship could no longer be seen beyond the Indian Ocean, it was crippled even in the home waters. The cry of alarm raised by the British mercantile companies on the entrance of Indian ships laden with Indian merchandise into the Thames is still ringing in our ears. That cry of alarm has recieved proper response in the subsequent years and the table has been completely turned. Ours is not now a cry of alarm; we long passed through that stage. Ours is an humble petition for the favourable consideration of the existing situation which has made the growth of Indian shipping almost impossible even in our home waters. It is this existing situation which we now like to discuss in some detail.

The rate cutting policy or the rate war as it is called adopted by the foreign shipping companies and the absence of any control of rate war by the government are to a great extent responsible for the present backwardness of Indian shipping industry. The main idea behind a rate cutting policy is not at all far to seek. It is an effective and infallible method of crushing unprotected budding industries with small capital often adopted by bigger and more powerful companies. Though this means a temporary loss, the powerful and better placed companies can afford to run such a risk as they are sure of resuming the monopoly soon after. Thus repeated attempts of the indigenous shipping companies to obtain a footing in the coastal trade of India have been systematically frustrated owing to such indiscriminate rate wars launched upon by foreign shipping companies in this country. In this connection no example is, we think more adequate than the fate of Scindia Steam Navigation Co., with which we are well conversant. The company started its career as a small shipping concern engaged in the coastal trade, and received a good support and co-operation of many ship-owners which indicated a fair promise. Within a small time the company increased the volume of business to such an extent that it was quite sufficient to serve as an impetus to other mushroom companies which came into being very shortly. Alarmed at these new moves of the Indians which threatend their shipping monopoly in the near future the foreign companies lost no time in making an agreement amongst

*Not including vessels on the Caspian Sea and sailing vessels. (From the statistical year-book of the League of Nations. The table includes the vessels of 100 tons and more).

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themselves, adopted the cut-throat policy and thus stifled the enterprise at its very birth. The sad experience of the Indian shipping enterprise has been voiced on more than one occasion in the reports and speeches of Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Mr. Jogendra Nath Ray of the East Bengal River Steam Service Ltd., Mr. V. J. Patel and others,—which is too old and well-known a story to be repeated here. Only as an example let us consider the remark once made by Mr. Patel :

"A combination of circumstances, however, too well-known to need mention at this juncture, killed that industry (shipping industry) outright, and subsequently made it extremely difficult for Indians to revive their past glory of a mercantile marine. It is again interesting to note that several Indian shipping companies were started during the last fifty years in India; but they were all wiped out of existence, about which the less said the better.....The company (Scindia Steam Navigation Company) undertook a programme of constructing six modern cargo steamers; but the programme had to be curtailed. The Trade Facilities Committee rejected their application for a guarantee to enable the company to place orders for building steamers. It must indeed be a very painful thought for those who wished to see a better understanding established between England and India that, although the Trade Facilities Committee could find out of their £21 millions more than 2¼ millions for assisting foreign shipping companies, it could not spare even less than one fourth of a million for a shipping company of that part of the empire which stood so firmly and responded so generously, to enable it to win the Great War."

If this was the fate of so big a company like the Scindia Steam Navigation Company it is not difficult to imagine the position of other mushroom companies in the face of such foreign competition. To quote one instance the Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Company was started between Chittagong and Rangoon in the favourable current of Swadeshi Movement. The foreign shipping companies enjoying the monopoly at once reduced the fare from Rs. 14/- to Rs. 4/- and even threatened to make the passage free to the passengers. This last step however was not necessary.

Another policy which is often adopted by the foreign companies to safeguard the monopoly of the shipping business is what is generally known as "Deferred Rebate System". This system is a very interesting and ingenious method of thwarting indigeneous enterprise. The policy is this : The British Shipping Companies have formed a committee among themselves; this shipping committee promises to pay back a certain percentage of the total freight paid by the shippers under certain conditions dictated by the committee itself. The conditions are that the shipper must ship his goods extensively in vessels belonging to the members of the committee for a certain period of time, say six months. Further the sum will be paid at the end of another period provided the shipper has continued to do the same in that period also. This sum is called the deferred rebate. It is quite apparent, therefore, that this system simply guarantees a loyalty of the shipper to the British shipping companies. The lure of such concessions and rebates is so very great that a diversion from this simply with a view to foster indigeneous enterprise is difficult and impracticable. The appeal of nationality to the private trading concerns with their eyes always turned to the margin of profit cannot after all be permanent. They may undergo some sacrifice for the time-being, but cannot do so for an indefinite length of time. It is sometimes argued that this procedure has not been adopted so much with a view to supress the Indian shipping industries; but that it has been provoked by a legitimate desire to protect British shipping from the competition of the non-British shipping companies which would otherwise become quite formidable. The fallacy of the argument is at once exposed if we remember that these non-British shipping companies receive adequate protection in the form of Government subsidies. Further, as the interest of the British and the non-British companies like Japan, Germany and U.S.A. with powerful Governments behind them are involved throughout all the shipping routes of the world where some power or other holds supremacy, any attempt at forming such one-sided policy is automatically checked by the possibility of a counter measure being adopted by the opposite parties. And, moreover, to deal with such questions the shipping companies of all countries generally come to some mutual agreement to be decided in a conference which takes place from time to time. Thus it is needless to point out that the evil effects of rate wars and rebates only recoil upon defenceless Indian enterprise.

Besides this there are some other minor factors which have also tried to corner Indian shipping industry. At any rate, therefore, these are the difficulties which stand in the way of indigeneous shipping enterprise. Now the question is : Did our shipping companies sit idle all these years with that philosophic resignation to the will of destiny, waiting for that time when their star would be in the ascendant ? This time at least they need not. But it was only to realise the philosophic value of contentment as expressed by some English poet. In the following paragraphs we will try to give a brief account of the attempts made so far to solve

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these difficulties and give the Indian shipping industry a chance.

As early as the very beginning of the last century Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) impressed by the immense possibility of developing a large shipping industry in this country proposed some measures of improvement. He realised the great importance of Calcutta as a shipping centre which was expressed in the following lines from his writing :

"The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of the cargoes. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from this state of perfection which the art of ship building has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress) it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever extent may be required for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants in Bengal."

Needless to say that these magnificent plans of the Governor General were not endorsed at home. Such open encouragement of private Indian trade was flatly denounced.

After that a century and a quarter silently glided by in course of which the monopoly of foreign shipping was firmly secured through the almost complete destruction of the indigenous concerns. In the mean time the people also woke up to the utter injustice of the situation. At last the pressure of public opinion compelled the Government to appoint the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee in February 1923, to take stock of the shipping position in India and suggest measures for the improvement of Indian shipping and ship building industries. Let us now consider some of the outstanding suggestions put forward by the Committee.

The first and foremost measure suggested by the Mercantile Marine Committee is the gradual reservation of the coastal trade of India for Indian shipping alone. This is to be effected by laying down certain conditions which must be fulfilled by the shipping companies applying for a license. For instance the shipping company must be registered in India and owned and managed by an Indian or a joint stock company having a majority of Indians in the Board of Directors. Further conditions such as the employing of Indian officers, engineers and Indian labour and the use of ships built in India are to be enforced gradually as the Indians are trained more and more in this line and the ship building art develops. In this way when reservation of the coastal traffic of India to purely Indian shipping companies will become complete and the Indians will show proficiency in this line the Government should think of granting subsidies and bounties to encourage Indian shipping in the oversea trade as well. Calcutta should be made a ship-building centre owing to its natural advantages consisting in the fact that it is very near the important coal and iron producing centres. Needless to say that this ship-building concern should be purely Indian backed by a generous assistance. To work this scheme to a successful issue, schools and colleges should be established with foreign experts in the teaching and training department to teach the willing Indians the ship-building engineering and the science of navigation. Also the Government should arrange for a training ship urgently necessary for this purpose.

In the foregoing paragraph we have just given a short summary of the report of the Mercantile Marine Committee barely touching on the main points. As a matter of fact, the report contains only one important suggestion, namely, the reservation of the coastal trade of India to purely Indian shipping. The other suggestions merely follow as a matter of course. Every civilised and progressive nation of the world today consider such reservation of the coastal trade to its shipping as its national right, and any attempt on the part of foreign shipping to interfere with this coastal trade is regarded as a direct encroachment upon this right. If India is entitled to the rights of a nation like many other nations of the globe this question of reservation does not arise at all; to question it means the denial of a fundamental right of a nation.

Now such act of reservation of the coastal traffic to the indigeneous shipping to the exclusion of the foreign shipping holding a monopoly for so many years may be regarded as expropriation. And it may be argued whether it is justified to oust foreign companies from a profitable field of income without proper compensation. The answer to this is that it is not a question of expropriation at all. The foreign shipping companies have so long unduly encroached upon a national right and by an agreement among themselves have tried to perpetuate such interference. They should consider it as a great favour done to them and cannot claim it as a matter of right now that they are going to be denied their favour.

Now before we conclude our discussion we like to refer to some of the Bills moved in the Assembly by Mr. S. N. Haji. He moved two Bills in the Assembly in 1928, namely,

(1) The Bill for the reservation of the coastal traffic of India to Indian shipping.

(2) The Bill for the abolition of the deferred rebate system.

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The second Bill should naturally follow the passing of the first one. This is essential for the growth and expansion of Indian shipping after the coast has been reserved to Indian shipping by preventing monopoly in the shipping business. The result was the Indian shipping conference held at Delhi in 1930 under the presidency of the Viceroy to discuss the Bill. The representatives of the different shipping companies, British and Indian, joined this conference. As it is easily anticipated the British and the Indian shipping companies failed to come to any mutual agreement in the face of such conflicting interests. It was only possible at the cost of one or the other party. Finally the Viceroy declared that it was purely a question of discrimination between the British interests and the interest of the British Indian subjects. And as the question of such discriminatory rights was then being considered in the Round Table Conference the Viceroy could not do anything until the decision of the conference became known. And that decision at last appeared in the Sub-Committee report of the Indian Round Table Conference which runs thus :

"At the instance of the British commercial community the principle was generally agreed to that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies, trading in India, and the rights of the Indian born subjects."

So the whole question was settled at one stroke.

We are now passing through a world crisis which has mercilessly revealed our utter helplessness. Not to speak of our oversea trade whose volume is dwindling everyday like anything, even it has profoundly affected our coastal trade, since many ships engaged in the coastal traffic have been withdrawn to meet the immediate demands of military operation. Large cargoes of rice are awaiting shipment in Burma for want of proper tonnage. What strikes us most is the discovery of the fact that the lessons of the last war have been completely lost upon us. On the other hand the development of shipping in Canada, Australia and other countries in recent years bears a striking contrast to what obtains in India. The war impetus has already accelerated their pace beyond all expectation. Canada already possesses 16 ship building yards where larger ships are being built. Besides there are 18 other shipyards to build smaller trading vessels. Australia has recently drawn up a scheme to build 13 patrol vessels. And with vast resources and raw materials necessary for such enterprise India does not possess a single shipbuilding yard today.

This is in a nutshell the history of the Indian shipping industry. From what little has been said it will not be difficult to follow the present pitiable plight of such a potential industry in India. This offers an instance of those industries which cannot thrive without a favourable Government intervention, and we cannot follow why the Government supposed to cater to the needs of this country should insist on persuing such a reluctant policy with regard to Indian shipping industry. Recently in a meeting of the Dufferin Old Cadets Association Mr. G. L. Mehta remarked :

"If Indian shipping manages to exist today and occupies a position however meagre even in India's home waters, that is certainly not because of any Government encouragement and support."

We think he has rightly voiced the opinion of the Indian public.

THE BIHAR EDUCATION REORGANISATION COMMITTEE AND MAITHILI

By Pandit UMESH MISHRA, Kavyatirtha, M.A., D.Litt.

Note of Dissent by Professor Amaranātha Jha, M.A., Vice-Chancellor, The University of Allahabad

"I regret that owing to a last-minute change in the dates of the meeting from February to March, 1940, I was not able to attend it. I regret it all the more as I find that a decision arrived at a general meeting of the full Committee on March 7, 1939, is now being reversed. The decision to allow Bengalis and Maithilas to use their *mother tongues* as media of Basic Instruction was made when I was present. Subsequently, about a month later, on April 13, Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote to me as follows : 'Please refer to page 46, paragraph 112 of the Primary Education Report. Maithilas are recognised as a separate cultural entity like Bengalis. This is considered to be opposed to public opinion and is likely to be resented strongly in the province. . . . I am afraid it is likely to stir a hornet's nest and I therefore request you to agree to drop it. . . . . In case you insist, the Secretary will add a note on your behalf, otherwise I suggest that reference to Maithili be dropped'

"On April 15, I replied as follows :

'I very much regret that my enforced absence on

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the last day of the Committee prevented a personal discussion which would have made the position clear. As it is, the question was discussed at such considerable length at the meeting that it is not fair that the agreed report should now be sought to be amended. The whole question is whether the Committee is really in earnest in its profession that *every child has a right to be educated through the mother-tongue*. If that position is maintained by the Committee—and I take it that that is the very foundation of the entire scheme—then a Maithila child has a clear right to demand that he should be taught in his *mother-tongue which does not happen to be Hindi and is, indeed, more akin to Bengali than to Hindi*. There is no question of antagonism or rivalry. The only point is the language spoken by the Maithilas at home and whether that language has a literature. On both these points the position of Maithili is unassailable. I do not really understand why, if Hindi is to be the common medium of instruction in the Secondary Schools, any one should anticipate rivalry with it on the part of languages that will only be used in the Basic Schools. I thought it was understood at the meeting that a clear indication would be given to everyone to the effect that Hindi alone would be the medium of instruction in Secondary Schools, and that those whose education was not intended to end with the Basic School should be told that it would be to their advanage to take Hindi. . . . .'

"I sent copies of my letter to the other members of the Committee who were present on that day, and the Chairman wrote to me on June 13 : 'The remarks that the Committee had made, on your suggestion, in regard to Maithili remain as you had suggested them, and Dr. Rajendra Babu as well as Dr. Sinha may add a brief note at the bottom of the page or at the end of the report.' I was content. It was, therefore, a matter of surprise to me to get from the Chairman a letter dated March 5, 1940, communicating to me the decision of the Committee to modify the Report previously adopted and signed by all the members. The Committee has changed the Report and permitted me to append a *Minute of Dissent*. I write this note without hesitation but not without regret at the change of the views of the Committee.

"Educationally, the proposition cannot be contested that it is only right and proper that a child should receive instruction in its own *mother-tongue*. It has been one of the serious charges against the modern Indian educational system that a foreign language has been the medium of instruction. The use of the *mother-tongue* has been properly emphasised in the Zakir Husain Report. The Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, presided over by the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, and consisting among others of the Hon. Dr. Syed Mahmud, the Hon. Pandit R. S. Shukla, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr. Zakir Husain, and the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, in its report of June, 1938, recommended as follows :

'The Wardha Scheme lays down that the medium of Instruction shall be the *Mother-tongue*, that is, the vernacular of the peoples. The Wood-Abbott Report makes the same recommendation and few will be found to disagree. The Committee unanimously approve, though they are aware that in certain provinces a difficulty might arise as more than one vernacular may be spoken. In making this recommendation the Committee wish to emphasise that the term "Vernacular" connotes "the *literary language and not a dialect*".'

"The Bihar Education Reorganisation Committee states also : 'It is an accepted principle of proper education that all knowledge should be imparted through the medium of the *mother-tongue*. We endorse it completely and we would admit a few exceptions.'

"These being the opinion of all who have anything to do with education; why has the Committee denied to the Maithila child the right of receiving instruction in his *mother-tongue* ? It is interesting to examine the argument of two colleagues whose weighty opinion has persuaded the Committee to modify its views.

"Dr. Rajendra Prasad refers to Maithili as a form of Hindi and speaks of Hindi as the written language of Bihar. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, on the other hand, speaks of the Bihari language and says that 'Hindustani far from being the language of the vast bulk of the people of Bihar, is a foreign idiom.' The use of Hindi, according to him, is as much a matter of convenience in Bihar as the use of English for inter-provincial conversation and official work throughout the length and breadth of India.

"These two gentlemen, differing as they do radically on the question whether Hindi is the language of Bihar, are agreed in refusing Maithili any position in the scheme of Basic Education. Why ?

"Dr. Sinha apprehends that if Maithilas are granted the opportunity of receiving education in Maithili, there will be evoked an immediate agitation by the Bhojapuri-speaking and the Magadhi-speaking peoples that their children should receive education in their mother-tongue, and not in Hindustani. Here one might refer again to the Kher Committee Report which states that the term '*vernacular' connotes the literary language and not a dialect. Magahi and Bhojapuri are not literary languages and they are ruled out.*

"Maithili is a literary language. While Dr. Rajendra Prasad speaks of Hindi as the written language of practically the whole of northern half of the Indian peninsula, even he is forced to concede that 'Maithili has undoubtedly some literature of its own which may be and is actually studied and cultivated.' It is a fact which needs to be strongly stressed that the Maithili script is not the Devanagari script. There are manuscripts in the Maithili script belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and since then the script has been in continuous use. Even today this is the script used by us. It is more akin to Bengali than to Nagari. Mithila has always had a cultural importance. Its existence as a distinct unit is mentioned even in the Puranas. According to the figures of the 1921 census, 1,42,79,000 persons speak the Maithili language. Maithili literary works began to be produced as early as the eleventh century, indeed some poems by the Siddhas of the eighth and ninth centuries are still in existence. An elaborate book of the thirteenth century, *Varnanaratnakara* by Jyotirishwara Thakura has recently been published (by the Asiatic Society of Bengal), another by Vidyapati, entitled *Kirtilata* (*and Kirtipataka*) belongs to the fourteenth century. The prominent literary figures of the 15th century are Chandeshwara, Rucipati, and Jagaddhara. Mr. R. C. Dutt says of Chandidasa that his poetry was inspired by Vidyapati and other poets of Mithila. Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji in his address to the Fourth Oriental Conference said : Bengali scholars would come back home after finishing their studies in Mithila, not only with Sanskrit learning in their head, but also with Maithili songs on their lips—songs of Vidyapati, and also probably by his predecessors and his successors. These were adapted by the Bengali people. The Maithili lyric similarly naturalised itself in Assam and Orissa in the 15th century. Maithili is referred to in 1771 in *Alphabetum Brahmanicum*, by Colebrooke, in Vol. VII of the *Asiatic Researches* des-

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cribes in 1801 Maithili as a distinct language. In 1840 Maithili is referred to by Aime Martin in his *Letters edifiantes et curiouses*, in 1875 Fallon in the *Indian Antiquary* has a discourse on Maithili; Sir George Grierson, the leading authority on Indian languages, referred to Maithili at length in Vol. V of his *Linguistic Survey*. Dr. Hoernle in his *Grammar of Eastern Hindi* demonstrates that Maithili is not a form of Hindi. Dr. Prabodha Chandra Bagchi states that the language of the higher classes in Nepal and their literary language up to the 18th century was Maithili. There is record of Maithili books written in Nepal until recently as 1738, and any number of them were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

"Songs, lyrics, dramas, works on ritual, works on music and prosody, historical descriptions of battles—all these form part of Maithili literature. There are even Marsias in Maithili—four specimens of which are quoted in Grierson's *Maithil Orestomathy*. Novels, short stories, handbooks on Hindu philosophy, grammar, abridgements of Ramayana and Mahabharata, plays on social subjects, biography, have been produced in Maithili and published.

"Why is it, then, that a language so widely spoken and with such a continuous and full literature is being denied its rightful place in the reorganised scheme of education? Sir George Grierson speaks of "Maithili rules of Prosody" and "rules of Maithili grammar"; the Brajabhasa prosody (based on Pingala) do not apply to Maithili verse, nor those of Chandodipika. I deeply deplore that an attempt should be made to destroy this priceless heritage of *a minority that cannot possibly admit that Hindi or Hindustani is its own vernacular*, and I fervently hope that those who may be responsible for reorganising basic education will recognise the inalienable right of the Maithila child to receive education in its own mother-tongue.

"No one who knows me can accuse me of indifference or hositility either to Hindi or Urdu, both of which I have striven to serve in an humble way in the United Provinces."

March 12, 1940. Sd. Amaranatha Jha

The above Minute of Dissent by Pandit Amaranatha Jha is so complete that it leaves nothing to be added. So far as I know there is hardly any Modern Indian language in Northern India which can be rightly proud of producing such a big and extensive prose work as the *Varnanaratnakara* of Jyotirishwara Thakura. This itself shows that the language wherein such a polished prose work has been written in the 13th and the 14th centuries must have long become standardised, say a century or two earlier. Do we find any such obvious record of any *prose work* in any Northern Modern Indian Language? Nanyadeva, the Karnata prince who ruled over Mithilā about the 11th century, is perhaps the first writer on *Rāga* and *Rāginis* of the *Deshī-gitis* of Mithilā. Even as late as the beginning of the 14th century Vidyapati got all his songs tuned in Maithilī Rāga and Rāginis a record of which is preserved in the *Ragatarangini* of Locanakavi. I do not know if any other language has got such an advance text on subjects like these. I have shown in detail elsewhere that the complete form of the Maithilī script as we have it now must have come to exist with all its complications as early as the 8th century. Unfortunately no research work has yet been undertaken regarding the cultural history of Mithilā and as our best Manuscripts are still kept concealed from public notice we are not in a position to say more about its contribution to Maithilī. But it can be simply reasoned out that Mithilā, the home of Nyāya, Mimamsa and Dharmashāstra, the intelligentsia of which place protected the old Vedic culture against the Buddhist onslaught, whose mother-tongue was so sweet that it even inspired the people of adjoining provinces, could have ever remained entirely negligent towards the production of works in Maithilī. We find that the people of Nepal were so much influenced by Maithilī that they used to write dramas in Maithilī on every festivity. Recently, we find that the generous authorities of the Universities of Calcutta and Benares have recognised the cultural value of Maithilī and have been teaching and examining candidates from Matric to the Master's degree in Maithilī. The University of Patna also through the kind efforts of the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga though has given a nominal place to Maithilī, yet we can understand how narrow and perhaps jealous is the outlook of the authorities of the University from the above instance. Whenever any effort is made towards the better recognition of Maithilī, they put all sorts of unconvincing reasons and unnecessary obstacles in our way. They appoint such persons in the sub-committee to make recommendation who have never cared to know of the importance of the modern languages or are prejudiced and antagonistic towards Maithilī. But they do not understand that by not giving the proper place to Maithilī in the curriculum of their University, they simply show their lack of generosity and manifest their jealousy which has no justification. As long as there are Sanskrit Mss. in any library of the world and as long as there are impartial, generous and sympathetic people, both the script and language of Mithilā will remain ever flourishing in some university or other. The study of the various forms of Maithilī language is now considered indispensable for the study of Philology. Under the circumstances, if the rights of Maithilī are overlooked by any one, it is not the fault of the language. I have put these few words before the public in order that they may learn the truth.

The University, Allahabad.
April 23, 1941.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath Tagore

On the 8th of May the Poet of modern India attains the age of eighty. *The Aryan Path* writes :

Born in 1861 in a family already known for its cultural and mystical tendencies and brought up by his venerated father, the great Brahmo Samaj leader, the pious and learned Debendranath Tagore, the poet has not only lived up to and upheld the good name of his house, but has made it known in the four quarters of the globe.

A cycle of 19 years seems to predominate in the poet's present incarnation. If we go by the old Brahmanical institution of the four stages into which human life is divided we find each of these to be of 19 years' duration. At the end of the Brahmacharya stage Rabindranath experienced the first great inspiration which started him on a poet's career; he began to write profusely. He entered the Grihastha Ashrama in 1883 : he married and enjoyed the felicity of home life for nineteen years. In November, 1902, Mrinalini Devi cast off her body, just after accompanying her husband into the Vanaprastha stage, begun at Santiniketan in December, 1901. This separation and the grief which it caused were profound experiences, deepened by the death of his eldest daughter in 1904 and of his youngest son in 1907. But dwelling in the forest of loneliness, Rabindranath continued his labours, creating poems, stories, dramas; and more, he wandered in the wilderness of civilization, visiting the Western hemisphere where his genius was not only recognized but appreciated and admired. But all that work and all those travels were a preparation for the fulfiment of a great mission connected with the last stage of his life, the Sannyasa ashrama. From 1902 to 1921, the forest-dweller became known to the forest of modern civilization; but in 1921 —once again in December—was started the Vishva-Bharati—his idealized university "where the whole world meets in one place." Again a period of 19 years and we come to 1940, during which ill health compelled him to give up active work.

Through all the stages, as student, householder, recluse and as a renunciator-servant of humanity the Poet continued to exercise his creative genius, entertaining, enlightening, uplifting, in an ever-increasing number.

Thousands enjoy Rabindranath's poetry but not an equally large number attempt to gain the benefit of the philosophy he expounds. For example, few are the young men and the young women who endeavour to experience his exaltation by applying this teaching :

"The longer I live alone, within myself, on the river or in the open country, the more clearly I see that there can be nothing finer or greater than the simple and natural performance of the ordinary duties of everyday life."

And these words are written by one who loves Nature so abundantly, who sees her beauty and feels its bliss so keenly as to exclaim :

"I ask for a moment's indulgence to sit by thy side. The works that I have in hand I will finish afterwards. . . . Now it is time to sit quiet, face to face with thee, and to sing dedication of life in this silent and overflowing leisure."

As Deity is omnipresent, man's love for It, to be genuine, must express itself in Universal Brotherhood. With a poet's insight Rabindranath wrote to his friend C. F. Andrews in 1913 :

"This race problem is I believe the one burning question of the present age; and we must be prepared to go through the martyrdom of suffering and humiliation till the victory of God in man is achieved."

Having lived a very full lfie, creative within and serviceable without, but realizing that his own spiritual realizations are not the summation, he repeats this refrain in many places :

"The song that I came to sing remains unsung to this day.

I have spent my days in stringing and unstringing my instrument. . . .

I live in the hope of meeting with Him; but this meeting is not yet."

May he, in the silence of retirement, frail in body but clear in mind, catch at least some of the heart emotion which his noble gift inspires in so many. We salute the Builder of Vishva-Bharati !

Simplicity and Civilisation

In the course of his article on civilisation and progress in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Rabindranath Tagore observes :

When I was a child I had the freedom to make my own toys out of trifles and create my own games from imagination. In my happiness my playmates had their full share; in fact the complete enjoyment of my games depended upon their taking part in them. One day, in this paradise of our childhood, entered a temptation from the market world of the adult. A toy bought from an English shop was given to one of our companions; it was perfect, big and wonderfully life-like. He became proud of the toy and less mindful of the game; he kept that expensive thing carefully away from us, glorying in his exclusive possession of it, feeling himself superior to his playmates whose toys were cheap. I am sure if he could have used the modern language of history he would have said that he was more civilised than ourselves to the extent of his owning that ridiculously perfect toy.

One thing he failed to realise in his excitement—a fact which at the moment seemed to him insignificant,—that this temptation obscured something a great deal more perfect than his toy, the revelation of the perfect child. The toy merely expressed his wealth, but not the child's creative spirit, not the child's generous joy in his play, his open invitation to all who were his compeers to his play-world.

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According to the Poet, civilisation should be the expression of man's *dharma* in his corporate life and *dharma* should be one with his life.

Once there was an occasion for me to motor down to Calcutta from a place a hundred miles away. Something wrong with the mechanism made it necessary for us to have a repeated supply of water almost every half an hour. At the first village where we were compelled to stop, we asked the help of a man to find water for us. It proved quite a task for him, but when we offered him his reward, poor though he was, he refused to accept it. In fifteen other villages the same thing happened. In a hot country where travellers constantly need water, and where the water supply grows scanty in summer, the villagers consider it their duty to offer water to those who need it. They could easily make a business of it, following the inexorable law of demand and supply. But the ideal which they consider to be their *dharma* has become one with their life. To ask them to sell it, is like asking them to sell their life. They do not claim any personal merit for possessing it.

Lao-tze speaking about the man who is truly good says: *He quickens, but owns not. He acts, but claims not. Merit he accomplishes but dwells not on it. Since he does not dwell on it, it will never leave him.* That which is outside ourselves we can sell, but that which is one with our life we cannot.

This complete assimilation of truth belongs to the paradise of perfection; it lies beyond the purgatory of self-consciousness. To have reached it proves a long process of civilisation.

To be able to take a considerable amount of trouble in order to supply water to a passing stranger and yet never to claim merit or reward for it seems absurdly and negligibly simple compared with the capacity to produce an amazing number of things per minute. A millionaire tourist, ready to corner the food market and grow rich by driving the whole world to the brink of starvation, is sure to feel too superior to notice this simple thing while rushing through our villages at sixty miles an hour. For it is not aggressive like a telegraphic pole that pokes our attention with its hugely long finger, or resounding like his own motor engine that shouts its discourtesy to the silent music of the spheres.

Yes, it is simple; but that simplicity is the product of centuries of culture; such simplicity is difficult of imitation. In a few years' time it might be possible for me to learn how to make holes in thousands of needles instantaneously by turning a wheel, but to be absolutely simple in one's hospitality to one's enemy or to a stranger requires generations of training. Simplicity takes no account of its own value, claims no wages, and therefore those who are enamoured of power do not realise that simplicity of spiritual expression is the highest product of civilisation.

A process of disintegration can kill this rare fruit of a higher life, as a whole race of birds possessing some rare beauty can be made extinct by the vulgar power of avarice which has civilised weapons. This fact was clearly proved to me when I found that the only place where a price was expected for the water given to us, was when we reached a suburb of Calcutta, where life was richer, the water supply easier and more abundant, and where progress flowed in numerous channels in all directions. We must get to know this force of disintegration, and how it works.

BENGAL SHARE DEALERS' SYNDICATE LTD.

Business in Stock and Shares is rather of later growth in the educated Bengali Middle class Society. It was primarily confined amongst the European community—the Marwaris and Bhatias were later entrants. The entrance of the educated Bengali middle class in the Share Market is of a very recent date It is however a glorious chapter in the history of Bengali enterprise that in spite of their very recent venture in this entirely new field of business they have earned for them the respect of the entire Market as is evident from the election of Mr. J. M. Dutta as the President of the Calcutta Stock Exchange Association Ltd.

That the Bengali intellect and ingrained honesty can hold themselves up in any sphere of activity has been proved in this new atmosphere too.

The Statement of Accounts of Bengal Share Dealers' Syndicate Ltd., for the period of less than 11 months ending on 31st March, 1941, is another instance of the success that Bengali intellect has attained in this new and giddy field of business venture.

Incorporated on the 10th May, 1940 the Company got its commencement Certificate on the 31st May, 1940. Within the small period of 10 months it made a gross income of—Rs. 31,893-6-4 and after paying all expenses the Company has made a nett profit of about 11,000/- a figure which deserves commendation. The Directors have recommended a dividend of 10%, free of income-tax, a return which in these days of diminishing income from Bank deposits and real estate is extremely alluring.

That the popularity of the Company among the investing public is evident from the fact that within about a year of its inception share worth of Rs. 4,53,550/- have been allotted. Owing to the great demand of its shares the Company will be selling them at a premium of 10% from 1st of July, 1941. And at the time of writing, the subscribed capital has come upto Rs. 5,00000/- and paid-up Rs. 170,000/-. The Syndicate has purchased a plot of land near Chowringhee Square (Calcutta) and the Building construction will commence from July next.

Those people who are afraid to go into speculation but want a steady return of their investment should purchase the Shares of this Syndicate.

High congratulation to the Mg. Director Mr. S. Chatterji for the success of this Company which is due to his devoted energy, foresight and sterling honesty. It is sure that under his care the Syndicate will prosper day by day.

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Not Two Nations

In the course of his address (as published in *The Calcutta Review*) delivered at the last Convocation meeting of the Calcutta University, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru observes :

I venture to hope that whatever may be the noise in the market-place, the still small voice of reason may not be drowned altogether in Universities nor human feelings warped by mutual suspicions and hatreds.

I, therefore, respectfully suggest to University men that it is their duty to think coolly and calmly and to direct their energies to the working out of a synthesis of the common ideas of a nationhood, although the siren voices of discord may be forcing themselves upon our ears to allure us to stagnation, if not ruin. I am not ignoring the differences that divide us. I do not consider it just or wise to ignore them, and yet taking together the things that divide us and the things that unite us I say it is by no means unfair to hold that those who live in India, whatever their religion or philosophy of life and from whatever part of the world their ancestors may have come in the past, do constitute a nation. When some 28 years ago Mr. (afterwards Lord) Asquith introduced the Irish Home Rule Bill in Parliament, he said that—

"In any relative sense Ireland is a nation. Not two nations but one nation. They say, What do you mean by a nation ? I am not going to embarrass myself by any abstract definition, but these things are best argued by way of illustration, and I will take a most extreme and, I think, a most undeniable case . . . . I mean Scotland. Will any one have the hardihood to deny that the Scots are a nation ? They are not all, be it remembered, of one race. They are both Celts and Saxons and various other strains of blood among them. They are not all of one religion, and they are not by any means of one way of thinking about the problems of life, spiritual, intellectual, or material; and yet no one will deny that the Scots are a nation. Judged by any test that you can apply, the Irish is as definite and as separate a nationality as the Scotch."

I venture to present this passage from the speech of a great English statesman in the hope that it may have some effect on the placid minds of University men, if not on the contentious minds of the politicians.

Mr. Amery and the Bombay Conference

The following is the concluding portion of the article on Mr. Amery and the Bombay Conference by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in *The Twentieth Century* :

Mr. Amery says that the Bombay resolution was addressed to the wrong address. He explains this epigram by saying that the time-table of India's constitutional advance depends far more upon Indian agreement than upon ourselves. I venture to think that ever since he has been at the India Office, he has been in the habit of addressing his appeals to wrong addresses himself—and he knows it to his cost. All his appeals have been rejected, or treated with scant courtesy by his addressees.

He blames me and my friends "for not having been able to secure beforehand, for their scheme any kind of agreement, between the Congress and the Muslim League, at any rate, between the latter and other representatives of the Hindu majority." In other words, I take it to be the new policy of His Majesty's Government that unless at least the Muslim League and the Hindu Sabha agree to any scheme, Mr. Amery has no use for any suggestion from any other quarter, and no regard for the rest of India. This is an intolerable position. As if this was not enough, he has referred to what the leader of the Muslim League said about me in his speech at Madras about "being led by Congress wire-pullers into a trap." I must repudiate this suggestion from whatever quarter it comes, whether it is endorsed by Mr. Amery or not. Hitherto, I have not been coscious that I have been led into any kind of trap laid for me by "Congress wire-pullers"—or of official wire-pullers. I am not surprised that Mr. Amery's speech has left men like Sir Stanley Reed, Sir George Schuster, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Vernon Bartlett and others in "a state of depression."

Mr. Amery refers to a statement of the General Secretary of the Mahasabha that the Hindu Sabha will not co-operate with any scheme in which the numerical majority of the Hindu community is not reflected in the composition of the Council. He forgets to point out to the House that there were present at the Conference, men like Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonje, who are supposed to wield, and do wield, far more influence with the Hindu Sabha than the General Secretary and who did not vote against the Bombay resolution.

It is not the speech of a broadminded statesman, who had either a vivid realisation of the dangers of the situation, or equally clear ideas as to what he should do to meet those dangers.

The most pathetic part of his speech is that in which he makes an appeal to me and to my friends not to cease from our efforts but to concentrate first and foremost in bringing the contending elements in India together, either by the exercise of our persuasion on the existing party leaders or by building up a strong Centre Party of men who are prepared to put 'India first.' My answer to it is that it is speeches of this kind which encourage one party and discourage the other which have added to the difficulties of our task. If a Centre Party is ever to arise in this country, it will be only when Mr. Amery will have ceased to talk of pledges, and will have done something to implement those pledges. While no one is more anxious than I am that our present-day differences should be buried in the common interests of the country, I also feel that a Centre Party has no chance of being established at present, and if it can be established at present, I fear that the gulf that exists already between one party and another will be still further widened, but let those who feel inspired by an appeal of this character, undertake this work, and I shall wish them every success. I do not feel any such inspiration.

The long and the short of it is that all appeals of Mr. Amery, however well-intentioned they may have been, have fallen flat upon this country, except presumably on Mr. Jinnah and his followers and today after more than one year of office at Whitehall, he cannot say that he has contributed anything to the solution of the deadlock, the continuance of which the *Times* regrets, or to the promotion of that unity in the achievement of which the Secretary of State, so long as he enjoys and wields the power he does at present, must take his proper share. It is true that in war-time the House of Commons is, from the very necessity of things, bound to be more indulgent to its Minister, but it is also true that that indulgence cannot, without serious risks, be allowed to be used with such little effect.

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The Madras Report on Co-operation and Rural Uplift

The Report of the Committee on Co-operation in Madras raises fundamental issues and makes valuable practical suggestions. Prof. Benoyendra Nath Banerjea observes in the *Indian Co-operative Review*:

As one keenly interested in co-operation as the agency for rual uplift, the present writer was interested in sections dealing with that problem. To borrow the Committee's phrase, the efforts at rural uplift have not, in most cases, proceeded from the empirical stage to a systematic one. There is not only the question of co-ordination of governmental agencies but also of non-official agencies. In Bengal, for instance, there is a special officer in charge of rural reconstruction, the Co-operative Department has been busy organising rural reconstruction societies at rapid speed, the Department of Public Health has been busy equipping travelling exhibitions for propagating their scheme of all-round rural uplift, and illogically enough the Education Department has been burdened with the task of adult education. The non-official agencies are many and sometimes overlap. There are all-Bengal and local socities and they are again criss-crossed in their interests and objects, including the narrow object of serving one class, caste or community only. Behind all this looms, very often, the desire to utilise the official and non-official agencies for party-purposes and electioneering. The resulting confusion and wastage of energy can be well imagined. Many other provinces also exhibit similar conditions.

In this context the Committee's recommendations and Prof. Thomas's note deserve careful scrutiny.

The recommendation made by the Committee is for the establishment of Provincial and District Standing Committees for "judicious allocation and co-ordination of work." They do not favour the appointment of a Development Commissioner as in the Punjab; nor do they accept the Bombay scheme of placing all such activities under the Registrar of Co-operative Socities. In fact, the Committee want not a one-man co-ordination, but of the heads of "Development Departments" sitting in conference with a certain number of non-officials, not for the purpose of administration but "charged with the formulation of measures and plans for the rural and economic development of the country." Further, "it will supply points of view and comment on, and impart cohesion and unity of purpose to, the several schemes of rural development proposed by the heads of departments and make them related parts of a comprehensive programme of rural betterment." The Minister "most concerned with rural development" will be its chairman. In the districts, however, the Collector and the officers only of the various departments shall constitute committees. The provincial body thus composed will be almost like the Board of Economic Enquiry in Bengal initiated during Sir John Anderson's regime and will more or less have advisory functions.

The Committee, further, contemplate the employment of village guides to "render advisory services and put the rural population into touch with the specialised services of development departments." These persons are to work jointly for the co-operative societies and village panchayats. The Committee also envisage a development in which elected panchayats displace the

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village officers as the main organ of administration, and there is closer co-ordination between the rural agencies. The co-operatives are to be reorientated in the shape of multi-purpose societies, with paid secretaries and enlarged jurisdiction.

The above summary makes clear that there will still continue side by side a multiplicity of authorities catering to rural welfare from the top to the bottom.

Moreover, when you appoint paid officers—the co-operative society's secretary and guides—why not think of a greater centralisation and also decentralisation, the latter for the purpose of allowing adaptation to local conditions relating to the type of agriculture, the land system, caste-composition, educational progress, etc.?

Instead of regimentation through Boards, Departments and officials, a reversion to the basic organisation of the village would be a welcome re-orientation. Both from the political and democratic point of view, this should be welcome. May I urge another consideration? Except in the loosely organised structure in capitalist-democratic countries, under communism, totalitarianism, new deals in several countries and attempts at planning the co-operative system and theory have perforce undergone essential changes. We want co-operation not only to embrace all the aspects of the life of the villager but to be an effective principle of life itself. Co-operation to-day, in our country at least, is just allowed to live until it becomes a nuisance to the profiteer; under a planned system co-operation may well be the only system recognised. Undoubtedly, the time for that is not yet: but already we have so much of "controlled credit" through legislation that it might very soon become necessary to constitute the co-operative society as "Court of Wards" for each individual ryot and also to provide for "legislation to ensure that the decisions of such a society will be binding on non-members also."

The Beggar—A Nuisance or A Problem?

The beggar problem is to a certain extent a direct off-shoot of the much wider incidence of destitution and unemployment. John Barnabas writes in *The Indian Readers' Digest*:

When Dr. E. Muir and his staff at the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, carried out a survey of the beggars in Calcutta in 1932, they found that out of 4,000 beggars there, 25 per cent were lepers, 10 per cent blind, 5 per cent lathyric, 5 per cent suffered from miscellaneous diseases, while a small fraction included the insane, the deaf and dumb. The remaining nearly 50 per cent, were healthy, able-bodied beggars—vagrants. At the end of 1936, classifying their inmates, the Home for the disabled in Secunderabad, reported having blind, lame, mentally defective, lepers (both infectious and burnt out), paralytic, chronic cases and aged. In a recent survey conducted in Wardha it was found that out of a total of 675 beggars, 453 were able-bodied, 24 blind, 24 lepers, 142 old (above 50), and 32 otherwise disabled.

Take up the statistics of any city and study the types and you will group them as indicated above. Whose fault is it if they beg because they are blind, deaf and dumb, lame, leprous, or vagrants. If they are ill they beg because society has failed to provide for their health: If they are well, they beg because society has not ensured them food and shelter by employment. And yet when they beg we call them a 'nuisance' to society! "Call a dog a bad name and hang him."

If poverty and disease are a nuisance, then beggary is a nuisance. But if poverty and disease are problems, which society has to deal with sympathetically as an obligation, then the beggar is a social problem, and not a nuisance.

The beggar on the street is a constant reminder of the problems that an ill-organised society is heir to. When the joint family system worked at its best, the family—a miniature State—regarded the welfare of the sick, the disabled and the unemployed as a family 'responsibility' and not as a nuisance to the family. With the disintegration of such family ties and with the development of a more complex economic system, the suffering member of society was more and more left to his own resources. In the West however, the community recognised its 'responsibility' towards the sick and the unemployed, and organised the relief of suffering that resulted from poverty and sickness. Whereas, in India we have regarded the 'beggar' as one whom providence has ordained to suffer vicariously in the interest of the rich individual who may seek his own salvation by offering him alms, or as one who is justly reaping the fruits of his past misdeed. We have conveniently forgotten that the beggar on the street is a standing monument to the social irresponsibility of a given society.

After all, the beggar is a symbol of social disease, and as members of society we are all responsible for that social malady.

The problem of the beggar is not simply the problem of food and clothing; it is the development of personality. And personality can only be developed when we recognise him as a social problem and cease to dub him a nuisance.

Pan-Germanism

The New Review observes:

The Nazi wild rush through the Balkans has an economic bearing as significant as its military results: it is the achievement of an early impulse of Pan-Germanism, which grew out of the Prussian hegemony in the group of Germanic States. The first stage of Pan-Germanism is the *Mittel-Europa* scheme; the second, the famous Euraxis, a dream embodied in the slogan: Berlin-Baghdad; the third stage would complete this land power with supremacy on the seas; then only would Germany be a world-power.

At first Pan-German views dreamed, with the economist Friedrich List, of an alliance between Germany and Britain against France and Russia; but these views were soon altered with the Pan-German Association founded by Hugenberg in 1890 and took a definitely anti-British tone with von Bernhardi.

The initial success of German arms during the war of 1914-18 set Pan-Germans working out practical schemes and gave Fr. Naumann's book *Mittel Europa* a patriotic vogue. Naumann fancied a confederation of European States dominated by Germany and including Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and as much of the Balkans as could conveniently be taken over. The Confederation would be based not on liberty but on organisation, not on self-government but on security, and its economic life would be regulated 'from the point of view of State-security.'

The 1918 defeat dissipated those Pan-German visions which reappeared but occasionally in books and pamphlets during the Weimar Republic. The National

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Socialist movement gave them back substance and life and the party listed on its programme all the ambitions of the Pan-German League. Hitler became the prophet, the last and the greatest, of Pan-Germanism; he is a prophet who delights in successive sincerities and thrives on successive enthusiasms. Thanks to his method, he has achieved much of his Pan-German programme: he has given Germany a power and a unity she had never known; he has brushed aside the Versailles Treaty, has overthrown France and he is pushing south-eastwards. He might soon take in hand the establishment of his 'New Order' on the Continent.

What this 'New Order' means was outlined by Dr. Funk, the Minister of Economics; its fundamental postulate assumes that Europe's economic life will centre round Germany. Not that a Customs Union or free-trade regime is dreamed of, but rather a system of economic regions so distributed and organised as to serve the requirements and especially the supremacy of German economics.

The Hindu View of Art

It is unfair, to judge the Indian art through the Western art canons. In an article in *The Hindustan Review* Gayanacharya A. C. Pandey observes:

Every nation tinges its art with a colour peculiar to itself: it has its own art notions, conventions, traditions, literature and ideals, and form of representation—mystical, meaningful or meaningless. The ancient art of India is meaningful, but mystical to the present Indian generation.

Two grave accusations levied against the Indian art are: first, it is unreal; and, second, it is unfaithful to nature, *i.e.*, unnatural.

Art is limitless: it knows no barrier. Any attempt, therefore, to confine art within the four walls of nature and reality as perceived by human senses definitely shows the narrowness of one's understanding and mind.

A painting is an image of the painter's thought. He puts the ideal of his thought in a real form. That is art. Art is real.

Nature remains to the Hindu artist a veil, not a revelation, and it is the business of the Pandits and artists to see what lies behind the veil.

Hindu metaphysics considers three spheres of existence, *viz.*, first, Kamaloka, the sphere of sensuous appearances; second, Rupa-loka, the sphere of ideologies; and, third, Arupa-loka, the sphere beyond form (or, of cosmic birth). The Hindu artist portrays the ideal by representing the Rupa-loka with the *help* of Kama-loka.

The great scholar on *mudras* (hand poses in Hindu Art), Rishi Sukracharya, says in his *Sukranitisara*:

"In order that the form of an image may be brought fully and clearly before the mind, the image maker should meditate and his success will be in proportion to his meditation. No other way—not indeed seeing the object itself—will achieve his purpose." A little further he adds: "The artist should attain the images . . . by means of contemplation only. This spiritual vision is the best and the truest standard for him. He should depend upon it and not, indeed, upon the visible objects perceived by the external senses."

The form of western art is different.

All the different schools of western art, whether the followers of Impressionism, Expressionism, Cubism or any other "ism," are fast throwing off the shackles of the doctrine of "faithfulness to nature" and are adopting the Hindu belief—the belief that makes the artist's thought a Reality and Nature—the belief which is the fundamental guiding principle of all Hindu Art, Religion, and Thought.

Fisheries: Conditions in Bengal

There is no fisheries department in Bengal, and the status of Bengal fisheries is deplorable. In his article on fisheries in *Science and Culture*, Albert W. C. T. Heree, Curator of Fishes, Zoological Museum, Stanford University, California, remarks:

The huge, sprawling city of Calcutta, with its swarms of poor and half-fed people, is very inadequately supplied with fish, and this is true likewise of very many of the towns and villages of Bengal. A comparison of the markets of Calcutta with those of Hong Kong or Manila,—cities perhaps a third of the size of Calcutta,—affords ample proof of the truth of my statement.

After making all due allowance for the vegetarians, and the people who refuse to eat fish, there remains in Bengal a vast number of people who are glad to eat fish but at the same time rarely have enough to eat. They are not only victims of semi-starvation, but also suffer from malnutrition, as a result of living on a diet deficient in protein. The addition of an adequate supply of fish to their diet would furnish them with the nutritious, wholesome, and readily assimilable protein necessary to balance their diet and build tissue.

At present the people of Bengal and adjacent provinces prefer freshwater fishes to those exclusively marine, as any one can see who studies the local markets. This is due to a variety of causes, not the least of which are the inadequacy of the transportation and preservation of fresh fish. Before there can be any real development of fisheries, especially of sea fisheries, there must be suitable provision made for the proper distribution and marketing of the fish obtained. These require an ample supply of cheap ice, and ample cold storage facilities. The logical agency to supply such need is, of course, the government itself. There is no great public service rendered if the catch is brought in half-putrid, or even merely stale, condition and then left to haphazard agencies to get it in the hands of the consuming public. Experience elsewhere has shown that ultimately government cold storage and ice plants are absorbed by private interests, although in the beginning private capital could not be interested.

There are many things a Bengal fisheries department might suitably do, and many problems it might profitably investigate. However, there are certain obvious needs which are most closely linked with the improvement of the food supply of the common people, and it is those to which a fisheries department should devote most of its energies.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Mayas

Full 2,000 years ago the Mayas, Incas and Aztecs developed a culture which can well stand comparison with other ancient cultures. Many scholars and archaeologists have claimed that the sources of Maya culture have to be sought for in India. Its curious analogies and affinities with East Asiatic and Indian forms call for a closer study of the subject from an Indian point of view. We may mention here *Hindu America* by Chamal Lal (New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) in which new materials have been put forward. The following excerpt is from an article by Wilbur Burton in *The Living Age* :

In sensationally striking contrast to not only the Incas and the Aztecs, but to any other known people of all time on a similar material level, the Mayas full 2,000 years ago developed a hieratic writing equal to that of the Egyptians, attained the abstract mathematical concept of zero, invented a positional, vigesimal (by twenties) system of writing numbers, devised a calendar that was exact to a day within a period of 374,000 years—while the Julian calendar of their Spanish conquerors was eleven days off, conceived of a five-million-year span of time, learned to predict eclipses, noted exactly to a day within a thousand years the orbit of Venus in relation to that of the earth, and without the use of fractions (which their mathematics lacked) they calculated the lunar year correctly over fifty-year periods—a feat involving intricate intercalation since the exact time of the moon's revolution around the earth is 29.53 days.

Yet Mayas today are among the most backward of all the Indians of the two Americas, distinctly below the Mexican average in culture and apparently completely sunk in the mire of superstition, illiteracy and physical decadence.

There are today approximately a half-million pure or very nearly pure Mayas in Yucatan, a few more in the rest of Mexico, and several thousands in Honduras and Guatemala—all the areas, comprising some 50,000 square miles, where their empires formerly flourished. Their last empire, nominally a part of the Aztec domain at the time Columbus inaugurated the European discovery and conquest of the Americas, centered in Chichen-Itza and Uxmal, near the modern city of Merida, in Yucatan. Cortez, after conquering the Aztecs in the Valley of Mexico, invaded the Mayan areas, but the complete Spanish conquest came a little later.

Complete it certainly was. With that Castilian fanaticism that is practically without parallel in history, the Mayas were ruthlessly subjected to Spanish sword and Catholic cross. All their culture was exorcized as diabolical, and its immediate disestablishment was pitilessly proclaimed and mercilessly enforced. So far as is known, every Mayan book was burned or otherwise destroyed, so that the only Mayan writing that has come down to us is that inscribed on stone. All the Mayan priests were dispersed, many killed, except a very few who were converted to Catholicism—like the Tutul Xiu of Uxmal. The masses *en masse* were herded into the only true Church, and henceforth for almost three centuries—until the Mexican revolutionary period starting under the Zapotec Juarez—Maya was thoroughly ruled and conditioned by the alien Catholic priesthood, although there were a few minor native uprisings.

The writer noted one curious fact that might possibly point to some remote connection between the Mayas and ancient China.

Both seem to have had corn, or maize. In the West, it is generally supposed that maize originated, or was developed, in the Americas and unknown to the rest of the world before Columbus. Moreover modern investigations have indicated that the Mayas were the first Indians to grow maize—which was their staple food. But ancient Chinese records seem to show clearly that exactly the same plant was known in this country more than two thousand years ago.

Possibly the ancient Chinese or some other people in Asia and the Mayas developed maize wholly independently of each other—or possibly the Mayas brought it with them from Asia to North America. Most probably, in general anthropological opinion, all the American Indians are of Asiatic origin, migrating in successive waves by way of the Aleutian Islands ten thousand or more years ago.

But of all the varied Indian types, the Mayas are about the farthest removed from the Mongolian in appearance. Their noses are peculiarly curved, and they evidently regarded this feature as their racial hallmark, for it is emphasized in all their bas-reliefs and sculpture. More unique innate qualities have been revealed by Carnegie Institute medical investigations. They have a higher basal metabolism and lower pulse rate (averaging only 52 beats a minute in one group examined) than for either the Caucasian race or other sub-tropical peoples. Also, various authorities agree that they are probably more lacking in sex instinct than any other known people. They seem almost utterly passionless, and the few phallic symbols found in their temples were probably an effort to overcome this. In one temple of Chichen-Itza there are four rooms that were apparently devoted to phallic worship, with two phalli—each about eleven inches in diameter at its maximum—to a room, above stone platforms, while outside are stones for grinding corn.

For no explained motive they went from southern Mexico to what is now Guatemala and Honduras, and then to Yucatan with Chichen-Itza as their last capital. This move, too, is not explained, although impoverishment of the soil was probably the reason. For their agricultural technique, in production of maize, included no replenishment of the soil, and maize is highly exhausting to the soil.

A most striking manifestation of Mayan culture are the bas-reliefs that fully cover almost every wall,

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depicting politico-religious ceremonies. Outstanding in the bas-reliefs is the expressive difference in faces.

All the bas-reliefs were highly colored with pigments of enduring quality.

Mayan numbers and ideographs are more intricately complex than those of ancient Egypt—or China. All the writing, including the numbers, was obviously strictly hieratic, that is, religiously estoeric and mystic, without the slightest *demotic*—or common—trace. Alike from ruins and records, it is clear the priests dominated everything and that the masses were kept in total ignorance of all academic culture, although many of them were trained artisans.

The Golden Rule in International Relations

Compared to the biological evolution of the human race the social evolution is still in an early stage. Periodical recurrence of war amply proves that we are now in the early stages of our social development with hundreds and hundreds of generations ahead of us to experiment and test better ways of living. Philip C. Nash writes in *The Christian Register* :

Mankind has all the physical attributes necessary to adapt himself to almost any change in our physical environment short of a collision between our sun and another star. He is strong enough to harness the mighty forces of nature to do his bidding. He uses only a small part of his present brain. He can make a telescope and develop a mathematics to study the limitless universe, and he can also construct a microscope to study his friends and enemies among the molecules. He can bring coolness into the tropics and heat to the frigid zones. He is the lord of the universe in a way that has not been remotely approached by any other animal on earth. He can control all his enemies except himself! And of course he, himself, is by all odds his own most dangerous and vicious enemy. The same control of the mighty forces of nature which makes it possible for three times as many people to live on earth as could do so a hundred years ago, gives mankind the power to wreck cities, countries, and whole civilizations as never before.

Within the last decade many careful thinkers believed that the short 10,000 years of man's civilization was bringing him to the point where he could begin to control even his worst enemy, himself.

Under impossible conditions a great step was taken, though falteringly, to present future wars by the establishment of machinery to solve the infinitely difficult problems of a complex civilization, without going to war. The League of Nations was formed. But it foundered.

Due to the petty jealousies of a few men in America and to the terrible strain which broke President Wilson, the United States did not join. This was to prove a fatal weakness. A little later when those two great statesmen, Briand of France and Stresemann of Germany, were forging out the keel of a strong ship of peace, the French Government refused to allow the Anschluss, the customs union between Austria and Germany. If this had been allowed the encouragement to the German republic would have been tremendous and perhaps the first step would have been taken towards Briand's dream of a United States of Europe. Perhaps Mr. Hitler would still be an unemployed paper hanger!

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Disarmament lagged because nations were afraid. Economic forces were pressing and the United States made conditions infinitely worse by the Smoot-Hawley tariff. And finally when Japan ivaded Manchuria Great Britain's conservative government refused to use the League's machinery of economic boycott to make Japan live up to her pledges. This was the beginning of the end. Clearly disarmament was not to be thought of when one nation could invade another and the rest of the world would not interfere. Italy tried it in Ethiopia and nobody stopped her. Germany saw her chance and rearmed, and the democracies were too blind to stand by the League; civilization was fast sliding down the chute to destruction. It is only within the last few months that we are learning how complete is the destruction of European civilization, how complete is the return to the barbarism of 2,000 or 10,000 years ago.

Is there any hope. and if so, what should be the basic philosophy in attacking the problem? The writer suggests the Golden Rule, "Do as you would be done by" not only in individual but also in international relations.

Now is it too much to expect that men can take one step further in their thinking? Is there vision enough in our leaders and ourselves to see that the Golden Rule must govern among nations as it does among individuals? Have we to wit to realize that our own security and prosperity and happiness depend on reasonable security and prosperity and happiness for every other human being on earth? How long before we shall recognize that 130 million Russians in ferment, 300 million Chinese in misery, 400 million Indians in want, 170

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million Europeans in dire conflict, or any one of these groups or any large sub-division of them in distress, mean certain danger and trouble for us?

Perchance in the lifetime of the young men of today the opportunity may come again to organize the world under conditions of freedom and justice. Perhaps it will come when they are leaders of thought and we oldsters have given up our places to them. Let us pray that they may do better than we have done and let us ask them in working out the details to hold fast to that one guiding principle—all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them.

World Congress of Faiths

For a future World-concert the spiritual forces should be organised. Such an Union of Religions will be the soul of International Political Union. The following excerpt is reproduced from *The Commonweal*:

Among the great "signs of the times" is the organisation known as the World Congress of Faiths, of which the Chairman is Sir Francis Younghusband. "Not brutalisation, but humanisation, will be the presiding principle of the New World. . . . Religion will always be the principal formative power in the formation of an International Society. . . . Fellowship through Religion is our one aim. . . . Kinship of all mankind and kinship of man with God, is the ideal upon which founders of Religion have all insisted. . . . As both Rudolph Otto and Professor Bentwich, ten years before the war, have recommended, there should be an Inter-Religious League or League of Religions, behind the League of Nations. . . . The spiritual forces would be organised to supplement the organisation of the League. . . . And this Union of Religions would be the soul of any new International Political Union, just as religion is the soul, while the State is the body of a nation.

There may yet be a Concert of Europe. Likewise, there may be a Concert of America, and a Concert of Asia, but all finally leading up to a World-Concert, in which the conductor is accorded ample authority, in the interests of the whole, to enforce discipline among the singers."

"Our Sixth Annual Congress we will hold next summer, either at The Hague or somewhere in England, and, by the time the war is well over, I trust we shall be holding, in some convenient city in Europe, a Congress on the scale of our first Congress in London, when we shall be able to gather together prominent women and men from every religion from countries as far apart as Japan and America. And this might well be the embryo of that League of Religions which Rudolf Otto foreshadowed . . . and which, through God's help, if men will but help themselves, they will, at last, achieve."

Changes in Soviet Union

Walter Duranty, correspondent for *The New York Times* in U. S. S. R., in a dispatch circulated by the *North American Newspaper Alliance*, reviews a year's change in the U. S. S. R. He stresses the following six points, as recorded by *The China Weekly Review*:

1. The Soviet Union has maintained its neutrality according to its own definition of the word, which is abstention from a World War and relations toward other powers in accord with their attitude and relations toward the U. S. S. R. 2. There has been an excellent harvest, perhaps the best or second best in Soviet history, with all which that implies in a country that is still mainly agricultural. This despite climatic conditions last winter and spring so unfavorable that the crops of all the rest of eastern Europe suffered a notable decline. The Russians explain it by the assertion that the collective farm system has now emerged from its initial phase of trial and error and begun to justify its real value. 3. The army, navy and air force have been reorganized on a basis more appropriate for modern war. 4. A similar reorganization has been effected in industry, trade, transport, finance and education. 5. A new, more flexible and more practical conception has been introduced of the position and duties of the Communist party and its junior affiliates in relation to the nation in general and the national effort in particular. 6. The Soviet Union has absorbed, without apparent friction, large areas of territory for many years under alien flags, and it is claimed here, thus has made a new and perhaps decisive step toward the solution of the problem of nationalities in the Soviet state.

"Even such foreigners in Moscow as do not regard the Soviet Union with wholehearted affection admit there has been a marked upswing. For the first time since the gaudy days of 'NEP' (new economic policy, inaugurated while Lenin was still alive) the Moscow stores have a greater supply of goods that the public demands. Prices, of course, are high, but this one fact means much in a country where supplies have been consistently outrun by demands," stated Mr. Duranty.

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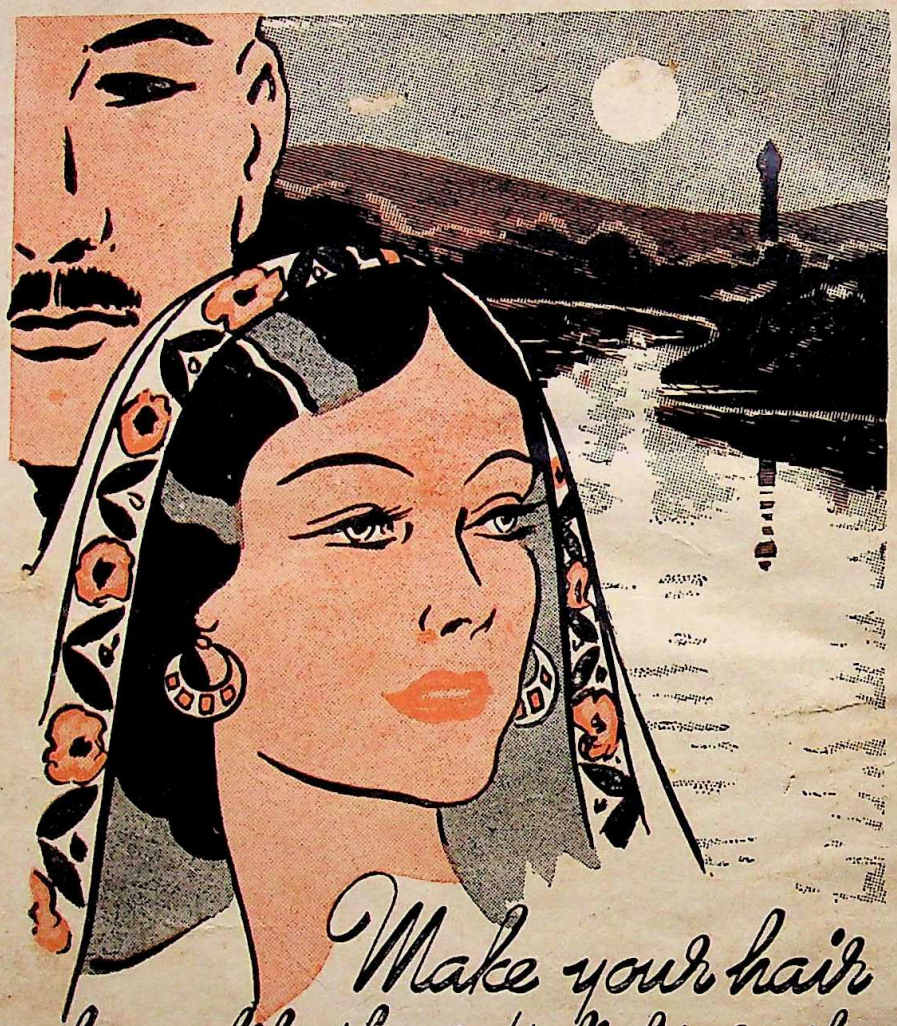

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